

UKRAINE AND UKRAINIANS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

EDITED BY

ANN LENCYK PAWLICZKO

Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World

A Demographic and Sociological Guide to the Homeland and Its Diaspora

A surprising number of the world's 58 million Ukrainians have settled in Europe, North and South America, Australia, Oceania, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. This unique reference work, compiled by Dr Ann Lencyk Pawliczko, offers a survey of this widespread population. It is at once a demographic handbook that provides up-to-date statistical data and an ethnographic study of a people struggling to preserve their identity despite decades of denationalization policies in the homeland and the forces of assimilation abroad.

The opening chapters offer an overview of contemporary Ukraine and its ties with Ukrainians who have emigrated. Individual articles by distinguished scholars in Ukrainian studies focus on the numerous Ukrainian settlements throughout the world. The authors explore each local population's immigration history and community life, as well as its economic, political, professional, and social participation in the country of settlement. Theories of assimilation, problems of ethnic group survival, and the future of Ukrainians as an ethnic group are among the topics discussed in detail.

The only work of its kind on the Ukrainian diaspora, this study is an indispensable reference tool for libraries, schools, and institutions, as well as students and scholars of ethnic relations, international migration, and Slavic studies. It is also an excellent resource for families and individuals with a special interest in Ukrainian culture.

Published in association with the Shevchenko Scientific Society of New York. Ann Lencyk Pawliczko is Population Affairs Officer in the Population Division of the United Nations, New York.

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Edited by
Ann Lencyk Pawliczko

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Foreword

This is one of the few books on the market that present a total picture of a people who reside in different countries of the world yet possess the same identity. Most studies of immigrant settlements focus on an ethnic community in a single country of settlement. This book examines communities of the same ethnicity, Ukrainian, in virtually all countries of their settlement, as well as in their mother country, and thereby affords a comparative perspective on them. Moreover, most historians tend to assume that the history of an ethnic community relates exclusively to the history of its country of settlement. By examining these communities alongside one another and alongside their country of origin, the book implies that the history of each is also tied up with the histories of the others and with the history of their home country. The book thus presents a relatively new, and certainly uncommon, approach to the study of ethnicity.

A special feature of the approach adopted in this survey of Ukrainians in the diaspora is that it inquired of each community what, from its perspective, are the most important issues and problems facing the community. The results not only make for an interesting comparative study of the issues, but also serve as a guide to the interpretation of the great variety of facts about each community presented in the book. For example, one of the most important concerns of the Ukrainian community in Canada is current threats to the policy of multiculturalism. Ukrainian Canadians were among the leading groups pressuring the government of Canada to establish such a policy, and, along with many other established ethnic groups, they have benefited from the policy. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, multiculturalism has come under attack from the conservative sectors of Canadian society. Ukrainian Canadians have attempted to counteract those criticisms. The concern of the general public over this issue and the success or failure of the efforts of Ukrainian Canadians to counteract opposition can give us some indication of the place Ukrainians hold in Canadian society and the way they define integration in Canadian society. No such issues are pursued by Ukrainians in the United States. They, however, have concerns about other issues.

Ukraine and Ukrainians have often been misperceived; they have most commonly been mistakenly identified as Russia and Russians, respectively. Both scholars and journalists have typically had far too little information about Ukrainians at their disposal, and at times, both groups have generated misinformation about them. This book is a powersource of information about Ukraine and Ukrainians around the world that will be useful for anyone who wants to find out more about them. It will be useful for those who wish to stop and think about who Ukrainians are and about the nature of the Ukrainian diaspora. It will also be useful to those seeking quick information on Ukraine and Ukrainians today

as well as those who need a concise background on the recently established Ukrainian state. The book can serve scholars seeking comparative information on Ukrainians residing in various countries around the world, journalists who need facts and figures to back up their statements, students who choose to write term papers on Ukraine and Ukrainians, and even tourists who want to know something about Ukrainians residing in the countries they plan to visit.

The idea for this book originated at the Ukrainian Center for Social Research, Inc., an affiliate of the Shevchenko Scientific Society of New York. With the successful completion of the well-received Ukrainian-language *Ukrainski Poselennia: Dovidnyk* (Ukrainian Settlements Handbook), published more than a decade ago under the direction of Athanas Milanytch, then President of the Ukrainian Center for Social Research, his successor, Dr. Volodymyr Bandera, became a strong advocate for and the guiding spirit behind an English-language version that would serve the needs of non-Ukrainians. The earlier work of Ivan Tesla has served as a model for contributors to that book and to this one.

Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World, however, is a much more extensive, more complete, and more current publication than the book that inspired it. In addition to chapters devoted to the culture and history of Ukraine and to a sociological analysis of the data, focusing on theories of assimilation, problems of ethnic-group survival, and the future of Ukrainians as an ethnic group, the book's special feature is a chapter on Ukraine that focuses on the country's status as an independent member of the community of nations and on the process that led it to independence in 1991. The chapter also provides an analysis of the current economic, political, and social situation in the country.

As a book of information, *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World* will fill a gap that has long existed in the English-language literature on Ukrainians and will go a long way to meeting the researcher's needs.

Wsevolod W. Isajiw

Preface

Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World is designed to acquaint the reader with a nation and a people newly emerged from decades of communist domination – the second-largest country on the European continent and a powerful economic, political, and nuclear force in the new world order.

The book is sociological in its approach: it is at once a demographic handbook that provides the latest available statistics on the Ukrainian population throughout the world and an ethnographic study of a people struggling to preserve their ethnic identity despite decades of denationalization policies in the homeland and forces of assimilation and integration in settlements abroad. Although it is scholarly in content, *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World* is also intended for a much wider audience – all those who might wish to acquaint themselves with the story of one ethnic group's struggle for survival.

Chapter 1, an overview of *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World*, locates Ukraine on the map of Europe, traces the origin of the name "Ukraina," or Ukraine, and discusses the earliest existing references to the population of Ukraine. It summarizes the data presented in the articles in the book from a sociological perspective and discusses problems of ethnic-group survival, theories of assimilation, and the future of Ukrainians as an ethnic group.

Located in southeastern Europe, Ukraine, a nation of more than 52 million people, proclaimed its independence from the Soviet Union on August 24, 1991. The Ukrainian people are a compact national, cultural, and political entity within the Slavic family of nations, with their own distinct language, culture, and history, which spans more than a millennium.

There are an estimated 58 million Ukrainians in the world today; 37.4 million reside in Ukraine, and the remainder are scattered around the world. Given the complex nature of gathering population statistics on minorities and the resulting undercount in many countries (especially in the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries, which purposely deflated the number of Ukrainians to undermine their potential force as an ethnic group), the actual number of Ukrainians could well be as high as 60 million.

According to estimates derived from various sources, including censuses, surveys, and church and organizational records, there are approximately 8.5 million Ukrainians in Russia; 175,000 in the Baltic countries, and 6.2 million in the remaining countries that constituted the former Soviet Union. Eastern Europe – Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary, Poland, and Romania – is home to approximately 862,000 Ukrainians; Western Europe is home to approximately 140,000. Canada and the United States are believed to have approximately 1 million Ukrainians each, though fewer than that identify their ancestry as Ukrainian in the census questionnaires. Argentina and Brazil, home of

the largest Ukrainian settlements in South America, have 220,000 and 350,000 Ukrainians, respectively, and approximately 14,500 Ukrainians reside in the remainder of the continent. More than 30,000 Ukrainians are found in Australia and Oceania; approximately 2 million live in the Maritime Provinces of the former Soviet Far East; and a small, undetermined number are found in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

Ukrainians living under Communist dictatorships in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe found it extremely difficult to organize active Ukrainian communities, because government policies suppressed religious expression, the use of the native language, the existence of Ukrainian schools, and all displays of nationalism. In some areas, Ukrainians were afraid to admit their national origin, speak their native language, or pass their ancestral heritage on to their children. Nevertheless, Ukrainians did not disappear as an ethnic group and were able to preserve some aspects of their culture, maintaining an underground Church and a small number of institutions, publications, vocal-musical ensembles, drama groups, and choirs. The Ukrainian language and customs have also been preserved to some degree.

Historical circumstances, including foreign domination in Ukraine, periodically caused the Ukrainian people to migrate abroad in search of political and religious freedom as well as economic well-being. Ukrainian immigrants faced, on the one hand, the arduous task of integrating into the local society in order to secure a living for themselves and their families, and, on the other hand, the tremendous challenge of preserving their ethnic identity amid myriad pressures to assimilate.

As a nation, Ukrainians have always considered the maintenance of their ethnic identity to be of vital importance. Throughout history, they fought hard to preserve their native language, religious beliefs, and culture, which were threatened by a succession of foreign dominators in Ukraine. As they emigrated abroad, Ukrainians continued to preserve their ethnic identity and distinct culture. The majority migrated in compact groups and established thriving communities with churches, schools, and cultural, educational, political, professional, scholarly, social, student, youth, and women's organizations.

Today, Ukrainians have vibrant communities in many countries throughout the world. They continue to maintain their ethnic identity, placing great emphasis on Ukrainian churches and organizations, both important sources of cohesion among the Ukrainian people. The presence of churches, schools, and a myriad of organizations provides a sense of ethnic identity and ensures the preservation of the Ukrainian heritage.

Ukrainians in the diaspora have experienced varying degrees of assimilation. Some, especially the immigrant generation, have remained within the ethnic enclave, choosing to maintain only secondary (usually business) relationships with those outside their own group. Others have become integrated into the larger society but have maintained contacts with their ethnic group. Others still have left the ethnic fold, intermarried, and become indistinguishable from the local population.

The processes of assimilation have resulted in common concerns throughout the Ukrainian diaspora, including concerns about the high incidence of mixed marriage, the declining use of the Ukrainian language, and the drop in membership in Ukrainian churches and organizations. Although demographic and socioeconomic measures such as the number of persons identifying themselves as Ukrainian, the number of mother-tongue speakers, and the strength of organizational membership may indeed point to a decline of the Ukrainian ethnic group, it is important to look beyond the usual criteria for signs of vitality and strength. Two important factors within the Ukrainian community play a unique role in the preservation of its ethnic identity: Ukrainian churches and the common concern Ukrainians share for their homeland. Both factors serve to continually rekindle national awareness and are instrumen-

tal in maintaining the cohesion of the Ukrainian community. Ukrainian schools and organizations catering to the needs of second, third, and succeeding generations of Ukrainians also play an important role in the preservation of ethnic identity. Although it is impossible to halt the process of assimilation entirely in a context in which youth come into daily contact with the mainstream culture, it is possible to adopt the identity of the local society without completely renouncing ethnic identity. It is important to remember that ethnicity need not be surrendered for the sake of assimilation.

Chapter 2 presents the culture and history of Ukraine and its people. It describes the rich cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people, including their religion, language and literature, customs and traditions, fine arts, folk arts, music, and dance, and provides a short survey of the history of the Ukrainian nation, culminating in its proclamation of independence in 1991 and its confrontation, as a new democracy, with a range of urgent issues.

Chapter 3, "Independent Ukraine on the Map of Europe," is a key article, analyzing the situation in the country today, including its demographic and ethnic composition, its government and political system, its economy and the changing economic system, and the prevailing social and cultural conditions.

Chapter 4 describes the historical background of emigration from Ukraine, focusing on the socioeconomic conditions and political events in the homeland that periodically caused large numbers of the population to migrate abroad, and discusses the major migration waves, the numbers of people involved, and their points of origin and destination.

The chapters that follow describe Ukrainians in the countries of Eastern Europe, Western Europe, North and South America, Australia and New Zealand, and Africa, Asia and the Middle East. With the exception of the article on Ukrainians in the former USSR (outside Ukraine), which necessitated a special format, the articles follow the same general outline: important geo-demographic data on each country are presented at the outset, followed by a discussion of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the Ukrainian population in that country. Reference is made to the participation of Ukrainians in the country's economic, political, professional, and social life. Also included is a description of Ukrainian life in the country of settlement, from the history of the group's immigration and settlement to the current state of its religious, educational and professional, cultural, and social and political life. Each article summarizes the major concerns of the Ukrainians in the country as an ethnic group and provides a short description of the ties that exist between them and their counterparts in the homeland and the diaspora. Each article concludes with a brief summary of the significant events in the Ukrainian community in the past few years.

Ann Lencyk Pawliczko
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The Authors and Contributors

Dr. Volodymyr N. Bandera teaches in the Department of Economics at Temple University, Ambler, Pennsylvania.

Dr. Oksana Boruszenko teaches in the Department of History at the Universidade Federal do Paraná, Curitiba, Paraná, Brazil.

Serhii Cipko, M.A., is an author and Visiting Lecturer in Ukrainian Studies, as well as a Ph.D. candidate, in the Department of History at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.

Dr. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn is Founder and Chairman of the Board of the International Management Institute in Kiev, Ukraine. He is also Chairman of the Council of Advisors of the Presidium of the Parliament of Ukraine; Chairman of the Renaissance Foundation; and former scholar-in-residence at the International Management Institute, Geneva, Switzerland.

Dr. Wsevolod Isajiw holds the Robert F. Harney Professorship and chairs the Program in Ethnic, Immigration, and Pluralism Studies in the Department of Sociology at the University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Prof. Fedir Jakymec, engineer, teaches at the Universidad de Carabobo, Valencia, Venezuela.

Marta Jenkala, M.A., is a linguist and language teacher in London, England.

Mykola Kohut, M.S., is a retired financial analyst. He was Manager of Cost Accounting at Westland E.M.G., and is currently Chairman of the Supervisory Committee of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Europe and the Ukrainian Relief Committee in Belgium, as well as Education Chairman and Treasurer of the Ukrainian Centre of Studies in Belgium, Louvain, Belgium.

Rev. Pavlo Kohut is pastor of Alsace and Strasbourg, and Visiting Priest ministering to the Ukrainian Catholic faithful in Luxembourg. He lives in Diemeringen, France.

Rev. Danyil Kozlinsky is Rector of the Seminário Maior São Josafat in Curitiba, Paraná, Brazil.

Wasyl Krechowec is a retired skilled artisan, Ukrainian community leader, and freelance writer for the Ukrainian press living in Auckland, New Zealand.

John Luchechko, M.S., M.A., is Assistant Director of the library and a member of the Adjunct Faculty in the Department of History at Jersey City State College, Jersey City, New Jersey.

Andrij Makuch, M.A., is Manuscript Editor for the Encyclopedia of Ukraine project at the University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Dr. Daria Markus is Program Administrator at the International Research Exchange Board in Kiev, Ukraine. Prior to this assignment, she taught in the School of Education at Loyola University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Dr. Vasyl Markus is Senior Professor in the Department of Political Science at Loyola University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. He is also Editor of the *Entsyklopediia Ukrainskoi Diiaspory* (Encyclopedia of the Ukrainian Diaspora) (forthcoming).

Dr. Wolodymyr Maruniak is Secretary Emeritus of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, Germany.

Dr. Serhij Naklowicz is President of the Ukrainian Central Relief Association of Austria, and Austrian representative to the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee. He lives in Vienna, Austria.

Wolodymyr Nota (pseudonym Volodymyr Kajda) was a writer and translator (Ukrainian, Ruthenian, and Croatian languages) living in Zagreb, Yugoslavia. He died prior to the publication of this work.

Viktoria Pavlenko is a researcher and Candidate in Historical Studies at the Institute of History, Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kiev, Ukraine.

Dr. Ann Lencyk Pawliczko, the demographer commissioned by the Ukrainian Center for Social Research, Inc., and the Shevchenko Scientific Society to edit *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World*, is a Population Affairs Officer in the Population Policy Section, Population Division, of the Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis at the United Nations, in New York.

Dr. Nestor Romanyk, currently retired, worked for the Ministry of Agriculture of Spain, specializing in forestry and ecology. He lives in Madrid, Spain.

Dr. Mykhailo Rubinec, former Chief Brazilian Representative for the Ukrainian National Republic, Government in Exile, is currently correspondent for *Holos Ukrainy* (Voice of Ukraine) and *Literaturna Ukraina* (Literary Ukraine) in Kiev. He lives in Curitiba, Paraná, Brazil.

Dr. Eugene Seneta is professor and head of the Department of Mathematical Statistics at the University of Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.

Dr. Myroslaw Truchan is an economist living in Munich, Germany.

Dr. Mykhailo Wasylyk teaches at the Pontifical Argentine Catholic University and at the Buenos Aires Branch of the Ukrainian Catholic University, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Dr. Oleh Wolowyna is Senior Population and Health Policy Specialist at the Center for International Development, Research Triangle Institute, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina.

Bohdan Zaluha, M.A., is Editor of *Skandynavski Visti* (Scandinavian News) and Chairman of the Ukrainian Community in Sweden. Currently retired, he was an Instructor of Special Education and an Inspector of the Handicapped in Jarfällä, Sweden.

Dr. Arkadii Zhukovsky is President of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Europe, in Sarcelles; President of the Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris; and Professor of Ukrainian Civilization at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, in Paris.

Explanatory Notes

1 As this manuscript goes to press, the government of Ukraine has not yet indicated its preference for a particular system of transliteration. Consequently, rather than adopting the Ukrainian-based phonetic spellings used by the U.S. Board on Geographical Names and the National Geographic Society as well as some Ukrainian newspapers, this work continues to use the modified Library of Congress transliteration, which was followed in V. Kubijovyc's *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vols. 1 and 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984, 1988). There are, however, a few exceptions worth noting:

a Names of the authors and contributors to this book are spelled the way the authors themselves spell them.

b Names and proper nouns found in the Sources Consulted sections are given as they appear in the original works.

c Where known to the editor, the English spellings of names adopted by persons living in English-speaking countries have been retained.

d Feminine given names ending in the Ukrainian letters *i* + *ia* are spelled with a single *i*, following universally accepted practice in the English-speaking world (for example, Maria, not Mariia; Lidia, not Lidiia; Sofia, not Sofiia).

e Where appropriate, names that appear in addresses are given in their local form (for example, in Spanish, Miguel rather than Mykhailo).

f The letter *y* rather than the letter *i* is used to transliterate the Ukrainian letter й not only in the initial position in a word, as is normally the case, but also in the final position in the genitive plural form of words ending in *i* + *ia*, such as *orhanizatsiia* (hence, *orhanizatsiy*, not *orhanizatsii*). This is done to differentiate the genitive plural from other forms, including the genitive, dative, and locative singular and the nominative, accusative, and vocative plural, all spelled *orhanizatsii*.

2 To provide the most recent available information as well as to ensure uniformity and comparability, all statistics in the Country Data sections were taken from "1993 Britannica World Data," found in the *1993 Britannica Book of the Year* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1993), or, where necessary, the earlier, 1991 and 1992, editions. The

information in "Britannica World Data" is derived from the most recent available documents, including national statistical abstracts, censuses of population, and national and international reports on vital statistics and social and economic indicators. Such statistical sources are supplemented by other types of national reference works, including gazetteers, atlases, constitutions, and monographs by domestic or foreign analysts. For a complete listing of the sources used for each country, the reader may consult the Bibliography and Sources section of the *1993 Britannica Book of the Year* (pages 894–6), and, for a description of terms, the Introduction and Glossary (pages 540 and 541–5, respectively).

All latitudes and longitudes are from *The Illustrated Encyclopedia and Atlas of the Earth* (New York: Exeter Books, a trademark of Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1984).

3 The sources for tables are largely informal, consisting most often of church and organization records, refugee and displaced-persons lists, and correspondence with religious and community leaders.

4 Every effort has been made to ensure that each article is as complete as possible, given the available information. The apparent imbalance in the length of the articles is attributable to several factors, including the unavailability of data for some (often larger) countries and their availability for other (often smaller) countries, and the degree of activity within the particular Ukrainian community – in short, some small Ukrainian communities are more active than their larger counterparts in other countries. Moreover, a conscious attempt was made to paint as complete a picture as possible of Ukrainian community life in each country; thus, information that might otherwise have been lost forever was included, regardless of the fact that it would make the length of the particular article, relative to other articles, disproportionate to the size of the Ukrainian community it represented.

5 Demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of Ukrainians in countries that have recently gained their independence, namely, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia, as well as present-day Yugoslavia, are not available by individual country. Information pertaining to Ukrainians in these countries is included in the sections "Ukrainians in the Former Republics of the USSR outside Ukraine" and "Ukrainians in the Former Yugoslavia."

6 The difficulty in obtaining accurate information on Ukrainian demographics cannot be overemphasized. Most countries do not gather statistics on the ethnic origin of their populations; those that do, usually collect data only for the larger minorities. Others gather information only on the country of birth or the country from which the migrants departed. Attempts to document the number of Ukrainians have typically resulted in undercounts, either because Ukraine was under foreign domination and was consequently not recognized as a separate nation or because Ukrainians fled their homeland by way of other countries. Thus, official statistics often identify Ukrainians as Russians, Poles, Austrians, or Germans. Some countries, including the former Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries, are known to have deliberately undercounted the Ukrainian population in their official statistics. In many instances, hostile conditions and discrimination forced Ukrainians to conceal their ethnic identity. Finally, many Ukrainians have

succumbed to the natural processes of assimilation, becoming indistinguishable from the local population.

7 As a result of the political changes that took place in Ukraine in the early 1990s, many émigré organizations have shifted their focus away from the quest for Ukrainian independence and, where necessary, have altered their official name to reflect the current state of affairs. For example, the Svitovyi Kongres Vilnykh Ukraintsiv (World Congress of Free Ukrainians) changed its name to Svitovyi Kongres Ukraintsiv (World Congress of Ukrainians) in November 1993 at its sixth congress, the first since Ukraine proclaimed its independence. Because such changes occurred after the manuscript went to press, they could not be incorporated into the text.

8 After careful consideration, it was decided that a very detailed table of contents would better serve both the researcher and the lay reader than a formal index. Since *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World* was conceived as a reference book on Ukraine and its diaspora, its format is not unlike that of an encyclopedic guide, arranged by country of settlement and by a standard set of categories pertaining to the description of Ukrainian communities.

Furthermore, because it is impossible to list every organization and every noteworthy individual in the larger Ukrainian communities (such as those in Canada, the United States, Argentina, and Brazil), whereas it is relatively easy to do so for smaller Ukrainian communities (such as those in Austria, Belgium, and Venezuela), an index of names and organizations would create a distorted impression. Such an index would be more complete for smaller Ukrainian communities than for larger ones, and it might lead readers to the erroneous conclusion that larger Ukrainian communities have a smaller number of notable Ukrainians than do smaller communities and that organizations found in smaller communities do not exist in the larger ones.

Acknowledgments

The editor wishes to express her sincere thanks to the authors and contributors of *Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World*. Their enthusiastic support and painstaking research made this important project a reality. The invaluable contribution they have made will serve as a legacy for future generations of Ukrainians everywhere.

Special thanks are due to Dr. Volodymyr Bandera, President of the Ukrainian Center for Social Research, who was the leading proponent of an English-language factbook on Ukrainian settlements throughout the world. His support and invaluable suggestions were much appreciated.

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1
Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World: An Overview

Ann Lencyk Pawliczko

Ukraine is located in the southeastern corner of Europe. A nation of more than fifty-two million people, it is bordered by Belarus on the north, by Russia on the north and east, by the Black Sea on the south, by Moldova and Romania on the southwest, and by Hungary, the Slovak Republic, and Poland on the west. The second-largest territory of any country in Europe, Ukraine encompasses 233,100 square miles (603,700 square kilometers). It lies between 44°20′ and 52°20′ north latitude and between 22°5′ and 40°15′ east longitude. The Ukrainian ethnic territory (land inhabited predominantly by Ukrainians) comprises approximately 289,000 square miles (748,705 square kilometers) and extends from 43°20′ and 53° north latitude to 20°30′ and 45° east longitude. In 1923, the Constitution of the USSR formally incorporated Ukraine into the Soviet Union, without ratification by its people, making it one of the "equal and sovereign" constituent republics of the USSR.[1] On August 24, 1991, Ukraine proclaimed its independence, which had been approved by more than 90 percent of the population in the much publicized referendum of December 1, 1991.[2]

The territory inhabited by the Ukrainian people has had various names throughout the centuries. The historic name Rus′ was used as early as the ninth century. Although there are many theories as to the origin of this ancient name, none has yet achieved dominance as undisputed fact.[3] Foreign names for medieval Ukraine included Ruthenia, Ros′, Rosi, Rusland, and Rosiia. The modern name "Ukraine" ("Ukraina" in Ukrainian) is currently the only name in use. It is of Slavic origin and, in Ukrainian, can mean (1) borderland, (2) minor territorial unit, or (3) country, land, or state. The oldest recorded example of the word *Ukraina* in the first context dates back to the mid-eleventh century, and from that time until about the mid-seventeenth century, the country was called "Ukraina," in the sense of "borderland." The name took on the third meaning of the word, referring to the entire Ukrainian national territory, as early as the sixteenth century, and was used in this sense by various hetmans of Ukraine, in folk songs and folklore, in the Cossack Chronicles, and on maps. It came into broader use after 1660, when the French engineer Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan published his well-known *Description d'Ukraine*, as well as a number of maps, edited between 1648 and 1660. De Beauplan's work was later translated into Latin, English, German, Polish, and Russian, introducing the name "Ukraine" into geographical and historical literature. The name came to be used in Italian, French, German, and English maps, although the maps and books did not adopt a consistent spelling: the country was variously referred to as *Ucraina, Ukraina, Ucrainia, Ukrainia, Ucrania, Ukrania, and L'Ukraine*. In the seventeenth century, "Ukraina" was used interchangeably with "Rus′"; occasionally, the

Map 1 Ukraine



Source: *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 3, ed. Danylo Husar Struk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 644.

country was referred to as "Rus'-Ukraina" or "Ukraina-Rus'." After the union of Ukraine with Muscovy in 1654, the tsarist government introduced the name "Mala Rosiia" (Little Russia) to designate Ukrainian lands. When Muscovy expanded into an empire, the ancient Ukrainian name "Rus'" began to be used to reinforce the historical affinity between Moscow and Kievan Rus' and to promote a concept of unity among all "Russians." The name "Ukraina," prohibited since it suggested a national distinctiveness, appeared only in folklore and popular literature. The Ukrainian territories under Austria – Bukovyna, Galicia, and Transcarpathia or Carpathian Rus' – were officially and popularly referred to by the Latinized version of Rus', "Ruthenia" ("Ruthenus" in Latin). After the Russian Revolution of 1917, the name "Ukraine" came into official use to designate most Ukrainian ethnographic lands. The proclamations of the Ukrainian National Republic (November 20, 1917, and January 22, 1918) officially confirmed the name "Ukraine" and the adjective "Ukrainian," for both internal and international use, to denote the country and its people, respectively.[4] From its incorporation into the Soviet Union until the proclamation of its independence in August 1991, Ukraine was referred to as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Today the country is officially known as Ukraine.

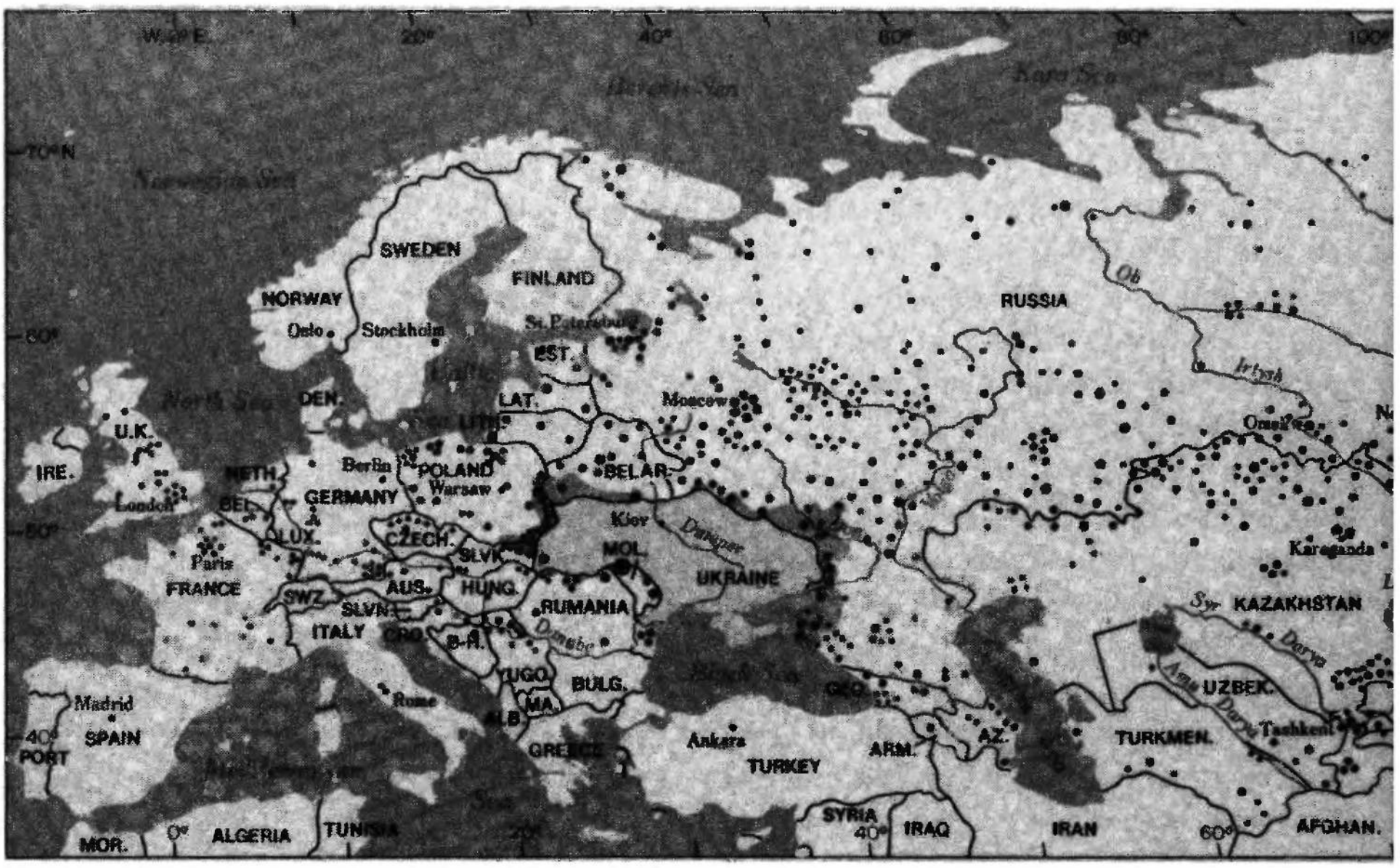
The Ukrainian People and Their Language

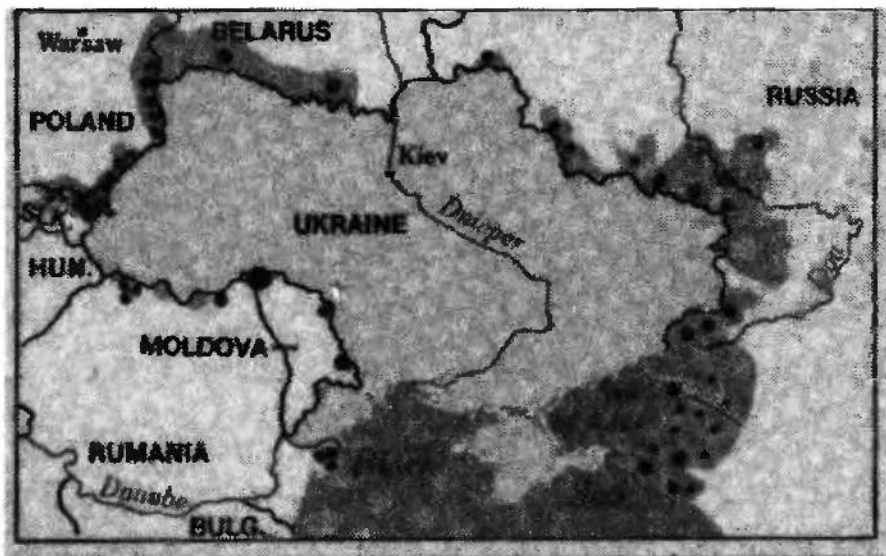
The Ukrainian people belong to the Slavic family of nations. They have their own separate and distinct language and literature, their own culture, and their own history, which spans well over a thousand years. The second-largest group among the Slavic peoples, the Ukrainians constitute a compact national, cultural, and political entity.

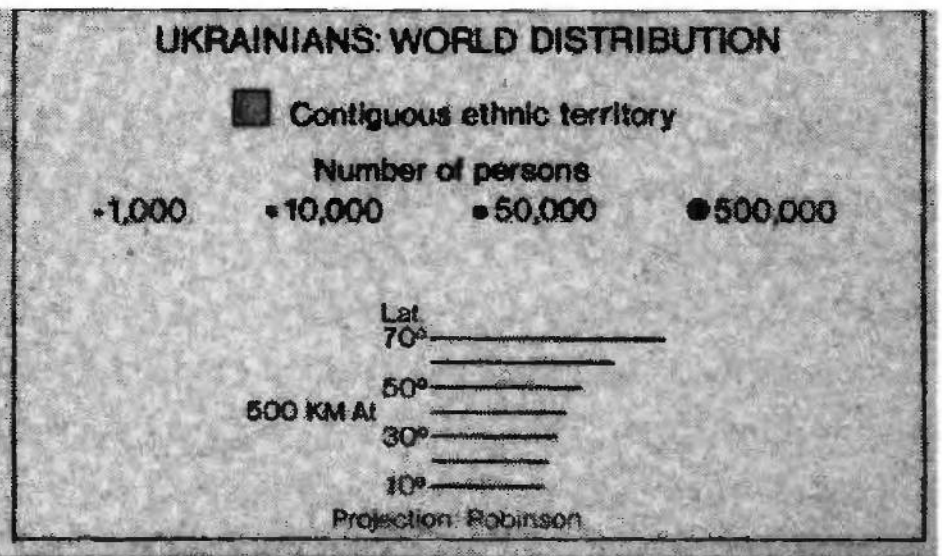
The earliest existing references to the inhabitants of the territory of present-day Ukraine date from the early part of the first millennium before Christ, but these are few and vague. It is known that the area had been inhabited for many centuries before the arrival of the Slavs. There are records of various tribes, among them the Cimmerians, the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Goths, and the Huns, who either lived in the territory or passed through it on their way to other areas. Over the years, the territory was invaded by Germanic, Celtic, and Asiatic tribes.[5]

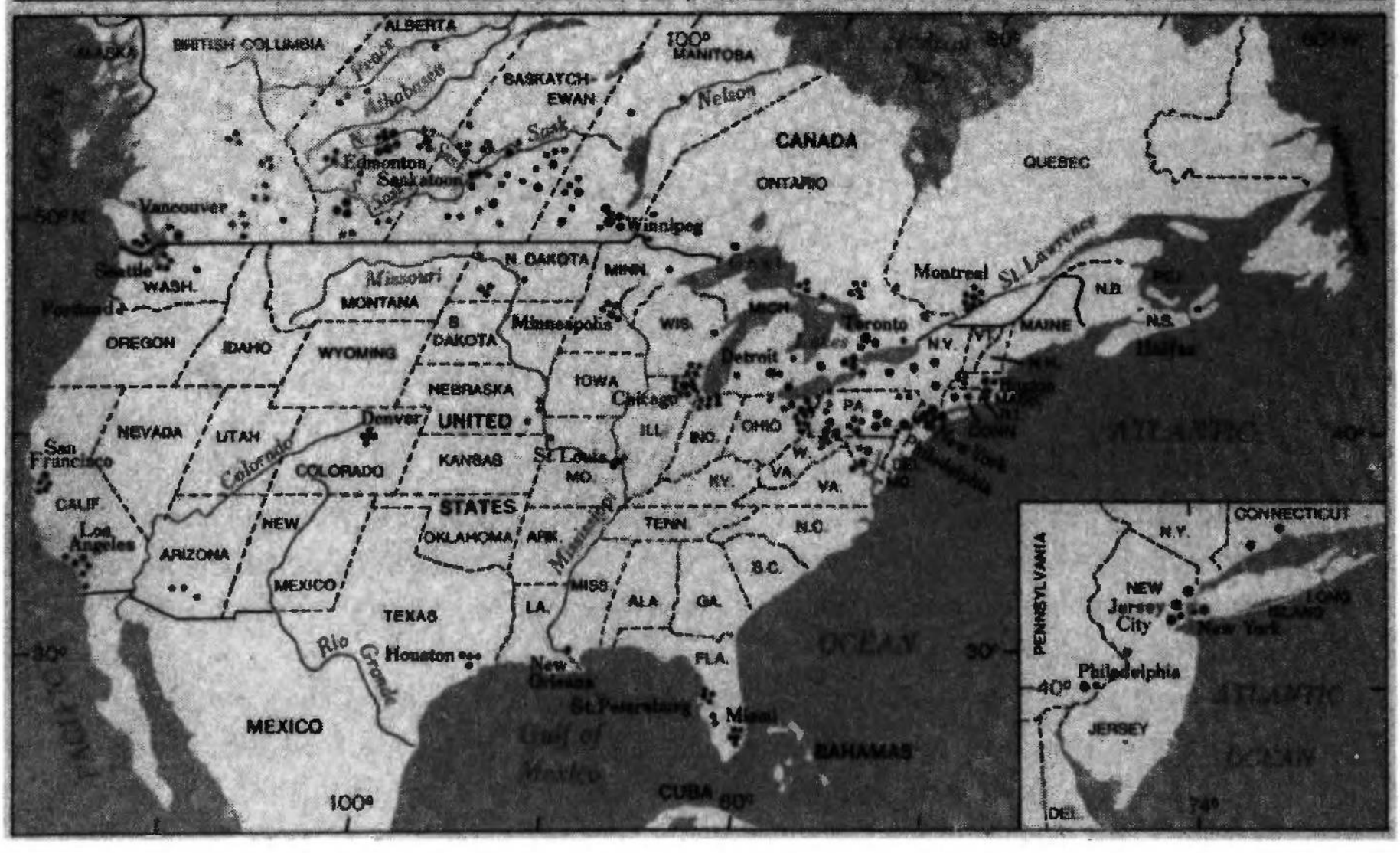
The direct ancestors of the Ukrainian people are the Slavs, an Indo-European population of Eastern Europe whose original homeland was the territory bounded by the middle Dnieper River, the Prypiat River, the Carpathian Mountains, and the Vistula River. With the passage of time, the Slavs dispersed over central, eastern, and southeastern Europe. Eventually there emerged three subgroups: those who migrated west became known as the Western Slavs, a group that includes the Czechs and the Poles; those who moved south became known as the Southern Slavs, including the Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenes; and those who migrated southeast and east became the Eastern Slavs, including the Ukrainians, the Russians, and the Belorussians. The Slavic settlers in these three general areas gradually developed distinct languages, distinct cultures, and distinct forms of economic activity.[6]

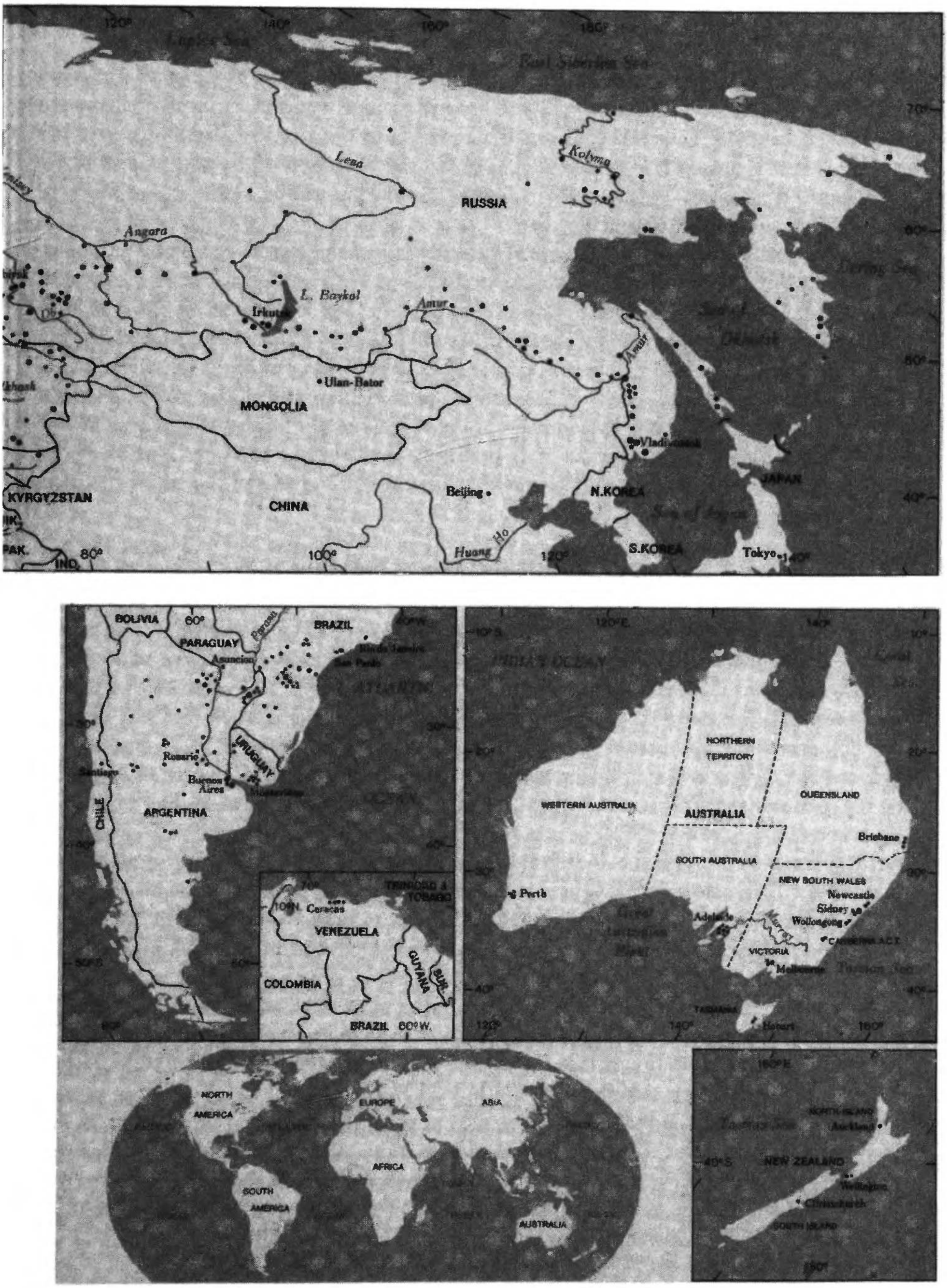
Ukrainians first appeared in history as the Antes, a Slavic group who pushed the Goths occupying the area farther and farther west and who, from the fourth to the sixth century B.C., were the masters of the steppe on the shores of the Black Sea, from the Dniester River to the Sea of Azov, as well as of the forest steppe farther north. The ancestors of the Ukrainians comprised separate tribes that exhibited no tendencies toward national unity. With the founding of towns and the development of trade connections,


W.20° E.
20°
40°
60°
80°
100°
70°N
Barents Sea
Kara Sea
Norwegian Sea
SWEDEN
FINLAND
NORWAY
Oslo
Stockholm
St.Petersburg
EST.
LAT.
LITH.
RUSSIA
Ob
Irtysh
Moscow
North Sea
DEN.
Baltic Sea
U.K.
IRE.
London
NETH.
BEL.
GERMANY
Berlin
POLAND
Warsaw
BELAR.
Kiev
Dnieper
Omsk
Karaganda
LUX.
CZECH.
SLVK.
MOL.
UKRAINE
Paris
FRANCE
SWZ.
AUS.
HUNG.
SLVN.
CRO.
B-H.
ITALY
RUMANIA
Danube
KAZAKHSTAN
Syr Darya
Aral Sea
Black Sea
TUGO.
BULG.
GEO.
Madrid
Rome
ALB.
MA.
UZBEK.
Tashkent
TURKMEN.
40°
SPAIN
PORT
GREECE
Ankara
TURKEY
ARM.
AZ.
Mediterranean Sea
SYRIA
IRAQ
IRAN
AFGHAN.
MOR.
0°
ALGERIA
TUNISIA
20°
40°
60°


Warsaw
BELARUS
POLAND
RUSSIA
Kiev
UKRAINE
Dnieper
SLK.
HUN.
MOLDOVA
RUMANIA
Danube
BULG.


UKRAINIANS: WORLD DISTRIBUTION
Contiguous ethnic territory
Number of persons
•1,000
•10,000
•50,000
●500,000
Lat.
70°
50°
500 KM At
30°
10°
Projection: Robinson


ALASKA
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
Peace
Athabasca
SASKATCHEWAN
100°
MANITOBA
Nelson
Saskatchewan
Edmonton
Saskatoon
CANADA
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
Vancouver
Winnipeg
50°N
Seattle
WASH.
Portland
N. DAKOTA
MINN.
Missouri
Montreal
St. Lawrence
MONTANA
S. DAKOTA
Minneapolis
WIS.
MICH.
Toronto
N.B.
MAINE
N.S.
OREGON
IDAHO
WYOMING
Detroit
N.Y.
VT.
NEBRASKA
IOWA
Chicago
PA.
NEVADA
UTAH
Denver
UNITED
ILL.
IND.
OHIO
San Francisco
Colorado
COLORADO
KANSAS
St.Louis
MO.
KY.
W. VA.
VA.
CALIF.
Los Angeles
NEW
STATES
TENN.
N.C.
ARIZONA
OKLAHOMA
ARK.
Mississippi
S.C.
MEXICO
MISS.
ALA.
GA.
LA.
TEXAS
Rio Grande
Houston
New Orleans
FLA.
St.Petersburg
Miami
BAHAMAS
Gulf of Mexico
CUBA
100°
80°
30°
CONNECTICUT
N.Y.
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW
Jersey City
New York
LONG ISLAND
Philadelphia
40°
JERSEY
DEL.
74°



Map 2 World distribution of Ukrainians

Source: Prepared by Ihor Stebelsky, in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 5, ed. Danylo Husar Struk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), following p. 460.

however, the tribes became more closely involved, making possible the formation of a state. The process of unification of the Ukrainian tribes, which was completed toward the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, was facilitated by their having shared a common religion and a common culture based on Byzantine and Slavic influences, as well as by the solidarity that developed among them in response to political pressures from outside groups.[7]

The central and southeastern areas of present-day Ukraine were settled by a population that was basically of one ethnographic complex, with some variations in physical appearance, dialect, and material culture. The present-day inhabitants of the northern and western lands of Ukraine, by contrast, have maintained a considerable degree of the diversity that characterized their ancestral tribes, carefully preserving the ancient folk cultures in their customs, rites, arts and crafts, architecture, and clothing. Major ethnic groups in Western Ukraine include the Boiky, the Hutsuly, and the Lemky, each of which has faithfully preserved its rich traditions and ancient folklore. Northwestern groups include the Dolyniany, Opoliany, Podoliany, and Volyniany. Northern Ukrainian ethnic groups include the Podlashany and Polesiany.[8]

Ukrainian Population Distribution

Today there are an estimated 58 million Ukrainians in the world. According to the most recent census data, 37,419,000 reside in the homeland; the remainder are scattered in various countries throughout the world. Given the problem of undercounting, which is known to exist in many countries, especially in the former USSR and Eastern Europe, the accurate total number of Ukrainians in the world might well be as high as 60 million. The task of gathering such population data is beset with problems. Most countries do not gather data on the ethnic origin of their populations, and those that do usually collect statistics only for the larger minorities. Others gather information on country of birth or country of origin of immigrants. That practice always resulted in undercounts in the case of Ukrainians, because their homeland was often under foreign occupation and was not always recognized as a separate nation or because they had fled Ukraine by way of other countries (notably Germany and Austria). Consequently, Ukrainians were often recorded as Poles, Germans, Austrians, Russians, or other nationalities. Various governments, especially those of the former USSR and the former Eastern Bloc countries, purposely undercounted the number of Ukrainians to undermine their potential force as an ethnic group. In many of these countries, hostile conditions and discrimination forced many Ukrainians to conceal their ethnic identity. Finally, the assimilation process has also taken its toll: many Ukrainians have intermarried, changed their surnames, and become indistinguishable from the local population. Thus, official statistics of the Ukrainian population throughout the world are necessarily underestimated, and it is safe to assume that the total number of Ukrainians may be as high as 60 million. Table 1 provides estimates of the distribution of Ukrainians throughout the world.

Emigration from the Homeland

Historical circumstances in the homeland have caused the Ukrainian people to migrate to all corners of the earth in search of political and religious freedom as well as economic well-being. Today, as a result, one can find Ukrainians scattered throughout the globe. Although the majority of the Ukrainian population is still found in Ukraine and a

Table 1 Ukrainian population distribution

Ukraine	37,419,000
Republics of the former Soviet Union	
Armenia	8,341
Azerbaijan	32,345
Belarus	291,008 –1,000,000 [a]
Estonia	48,271
Georgia	52,443
Kazakhstan	896,240 –4,000,000 [a]
Kyrgyzstan	108,027 –300,000 [a]
Latvia	92,101
Lithuania	44,789
Moldova	600,366 –800,000
Russia	4,362,872 –8,600,000 [b]
Tajikistan	41,375
Turkmenistan	35,578
Uzbekistan	153,197
Eastern Europe	
Bulgaria	1,000
Czech and Slovak Republics	150,000 –200,000
Hungary	11,000
Poland	250,000 –500,000
Romania	150,000 –300,000
Western Europe	
Austria	4,200
Belgium	2,332
Denmark	100
Finland	50 –100
France	25,000 –30,000
Germany	20,032
Italy and the Vatican	250
Luxembourg	100
Netherlands	80 –100
Norway	50 –100
Spain	140 –150
Sweden	2,000
Switzerland	100
United Kingdom and Ireland	20,000 –35,000
Republics of former Yugoslavia	45,000
North America	
Canada	963,310 –1,000,000
United States	730,056 –1,300,000
Central America	25 –50
South America	
Argentina	220,000
Brazil	350,000
Paraguay	5,000 –8,000
Uruguay	4,000 –5,000
Venezuela	800 –1,300
Other South American Countries	100 –200
Australia and Oceania	
Australia	30,000
New Zealand	200 –300

Table 1 Ukrainian population distribution (continued)

Africa, Asia, and the Middle East	
Former Soviet Far East	2,000,000

- In Asia, Ukrainians are found in large numbers in the former Soviet territories. In the maritime provinces of the Far East, they are believed to constitute perhaps as much as one-third of the more than six million inhabitants of the Khabarovsk and Primore territories and the Amur, Sakhalin, Kamchatka, and Magadan oblasts.
- Statistics are not available for other areas of Asia or for Africa or the Middle East; the majority of Ukrainians residing in these areas are believed to be businesspersons, professors, members of the armed forces, and other professionals on assignment from other countries or students attending schools. Their numbers are not known since most do not remain long enough to establish permanent communities; rather, they return to their own countries upon completion of their assignment or studies. It is believed that there are few Ukrainians residing permanently in the countries of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East.

Estimated Total Number of Ukrainians	58,693,854[c]

Source: Data are based on statistics submitted by authors of individual articles. While some data are taken from country censuses and surveys, most are estimates from various sources, including church and organization records.

Note: It is extremely difficult to obtain an accurate count of Ukrainians throughout the world. Most countries do not gather data on the ethnic origin of their populations, and those that do usually collect statistics only for the larger minorities. Others gather information on country of birth or country of origin of immigrants, a practice that, in the case of Ukrainians, always resulted in undercounts, because their country was often occupied by foreign powers or because they had fled their homeland by way of other countries. Ukrainians were consequently often recorded as Poles, Germans, Austrians, Russians, or other nationalities. Various governments, especially those of the former USSR and the former Eastern Bloc countries, purposely undercounted the number of Ukrainians to undermine their potential force as an ethnic group. In many of these countries, hostile conditions and discrimination forced many Ukrainians to conceal their ethnic identity. Finally, assimilation has also taken its toll: many Ukrainians have intermarried, changed their surnames, and become indistinguishable from the local population. Thus, the official statistics of the Ukrainian population are necessarily underestimated. For this reason, there is often no single statistic, but a range (as indicated in the table), the lower figure indicating the official statistic or what is commonly believed to be the number of Ukrainians, and the higher figure indicating what is most likely the more accurate number of Ukrainians, taking into account such factors as undercounts, known migration processes, presence of Ukrainian organizations, and traces of Ukrainian culture and language.

[a] The official 1989 census statistic for this republic (the first number given) is known to have been vastly underestimated.

[b] We know that the official 1989 census statistic is vastly underestimated because, in some regions, Ukrainians were not allowed to be registered as Ukrainian; they were arbitrarily listed as Russian. For example, it is believed that as many as 4.2 million people living in the Krasnodar Territory of Russia (known as the Kuban region among Ukrainians) are of Ukrainian origin.

[c] This number is based on the upper limits of the range, which more accurately reflect the actual number of Ukrainians and which, in some cases, are still probably underestimated.

sizable number live in the countries of the former Eastern Bloc, hundreds of thousands have migrated to Europe, the Americas, and Australia and, in smaller numbers, to Africa and Asia. Today, they and their descendants – second-, third-, and fourth-generation Ukrainians – are settled in their present homelands and have assimilated to varying degrees. Hard-working and resourceful, they have become successful in various professions, trades, businesses, and other lines of work. Some have chosen to participate actively in the economic, political, professional, and social life of the country in which

they reside, many achieving important positions not only in the Ukrainian community but within the larger society as well. Others have opted to limit their contacts primarily to members of their own ethnic group. Regardless of the degree of their participation, most Ukrainians have chosen to become citizens of the countries in which they live, following events that occur in the homeland as closely as those that take place around them.

Assimilation and Integration

Ukrainians who found themselves strangers in new lands had no choice but to restart their lives in completely new surroundings. Their task was not made easier by their unfamiliarity with the local language and by their lack of financial means and of the skills needed for employment in local agriculture and industry. The majority of professionals, many of whose European certifications went unrecognized, as well as many educated skilled workers, experienced downward mobility as they entered the labor force at the lowest levels, accepting whatever jobs they could find in order to secure a living for themselves and their families. Thus, it was not uncommon to find newly arrived immigrant physicians cleaning hospital floors, lawyers working on assembly lines, and professors employed as gardeners. Many were surrounded by unsympathetic or even hostile people, who did not welcome these "foreigners," or "DPs" (displaced persons). One account of the first Ukrainian immigrants in America states that Ukrainians, like many Eastern Europeans, were regarded with suspicion; many were forced to sleep outdoors upon arrival in the United States because people were afraid to give shelter to such curious strangers.[9]

Most Ukrainian immigrants soon came into contact with other nationalities, languages, and customs. This was not a new phenomenon for the Ukrainians as a nation, since at various times throughout history their homeland had been under foreign domination, including, in more modern times, that of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires and of the Polish and the Soviet governments. Nonetheless, the experience was new in that it was now the Ukrainians who had left the security of familiar surroundings and ventured to carve out a new and better life.

Like all other immigrant groups, Ukrainians were faced with the problems that accompany contact with different ethnic groups, and the reality of assimilation – the process of achieving a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence on the part of peoples of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages occupying a common territory. Immigrants are usually considered assimilated as soon as they have acquired the language and social ritual of the native community and can participate and function in the host community without encountering prejudice or discrimination. Thus, when people are able to find a place in the community on the basis of their individual merits, without qualifying reference to their origin or cultural inheritance, they are assimilated.[10]

An analysis of the assimilation process points to the fact that assimilation is a matter of degree and that it may progress differently for different ethnic groups and for different generations within a single ethnic group. Moreover, there are different stages of assimilation to consider. The most elementary is acculturation or cultural assimilation, which involves a shift in cultural patterns to adapt to those of the host society – for example, learning the language of the host society, adopting the host society's customs associated with holiday celebrations, and incorporating elements of the local cuisine into

the native culinary repertoire. This stage of assimilation is perceived by most immigrant groups as the least threatening. It is when the new culture is substituted for the native culture, which is subsequently entirely forgotten, that members of the ethnic group (especially older members) feel threatened. Cultural assimilation is typically the first stage of assimilation that an immigrant group experiences on arriving in a new country; the process of acquiring the local language and learning new behavior patterns often occurs despite attempts by the immigrant group to confine its members to its own group and to limit extensive primary contacts with the host society. This is true even if the immigrant group experiences prejudice and discrimination. Furthermore, cultural assimilation may take place without threat of further assimilation; an immigrant group may experience cultural assimilation indefinitely and never progress to the subsequent stages.[11]

The process of cultural assimilation is usually experienced to some degree by the immigrant generation itself, but its full impact is felt among the second and succeeding generations, which are born in the host society and exposed to the local schools. In those generations, the language of the host society is not only usually spoken as the native tongue, but, to the dismay of many immigrant parents and grandparents, often considered native. In many cases, children of immigrants refuse to speak their ancestral language not only among themselves and their friends of the same ethnic background, but also at home with their parents. Often, parents who want their children to learn the native language must send them to special supplementary classes, on Saturdays or after school, where youngsters are taught their parents' native tongue as they would be taught a foreign language. Behavioral customs are also usually acquired in the second and succeeding generations, which are brought up in the new environment and pick up cultural traits from friends, neighbors, classmates, and the media. Second-generation youngsters often refuse to adhere to old-world (and what they consider old-fashioned) traditions, behaviors, and customs. Although some members of the second generation remain interested in their parents' ethnic background, especially as they grow older, many do not consider passing on their cultural heritage – language, customs, traditions – a priority. At times it is the third or fourth generation that seems to show more interest in its roots than the second, which, in its eagerness to be accepted into the host society, tries to sever ties with its ethnic group. Such behavior often stems from an inferiority complex (especially if immigrant parents come from a lower socioeconomic stratum) or simply from a sense of being "different."

It is useful to distinguish between intrinsic cultural traits, such as religious beliefs and practices, ethical values, historical language, literature, musical tastes, folk recreational patterns, and the sense of a common past, and extrinsic cultural traits, such as dress, manner, patterns of emotional expression, and minor oddities in pronouncing and inflecting the language of the host society. The former are essential ingredients of a group's cultural heritage, whereas the latter are not: they are usually products of the historical vicissitudes of a group's adjustment to its local environment and reflect social-class experiences and values. It is therefore much less threatening to the survival of an ethnic group when its members assimilate or modify extrinsic rather than intrinsic cultural traits.[12]

Once cultural assimilation has taken place, the immigrant group, or, more accurately, its descendants, may begin to experience structural assimilation, that is, the large-scale entry of its members into the cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society on a primary group level. This is considered a key stage of assimilation, because an immi-

grant group's participation in the host society at the primary level inevitably brings about a considerable increase in the occurrence of intermarriage. Large-scale intermarriage, also known as amalgamation or marital assimilation, may signal the beginning of the disappearance of an ethnic group as a separate entity with its own distinct values and culture. Then, identificational assimilation, or the development of a sense of "peoplehood" based exclusively on the host society, will occur, as members of the ethnic group are no longer considered "ethnic" but are viewed as members of the host society. Once identificational assimilation occurs, one can assume the absence of prejudice and discrimination as well as of value and power conflict, since the descendants of the original ethnic group will eventually become indistinguishable from the host society.[13]

Most ethnic community and religious leaders are well aware of the potential obstacles to the preservation of their ethnic identity. They know that when the children of their group play with children of different ethnic backgrounds, when the adolescents belong to cliques and clubs with other adolescents, and when the young people go to college, where they mingle and socialize with young people of different backgrounds, it is inevitable that many of their members will choose marriage partners outside their own ethnic group. This is why community leaders who desire to maintain their group's ethnic identity take it upon themselves to organize activities, clubs, and communal institutions for their children and youth – measures that might help to keep their members' primary relationships within the ethnic fold.

In his study of assimilation in American life, sociologist Milton Gordon analyzed three different theoretical models of immigrant adjustment to the host society.[14] Although his three theories of assimilation – Anglo-conformity, the melting pot theory, and cultural pluralism – were designed to describe the American scene, they can readily be applied to the experience of immigrant groups anywhere. The term *Anglo-conformity* refers to the complete renunciation of an immigrant's ancestral culture in favor of the values of the Anglo-Saxon core group. The term can be adapted to the particular country and core group in question; for example, *Franco-conformity* applies to the same phenomenon in France, *Argentino-conformity* to that in Argentina. Accoding to the melting pot theory, the various ethnic groups and their cultures were mixed together in the "American pot" and melted by the fires of American influence and interaction into a distinctly new type, a totally new culture. The theory, which accurately typifies the goal of assimilation to which some Americans aspired in the past, is appropriate specifically to the American experience, one that involves large numbers of immigrants from many different backgrounds; it is not as well suited to the description of immigrant assimilation in countries that do not share that experience. The term *cultural pluralism* refers to the preservation of an ethnic group's communal life and of a significant portion of its culture within the context of American citizenship and political and economic integration into American society. This theory can readily be applied to the immigrant experience in other countries.

Anglo (or other)-conformity, or the belief that ethnic-group identity is not compatible with being a complete American (or other national), and the melting pot theory, which holds that all groups melt together and are transformed into a totally new blend, both suggest the disappearance of immigrant-group identity and its absorption into the host culture. As such, they are not consistent with reality or with the desires and goals of many ethnic groups. Cultural pluralism, by contrast, is sympathetic to the native cultural heritage and ethnic institutions. It appreciates the immigrant's cultural heritage and its usefulness to both the individual and his or her new country.

Cultural pluralism became a fact in society before it became a theory, as attempts to "melt" the immigrant failed. The "unmeltable ethnics" have survived and their ethnic identities can be distinguished, though in varying degree. In some cases, ethnic groups or individual members of particular ethnic groups have limited their interaction with other groups and individuals to purely secondary relationships, most often in the work force. To the extent that their efforts have been successful, some have raised children who have subsequently married within their own ethnic group and who today raise their own families in an ethnic enclave within the context of citizenship and economic and political integration in the host society.

Establishment of Ukrainian Communities throughout the World

Ukrainians as a nation have always considered the maintenance of their ethnic identity to be of extreme importance. Even in their own homeland, they fought hard to preserve their native language, religious beliefs, and customs and traditions, which were constantly being threatened by foreign domination.

As they emigrated to other countries, Ukrainians continued to preserve their ethnic identity, in most cases settling together as a group and establishing communities, churches, schools, and organizations as soon as they were financially able to do so. The existence of Ukrainian churches, organizations, schools and press in places as remote from their homeland as the Far East, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, and the United States attests to this fact. Time and again, the authors in this book underscore the fact that upon arriving in their new countries, Ukrainians immediately began to establish churches and organizations. In this way, they tried to ensure that their religion and culture would be kept alive. The Ukrainian church played a very significant role in the preservation of ethnic identity, for the parish was not only the center of faith and spiritual life but of community life as well. In the first few years of settlement, Ukrainian priests were instrumental not only in providing moral support during difficult times, but also, and more important, in helping to preserve the Ukrainian language, culture, and customs. The social and cultural life of Ukrainians was concentrated around the church.

The Former USSR and Eastern Europe

The Former Republics of the USSR outside Ukraine

For decades, conditions in the USSR precluded large-scale cultural development among the Ukrainian population residing outside Ukraine. Although Russification, the deletion of Ukrainians from census figures (and their subsequent classification as "Russians"), and the lack of official support for the Ukrainian language and culture made it extremely difficult to preserve the native language and customs, Ukrainians in various parts of the USSR nevertheless managed to do so to some degree. Ukrainian Clubs, branches of Prosvita (Enlightenment Society), drama troupes, and periodicals all give testimony to the activities of Ukrainians who resided outside of the homeland in countries that were part of the former USSR.

The Former Eastern Bloc Countries

Ukrainians in the former Eastern Bloc, especially in Poland and Romania, found it extremely difficult to establish active communities with churches, schools, and organi-

zations because of the anti-Ukrainian atmosphere that prevailed in those countries for many decades, together with the policies of the Communist regime against the practice of religion, the use of the native language, the establishment of native-language schools, and any display of Ukrainian patriotism. Such factors severely limited the development of Ukrainian communities in these countries. In some areas, Ukrainians were afraid to admit their national origin and to speak in their native tongue. Fearing retribution by the state, many parents failed to instill their Ukrainian heritage in their children. Nevertheless, many Ukrainians carved out a Ukrainian existence for themselves and their communities as best as they could.

The Former Czechoslovakia

Ukrainians in the former Czechoslovakia enjoyed relative freedom and were active in the country's cultural, political, and professional spheres, exerting considerable influence over their own lives as members of a Ukrainian ethnic minority after the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1919 and the subsequent incorporation of Transcarpathian Ukraine into the new state. After the disintegration of the Republic in 1939, however, the Ukrainian minority in the Prešov area (known as "Priashiv" in Ukrainian) came under strong pressure from Slovak nationalist policies, which tolerated only a limited cultural life for ethnic minorities. After 1945, the importance of Ukrainians in the restored Czechoslovak state was greatly diminished, since the major portion of the Ukrainian ethnic territory – Transcarpathian Ukraine – had been ceded to the USSR in June 1945. The Ukrainian People's Council of the Prešov area, established in 1945 and dissolved by the government in 1951, spoke for the Ukrainian minority in Czechoslovakia but was unable to secure constitutionally guaranteed cultural rights and an autonomous status for it. The Council founded the Ukrainian Board of Education, enabling Ukrainians to establish elementary and secondary schools and colleges. The Ukrainian community in Czechoslovakia was also able to organize theater, vocal, and dance ensembles as well as Ukrainian publishing, including newspapers and periodicals, and radio broadcasts.

Hungary

Ukrainians in Hungary were under pressure to assimilate and were completely isolated from their countrymen in Czechoslovak-ruled Transcarpathian Ukraine. The Magyarization of the Ukrainian Byzantine Catholic Church and the introduction of Hungarian in the liturgy further accelerated the process of assimilation, resulting in the almost total assimilation of Ukrainians in Hungary.

Poland

Despite the prevailing anti-Ukrainian atmosphere, several institutions were able to function in Poland, for example, the Literary–Artistic Association and the Ukrainian Social–Cultural Society as well as a Ukrainian-language weekly, vocal and other musical ensembles, drama groups, choirs, publications, and radio broadcasts.

Romania

Ukrainians in Romania experienced greater difficulties: The Ukrainian Catholic Church there was liquidated and absorbed, along with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, into the Romanian Orthodox Church; a network of Ukrainian schools was liquidated; Ukrainians

who spoke their native language were harassed; publications and the press were controlled by the government; and no significant Ukrainian organization, institution, library, or museum existed in Romania.

Western Europe

Austria

Even while they were still in temporary DP (displaced persons) camps, Ukrainians began to establish organized community life. As home to the overwhelming majority of Ukrainian refugees, Austria and Germany became centers of Ukrainian cultural and political activity during the post–Second World War era. Ukrainians in Austria established charitable committees, cultural–educational organizations, and schools for refugees in the DP camps. Vienna became the home of the oldest Ukrainian Catholic parish outside the homeland. Ukrainian *hromady* (communities), a Ukrainian supplementary Saturday school, and a central Ukrainian student organization were also established. Ukrainians in Austria founded the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, an association whose work included publishing, organizing cultural and educational activities for Ukrainian prisoners of war interned in Austria and Germany, and establishing Ukrainian schools and communities.

Belgium

Ukrainians in Belgium were a small, but organized, group. Many belonged to the orgaization Circle of Neutral Ruthenians. The community established several Catholic and Orthodox parishes throughout the country, and also boasted a student organization and home, the Ukrainian Centre of Studies, a Ukrainian supplementary Saturday school, a Ukrainian publishing house, and several publications. A traveling library, the only one of its kind in Western Europe, was organized to give Ukrainians in Belgium as well as in eastern and northern France and northern Germany access to Ukrainian books, textbooks, records, maps, charts, paintings, and leaflets.

France

In France, Ukrainians attempted to preserve their native heritage by settling together and establishing vibrant communities. As early as 1908, they organized themselves into the Circle of Ukrainians in Paris. Catholic and Orthodox parishes were established, as were choirs, artistic ensembles, and various community and émigré organizations. France became home to the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Europe, a center of Ukrainian scholarship, and to the Symon Petliura Library, which housed archival and museum materials. The community developed Ukrainian language courses and schools, as well as a university-level Ukrainian studies program at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales and the Slavic Studies division of the University of Paris. Periodicals, newspapers, and informative brochures were published in both Ukrainian and French.

Germany

In Germany, the establishment of a private Ukrainian school system, scientific and technological institutes, a school of economics, Catholic and Orthodox theological seminaries, the Ukrainian Free University, and the prestigious Shevchenko Scientific Society and Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences points to the richness and dynamism of Ukrainian

scholarly life in the country. In addition to establishing Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches, Ukrainians in Germany founded professional and political organizations (among the latter, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine); student, youth, women's, and scholarly organizations; and choirs, dance and dramatic ensembles, and orchestras. Eight Ukrainian publishing houses in Berlin after the First World War saw to the publication of Ukrainian periodicals and books.

Italy and the Vatican

In Italy and the Vatican, Ukrainians established the General Curia of the Basilian Fathers, the Saint Theodore Studite Monastery, the General Curia of the Basilian Sisters, the Generalate of the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate, the Ukrainian Catholic University of Pope Saint Clement, a minor seminary (or high school), a college, and a parish church. Many Ukrainian Catholic organizations are headquartered in or near Rome. Saint Sophia's Church serves as a destination of pilgrimages and a center for gatherings of Ukrainian Catholics from around the world.

Scandinavia

Ukrainians who settled in the Scandinavian countries also founded social service organizations for refugees and prisoners of war and established small but active communities. In Finland, they founded the Committee to Aid Ukrainian Prisoners of War and the Ukrainian Information Bureau and printed Ukrainian books and other publications. In Sweden, home of the largest Ukrainian community in Scandinavia, they established Ukrainian *hromady*, which, among other activities, assisted Ukrainian refugees in displaced persons camps, and the Ukrainian Information Bureau, which aided Ukrainian prisoners of war. Ukrainians in Sweden also organized the Ukrainian Press Bureau, published several important books, and established the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine.

Switzerland

Ukrainians in Switzerland established social service organizations to aid refugees and prisoners of war. Switzerland was home of the Ukrainian Red Cross, the Ukrainian Bureau, and a Ukrainian club.

United Kingdom

Ukrainians in Great Britain organized Catholic and Orthodox parishes, nursery schools, Ukrainian supplementary Saturday schools, summer camps, and a Ukrainian students' union. They also founded social, community, religious, professional, youth, and women's organizations.

The Former Yugoslavia

Conditions in Yugoslavia were favorable for the development of Ukrainian communities and the preservation of the native culture. Many Ukrainian settlers in rural areas built typical Ukrainian homes and agricultural buildings. They established churches; monasteries; schools; cultural–educational associations, including Prosvita, in villages and cities with large concentrations of Ukrainians; Homes of Culture; reading rooms; Ukrainian language courses; credit unions; choirs; an orchestra; and religious and agricultural organizations. Ukrainian language textbooks were also published.

North America

Canada

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the first Ukrainian immigrants in Canada established themselves in the Prairie provinces, where their compact settlements were recognizable by the distinctive shapes of their farm buildings and stylized churches. As in most Ukrainian communities, the church played an important role not only in the life of Ukrainian immigrants, but in the preservation of their language, culture, and national identity. It became the natural center from which the majority of Ukrainian social and cultural institutions developed. Besides the churches, among the first Ukrainian establishments to emerge in Canada were branches of Prosvita, for the advancement of culture and education, as well as community centers. Various organizations, including cultural–educational, political, professional, self-reliance, social, veterans', women's, and youth associations, were also established. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee was founded in 1940 as the central representative body of Ukrainian organizations. Private Ukrainian schools were established under the auspices of the Ukrainian churches (both Catholic and Orthodox) and of various organizations. The schools included supplementary schools as well as all-day Ukrainian elementary and secondary schools; in later years, Ukrainian language, literature, and history came to be included among the subjects taught at Canadian universities. Adult education was provided by cultural and educational organizations as well as church groups. Ukrainian libraries, archives, and museums were also established. The Ukrainian press in Canada made its debut in 1903 with the publication of the *Kanadiiskyi Farmer* (The Canadian Farmer), which was followed, over the years, by various newspapers and periodicals of national and local interest. Ukrainian-language radio programs featured Ukrainian music, news, advertising, and religious broadcasts. Many Ukrainian artists made their home in Canada, contributing to both the preservation and the development of Ukrainian art, music, dance, and theater. Ukrainian immigrants in Canada became actively involved in the political life of the country: in 1908, I. Storosczuk became the first Ukrainian to lead a local government, in the municipality of Stuartburn, Manitoba. Many Ukrainians have since held various government positions at the local and national levels, including that of mayor, senator, and, most recently, governor general (the post is currently held by Ramon Hnatyshyn).

United States

Ukrainians in the United States settled predominantly in urban areas and established their own communities, which centered around their churches. In the early years of immigrant life, the churches served as social and cultural centers, and the clergymen, as leaders. As the predominant factor in the life of Ukrainian immigrants in the United States, the church and the parish organization helped establish their group identity.

Among the first organizations to be founded were the fraternal benefit associations; others that followed included civic, cultural, educational, political, professional, social, veterans', women's, and youth associations. Along with organizing religious life and establishing various associations, Ukrainian immigrants in the United States turned their attention to education, establishing supplementary Ukrainian-language schools, an educational fund, educational committees, a school board, and all-day Ukrainian schools at the elementary, secondary, and college levels. Prosvita reading rooms, libraries, and education courses served the needs of adult immigrants. Many Ukrainians established independent enterprises; Ukrainian credit unions and savings and loan associations

began to serve the communities. Ukrainian newspapers, journals and books informed Ukrainian readers about events not only in the United States and the world, but also in the homeland. Radio broadcasts featured Ukrainian music and news; church-sponsored programs included religious broadcasts. Ukrainian artists, sculptors, musicians, and professionals in various fields cultivated the fine arts, architecture, folk art, music, dance, theater, and film, organizing choirs and dance and theatrical ensembles. Museums, archives, and libraries served as depositories of Ukrainian books and artifacts.

South America

Argentina

In South America, the largest settlements of Ukrainians were found in Argentina and Brazil. In Argentina, many of the immigrants settled in agricultural areas, migrating to places that promised good and inexpensive land. They brought with them various farming implements and planted familiar crops. In some areas, Ukrainian farms often resembled those of the region of Ukraine from which the majority of settlers emigrated. Ukrainians often found it necessary to work at jobs for which they had no prior training; in some sparsely populated areas where it was impossible to find skilled workers who knew how to manufacture the necessary agricultural implements, Ukrainians were forced to make and repair their own tools. Typical of many newly arrived immigrants, Ukrainians settled in groups and immediately began to establish their own communities, including cultural, educational, political, professional, religious, women's, and youth organizations; churches; Ukrainian supplementary Saturday schools and Ukrainian all-day elementary and secondary schools; choirs and dance ensembles; a professional theater; publishing houses; and a Ukrainian press and radio programs. After learning the Spanish language, many Ukrainians opened their own businesses and service firms. Many professionals, not allowed to practice in their field unless they retook examinations for all grades starting from the final year of elementary school, were forced to accept lower-level jobs. Unlike most Ukrainian immigrants in the diaspora, Ukrainians in Argentina participated in local politics, especially in areas with larger concentrations of Ukrainians.

Brazil

In Brazil, Ukrainians also settled on the land in large numbers, cultivating old-world crops. They quickly established their churches and organizations, and opened a diocesan minor seminary and a novitiate for women. They preserved traditions and customs associated with weddings, christenings, and Christmas and Easter, which they had brought from various regions of Ukraine. Moreover, Ukrainians in rural areas kept alive the Ukrainian custom of holding a festival on the feast-day of the patron saint of the parish, a practice not unlike the one observed by local religious custom. Many Ukrainians became elected officials, such as village elders, mayors, and leaders of local departments in areas with large concentrations of Ukrainians.

Paraguay

Ukrainians in Paraguay organized churches, several branches of Prosvita, community centers, reading rooms, libraries, Ukrainian-language courses, a youth organization, and the Ukrainian Relief Committee.

Uruguay

In Uruguay, Ukrainians also established churches and social and political organizations, including the Committee to Assist the Ukrainian National Council and the Committee for the Struggle against Communism.

Venezuela

In Venezuela, Ukrainian settlers also began to organize social, cultural, educational, and political activity upon their arrival, establishing societies, organizations, committees, and charitable institutions and founding the Ukrainian Hromada (Ukrainian Community) as an umbrella association. They established parishes, brotherhoods and sisterhoods, community centers, a kindergarten, Ukrainian supplementary Saturday schools, a choir, a dance ensemble and drama group, and radio programs. Not forgetting their compatriots in need, they sent aid to those left behind in displaced-persons camps in Europe and helped the invalid and the sick. In time, Ukrainians in Venezuela also began to open various business enterprises of their own.

Remainder of South America

Elsewhere in South America, Ukrainians also began to organize themselves into communities upon settlement. Among the institutions established by Ukrainians in Chile were a Ukrainian church, a Ukrainian *hromada*, a choir, and an active women's group. In Mexico, even though the Ukrainian community considered its stay in the country temporary, it nevertheless organized the Society of the Ukrainian Nation.

Australia and New Zealand

Australia

Ukrainian immigrants who arrived in Australia after the Second World War were obliged to work for two years at locations assigned by the government. Hence, they were scattered in small groups throughout the country and forbidden to change their place of residence before fulfilling their employment contracts. After two years, however, they migrated to the large cities to establish and participate in Ukrainian community life. The settlers organized Ukrainian churches, schools, the press, Ukrainian *hromady* and other organizations, including cultural, religious, political, professional, women's, and youth groups. European professional certification was not recognized in Australia, and although most postwar immigrants did not requalify, a number of professionals eventually did, and obtained employment in their fields. Some immigrants became successful businessmen.

New Zealand

As in Australia, Ukrainian settlers in New Zealand were dispersed throughout the country to fulfill two-year work contracts. Within a short period of time, however, they were able to establish a well-organized and active Ukrainian community, which later came to include an Orthodox parish, a Ukrainian school, a Ukrainian *hromada*, and several social clubs.

Africa

Ukrainians also established organized community life in places where their stay was temporary. One need only consider the case of Ben-Metir, Tunisia, where Ukraini-

ans settled from approximately 1947 to 1955: they established a small Ukrainian community and founded such groups as a technical council and a Ukrainian *hromada;* a church council; a kindergarten and a Ukrainian school; the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine; a reading room and sizable library; choirs; a dance ensemble; a drama group; Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization (the Ukrainian equivalent of Scouts) and its support group; Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (SUM, Association of Ukrainian Youth); a women's club; a sports club; a cooperative; and a Ukrainian – French club.

Asia

Ukrainians in Asia also set out to establish their own communities. In China, a Ukrainian *hromada* existed in Shanghai, and in Harbin there was a Ukrainian Orthodox parish, a Ukrainian People's Home, a Ukrainian school and gymnasium, a Ukrainian club, organizations (including Prosvita), and a Ukrainian-language weekly. Several Ukrainian newspapers were published in China, and Ukrainian organizations and societies were active in the country. In the Far Eastern region of the former USSR known as Zelenyi Klyn (Green Wedge), both voluntary migrants and deportees set out to organize community life. They organized Far Eastern congresses, published newspapers and journals, and established such groups as educational committees, a student club, a theater, a cooperative, a military association, a teachers' association, and the Far Eastern Territorial Council.

Summary: The Establishment of Ukrainian Communities

The majority of Ukrainian immigrants have become citizens of the countries in which they have settled. With the exception of countries such as Argentina and Brazil, where Ukrainians have been elected to various positions in local governments, and Canada, where they have long held high-ranking government positions, the majority of immigrants did not enter into the politics of the host society to any significant degree. Although the primary contacts of Ukrainian immigrants in most countries were usually limited to members of their own ethnic group, many participated in the economic and professional arenas of their host society, achieving important positions in their respective fields. Ukrainian professors joined the faculties of universities and various scholarly organizations in Europe, North and South America, and Australia. Other professionals and workers either found employment in local businesses, industries, and government and private agencies or established their own enterprises. Still others provided much-needed labor in factories, mines, highway and railroad construction, and other blue-collar occupations. Some became employed by Ukrainian establishments, such as schools, publishing houses, and credit unions, while others found work on farms, becoming the backbone of the host country's agricultural labor force. Many made notable contributions not only to the Ukrainian communities, but also to their host societies. Ukrainians have made important discoveries and acquired various patents in the fields of medicine, science, and technology. They established excellent choirs, dance ensembles, museums, and libraries to preserve their heritage and to acquaint foreign audiences with their culture. Ukrainian opera and folk singers, pianists, violinists, ballerinas, and folk dancers have delighted both Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians on every continent with their widely attended performances. Still others have made a name for themselves in the fields of entertainment and sports.

Ukrainian Communities throughout the World Today

At present, Ukrainians have strong, vibrant communities throughout the diaspora. They continue to preserve their ethnic identity, placing great emphasis on their churches and institutions, two important sources of cohesion for the Ukrainian people. Organizations, including charitable, cultural, educational, nationalistic, political, professional, religious, scholarly, social, student, women's, and youth groups, remain the lifeblood of Ukrainian communities throughout the world. Ukrainian churches, schools, and organizations serve to ensure a sense of ethnic identity and the preservation of the Ukrainian heritage for future generations. Ukrainians who live in areas that have active Ukrainian communities, with their own churches, organizations, and community centers (popularly known as Ukrainski Narodni Domy, or Ukrainian "National Homes"), tend to stay together as a group, sharing a sense of belonging and internalizing a sense of group identification. Such communities are in a better position to withstand total assimilation than those that lack Ukrainian institutions. Moreover, communities that are sensitive to the needs of their youth and that establish organizations and activities for them are more attractive to second- (and succeeding) generation Ukrainians, contributing more toward a knowledge and appreciation of their ancestral background and toward a sense of ethnic pride. These communities are more assured of survival than those that have focused solely on the older immigrant generation, lamenting the decline of the Ukrainian community, language, and culture in the diaspora, but making no effort to keep their youth within the ethnic enclave.

A major concern of many Ukrainian communities has been the steady decline in membership in Ukrainian organizations. Although the older generation (including many of the original immigrants) constitutes the majority of the leadership and membership of these organizations, the younger generation does participate at both the membership and leadership levels to a limited degree. It has often been the case that members of the younger generation who drop out of Ukrainian youth organizations after leaving the parental home become actively involved once again when they enroll their own children. Many young parents want their children to learn Ukrainian and therefore send them to Ukrainian supplementary Saturday schools or Ukrainian youth organizations, where they are taught the language and customs of their forefathers. Organizations such as Plast and SUM as well as the numerous vocal and dance ensembles that have arisen in recent years have attracted a large percentage of the Ukrainian youth in many communities, from all-Ukrainian and mixed marriages alike.

It should also be pointed out that many second- (and succeeding) generation Ukrainians have established their own social and professional organizations to meet their particular needs and interests. Although fluency in Ukrainian is not a prerequisite for belonging to such organizations, since their proceedings are usually conducted in the local language, they are nonetheless Ukrainian in character and spirit. They often follow events in the homeland as well as the diaspora; send financial, medical, and technical aid to Ukraine; deal with Ukrainian issues and concerns; contribute to the local-language Ukrainian press; and organize social events, complete with typical Ukrainian food and music.

Other members of the younger generations of Ukrainians have found a means of expressing their ethnic identity and pride in the vocal and dance ensembles that have become so popular of late. Concert tours by artists from Ukraine have also proved to hold great appeal for Ukrainian youth in the diaspora.

It is often said that church attendance is also limited primarily to the older genera-

tion. Yet, as in the case of organizational life, it has been observed that many second-generation parents who did not attend Ukrainian churches as teenagers and young adults return to those churches when they have children of their own. This may well be a phenomenon of youth everywhere and may not be exclusive to the second generation of immigrants. Church attendance is also affected by residential mobility. Many Ukrainian churches were built in inner-city areas, close to the original ethnic enclaves. They have experienced declining attendance as a result of the movement of upwardly mobile, culturally assimilated young Ukrainian families away from their parents' original place of settlement to more desirable suburban homes. Thus, the many empty pews in Ukrainian inner-city churches are attributable to a change in residential patterns rather than to a decline in ethnic identity. Other churches, especially those found in the outlying suburban areas, are experiencing increases in the number of young Ukrainian families who register as parishioners.

Assimilation among Ukrainians in the Diaspora

Despite these encouraging signs of vitality in Ukrainian communities throughout the diaspora, one must not overlook the fact that assimilation is indeed taking place among Ukrainian youth; in some areas, it occurs at a rate that the older generation considers alarming. A large percentage of the Ukrainian population in the diaspora were born or raised in the country in which their immigrant parents settled. Members of the second, third, and succeeding generations have attended local schools and learned the local language and customs. Some have changed their given names or their surnames, or both, in order to blend in with the local society. (It should be pointed out that some members of the immigrant generation also changed their names to avoid ethnic labeling and possible discrimination.) Many have married non-Ukrainians and left the ethnic enclave. Families of mixed marriages very often speak the local language at home and rarely teach their children Ukrainian. Some children of such marriages are lost to the Ukrainian community forever.

Ukrainians in the diaspora have experienced varying degrees of assimilation. Many factors, including cause of immigration, place of settlement, degree of contact with those outside the ethnic group, length of stay in the new environment, lifestyle, affluence, values, the media, peer pressure, and the educational status of the parents as well as the importance they attached to the preservation of their ancestral heritage, play a role in the assimilation process.

Historically, there were two main causes of Ukrainian emigration, economic and political. The first wave of emigration was attributable primarily to adverse economic conditions in the homeland and the occupied territories, and the second, postwar, wave of emigration was largely the result of political oppression. In general, it is believed that a significant proportion of the first wave wished to become part of the local society, move up the social ladder, and better their lives as soon as possible, while retaining their Ukrainian heritage. Since the majority of these immigrants were less educated than the average native population, many tended to look up to the locals and, in an effort to be accepted, tried to learn their customs and language (even speaking a broken, accented version of the latter to their own children). Yet these early immigrants did not forget their ancestry, but immediately began to build active Ukrainian communities wherever they settled, establishing churches, financial institutions, and organizations that would serve as a foundation and resource center for future immigrants. Many of their descen-

dants, however, have intermarried, left the ethnic enclave, and assimilated into the local society.

The second wave of emigration, which included many members of the intelligentsia, professionals and educated skilled workers, and military personnel, migrated under entirely different circumstances. They did not bring memories of poverty and overpopulation, for many of them had enjoyed a life of relative prosperity. Their conditions changed only with the outbreak of war. The majority of these immigrants saw no urgent need to hurry the assimilation process in order to be accepted by their host societies. In fact, many of the immigrants were more educated than the people who hired them in the countries in which they settled. In most cases, they experienced downward mobility before learning the local language and meeting the requirements for requalification in their professions; those who did not try or were unable to requalify remained in lower-level positions.

Place of settlement also affects the assimilation process, in that immigrants who migrate to cities tend to become integrated into the local society more rapidly than rural settlers do. As contacts with the outside world increase, so does the probability of assimilation into the host society. Farm workers experienced slower assimilation rates since they had fewer contacts with the native population, while those who settled in urban areas were more quickly assimilated since they had jobs that brought them into contact with the host society and that necessitated a knowledge of the local language and customs in order to conduct business. Children and youth who attended local schools were also quick to learn the language and customs of their new surroundings.

Length of stay in the new environment plays an important role in the process of assimilation. The longer the exposure to the host society, the greater the probability of assimilation and integration into that society. Thus, whereas immigrants typically remain within their ethnic enclaves, their children and grandchildren – the second and third generations – are much more likely to leave the parental areas of settlement and become integrated into the local society, maintaining varying degrees of contact with the ancestral culture. Each succeeding generation tends to become more assimilated.

Urban lifestyles, typically characterized by a preoccupation with values that stress affluence, progress, and orientation toward the future rather than the ancestral past, often leave no room for preservation of traditions. The media and peer pressure also accelerate the assimilation process. Members of the younger generation often view parental ways as old-fashioned and incompatible with the progressive ways of the city.

Parents also play a key role in the assimilation process. Their level of education and the importance they attach to the preservation of their heritage influence the degree of assimilation of their children. Well-educated parents usually place a greater emphasis on the importance of passing their cultural heritage on to their children than do those with an average level of education. The well-educated are generally comfortable with their position in life and do not aspire to quick assimilation. At the other extreme, parents who have little education are usually very tradition-oriented and therefore also stress the importance of preserving the ancestral culture. They do not concern themselves with attaining all the goals of mainstream urban society, but are content in their ethnic enclaves and proud of their ancestry. By contrast, parents with an average level of schooling, especially those who migrated in search of a better economic future for themselves and their children, are usually less concerned with preserving the ethnic heritage and more preoccupied with attaining a comfortable lifestyle and acceptance into the local society. They are usually the ones least likely to stress conformity to ethnic

values and customs, which, they fear, might stand in the way of upward mobility in a society that places great emphasis on prosperity.

Some members of the second generation experienced an identity crisis while trying hard to be accepted by peers and turning away from the "old-fashioned" ideas of their parents and grandparents; others were comfortable growing up in two cultures – that is, growing up bilingual and bicultural; they were simultaneously part of an ethnic subculture and part of the local society, and felt equally at home in both. Very often, the secret to their adjustment lay in retaining elements of their ancestral culture and adopting elements of the local culture that did not conflict with each other (in areas such as folk arts, food, customs, and idioms). How the second generation dealt with the problem of being part of two cultures depended to a great extent not only on individual personality, age, and acceptance by peers, but also on their parents and their reason for emigrating, their place of origin, their national consciousness, their attitude toward their status as immigrants, and their place of destination.

In North America and Australia (with the exception of a large percentage of Ukrainian farmers in Canada), the Ukrainian population is found predominantly in urban areas. Here, mixed marriages and assimilation have proceeded at a rapid rate as a result of such influences of city life as the desire for peer approval and acceptance; an emphasis on affluence and career, sometimes at the expense of passing the cultural heritage on to the next generation; and greater rates of mobility, which often result in the severing of ties with the ethnic enclave. Vocations to the priesthood and the religious life are at very low levels, a source of concern among church leaders and their congregations. In South America, by contrast, a large percentage of the Ukrainian population is found in relatively poor rural areas. Most Ukrainians adhere to traditional values according to which affluence and prosperity do not take precedence over the preservation of the ancestral culture. Vocations to the priesthood and religious life are abundant, securing the future of Ukrainian churches and communities. In addition, the presence of a large number of Ukrainian schools and organizations ensures that the young people will remain aware of their ethnic background and that marital assimilation does not accelerate. In Europe, the rate of assimilation greatly depends on the country of settlement: Ukrainians in Eastern Europe, despite decades of government opposition to any display of Ukrainian patriotism, experience lower rates of assimilation than do their Western European counterparts, who are more like Ukrainians in North America. In Eastern Europe, Ukrainian communities are more cohesive, more tradition-oriented, and less influenced by the overwhelming drive to attain affluence – factors that account for their lower rates of assimilation. In Western Europe, society's emphasis on financial success, coupled with progressive lifestyles and values, often makes it difficult for parents and community leaders to keep the youth within the ethnic fold.

Summary: Ukrainian Communities Today

For many years, Ukrainians in the countries of the former Eastern Bloc lived under adverse conditions that were not conducive to the preservation of their culture. Nonetheless, prevailing anti-Ukrainian sentiment, and policies prohibiting or restricting the practice of religion and the use of the native language, did not result in the disappearance of Ukrainians as an ethnic group in these countries. With the recent political upheavals in Eastern Europe, Ukrainians have come forward to demand their rights as minorities of newly independent and democratic nations. They have begun to reopen

churches and schools, establish new organizations, and found newspapers, journals, and other publications.

The larger Ukrainian settlements in Europe, North and South America, and Australia currently have active communities, with established churches and various organizations. Many have Ukrainian supplementary Saturday schools and nurseries, summer camps, and vocal and dance ensembles to keep the youth within the ethnic fold. In such communities, the ancestral heritage is being passed on to future generations of Ukrainians (even if only through scouting, singing, and dancing), as many parents instill in their children a sense of ethnic pride. Sometimes that pride may lay dormant for years, as members of the younger generation become preoccupied with succeeding in school, finding marriage partners, and establishing themselves in careers, but it usually surfaces when they become adults. Some experience an ethnic reawakening late in life, as something within stirs them to trace their family roots and to discover the region of Ukraine where their parents or grandparents were born. This nostalgia often succeeds in fostering the ethnic pride that failed to take root in youth.

Even small Ukrainian communities are conscious of their ethnic background and active in Ukrainian affairs. For example, in 1980, the Ukrainian community in Spain organized a demonstration in support of freedom for Ukraine during the International Conference on Human Rights, in Madrid. Switzerland's Ukrainians are also an active community, participating in various events, including the 1988 Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity festivities, and generously contributing to various Ukrainian causes. The Ukrainian language and Ukrainian arts and crafts are fostered among Ukrainians in Switzerland. The small Ukrainian community in New Zealand has survived despite the prevalence of mixed marriages, assimilation, lack of adequate numbers of younger Ukrainians to fill the gaps left by the older generation, and emigration to countries with larger Ukrainian communities.

Even when they find themselves temporarily in areas far removed from a Ukrainian community, many Ukrainians continue to preserve their culture: in Japan and Egypt, in 1988, small gatherings of Ukrainians celebrated the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity; in the Philippines, a small group of Ukrainian professionals kept their Ukrainian culture alive by preserving and teaching ancestral customs.

Though circumstances forced them to scatter to all corners of the world, far from their native land, Ukrainian immigrants brought with them a love for their homeland, a sense of ethnic pride, and a determination to preserve a culture rich in the traditions of their forebears. Today, they and many of their descendants continue to pass on this ancient heritage to future generations of Ukrainians.

Ukrainian Communities throughout the World: Concerns for the Future

The basic question that haunts every nationally conscious ethnic community is "How can we survive as an ethnic group?" Indeed, preservation of ethnic identity amid the forces of integration and assimilation is not an easy task. Among the major concerns that have been voiced by Ukrainians, as an ethnic group, in the various countries in which they have settled are the following: the prevalence of mixed marriage; the decline of the Ukrainian language; the lack of interest on the part of the younger generation in the Ukrainian church, organized community life, the homeland, and the diaspora; the lack of national awareness on the part of some Ukrainian youth; the fact that youth do

not read Ukrainian books or periodicals; the process of denationalization; the drop in membership in community organizations; the lack of continual access to the local media; the lack of Ukrainian schools for children; the small number of Ukrainians in certain countries; the geographic dispersion of Ukrainians in certain countries; the initial lack of a sizable Ukrainian intelligentsia; friction or lack of cooperation among the various waves of migration of Ukrainians; political factions and dissent among some older Ukrainians, resulting in the isolation of organizations from one another and apathy and disaffection among many second-generation Ukrainians; the generation gap caused by the insistence of the older generation on the exclusive use of the Ukrainian language in Ukrainian community life; the emphasis on affluence and career and the resulting neglect of Ukrainian cultural and spiritual values (as manifested by the drop in religious vocations); the cessation of organizational activity because of a lack of members or interest; assimilation into the local society; and emigration to other countries or lack of continuing immigration, or both.

Given the gravity of such concerns, as voiced by Ukrainian community leaders, the question of survival as an ethnic group becomes very poignant. Although it is a fact that in many countries the number of persons who identify themselves as Ukrainian has declined through the years as a result of the processes of assimilation and integration into the host society, as well as of a certain amount of emigration, one cannot draw the simple conclusion that Ukrainians are approaching extinction as a separate ethnic group. There are unmistakable signs of vitality within the Ukrainian diaspora, paralleling the current revitalization of the homeland. To discern those signs, however, one must look beyond the usual criteria for assessing viability and strength. One cannot look at demographic and socioeconomic measures alone, for they will reveal only that, with time, Ukrainians tend to become similar to the host society in such areas as education, occupation, income, place of residence, and family size. Neither should sheer numbers of the Ukrainian population, church attendance, organizational membership, or use of the mother tongue be relied upon in determining the odds on the survival of Ukrainians: such findings inevitably lead to predictions of the future disappearance of the Ukrainian ethnic group. Rather, other processes, often unique to a particular ethnic group, should be taken into consideration, for they too are part of the complex mechanism of ethnic-group survival.

For the Ukrainian ethnic group, one such factor is the unique role of religion in ethnic identity and preservation. Throughout history, the Ukrainian church has been instrumental in the preservation of national awareness and the cohesion of the Ukrainian community. It was the Ukrainian church, with its traditional rituals and Church Slavonic language, that kept the faithful within its fold and made the people lean toward maintaining their own beliefs and customs. As in the past, the Ukrainian church today is called upon to fulfill the important task of fostering ethnic pride and a sense of identity. It has been observed that Ukrainian communities thrive better in places where the people have access to their own Ukrainian church, with a resident priest and regularly scheduled services.

Another unique factor in the preservation of ethnic identity among the Ukrainian population is the common concern Ukrainians share for their homeland. Although it was believed that this concern, along with ties with Ukraine, would diminish over time as the older generation died, the declaration of Ukraine's independence in 1991 has brought about a renewed interest in political and economic issues in Ukraine. Catering to second, third, and succeeding generations, Ukrainian newspapers published in various

local languages closely follow political events in Ukraine (especially its reemergence into the world arena), and thereby strengthen a sense of identity and ethnic pride and help to forge a new relationship with the homeland, as well as reawakening an interest in the ancestral culture. Today, the younger generations follow events in Ukraine with as much enthusiasm and concern as the older, immigrant generation always has. Financial aid, medical assistance to Chornobyl victims, technical expertise, business contacts and joint ventures, and academic and cultural exchanges have increased considerably, as has travel to Ukraine. Such aid has not been limited to the immigrant generation, but has been forthcoming from Ukrainians of all ages. With a democratic government in power, there is every reason to believe that such relationships between Ukraine and the diaspora will expand in the future.

Ukrainian schools and organizations will also continue to play an important role in the preservation of the Ukrainian community. The small number of Ukrainian school-aged children no longer justifies the operation of Ukrainian elementary, secondary, or tertiary schools in most countries. Many schools have already been forced to close their doors because of declining enrollment. However, this phenomenon is not unique to Ukrainian schools; many local parochial and public schools in the host countries have also closed as a result of diminishing student populations. Today, there is evidence of a new trend, which follows demographic growth patterns in the general population: there has been an increase in the enrollment of children in Ukrainian nurseries and kindergartens, and new kindergartens have been established to meet the demand for the education and supervision of third-generation Ukrainian youngsters. Children in such classes have an opportunity to learn the Ukrainian language, songs, and culture and to befriend other children of the same ethnic and religious background.

Although it is true that membership in many Ukrainian organizations in the diaspora has decreased over the years and that the majority of members in most associations are older Ukrainians, there is evidence that the second and third generations seek to express themselves through other types of organizations, many of which conduct their proceedings in the local language and are oriented toward the larger society. Young Ukrainian professionals, for example, have established new organizations in many countries, enabling second, third, and succeeding generations, who do not speak Ukrainian, or lack proficiency in it, and who do not wish to join ethnic-oriented associations governed by the immigrant generation, to maintain ties with other Ukrainians of their own age group. In many cases, the younger generations refrain from joining organizations governed by the older generation because of interorganizational and membership rifts that are usually attributable to conflicting political orientations among factions of the older generation or to the conflict between the first-wave, or "old" (economic), and the second-wave, or "new" (political), immigration. Yet it must be noted that some members of the younger generations do join established Ukrainian organizations and are found in leadership positions.

In some areas, youth organizations have experienced small increases in their membership as the growing children of the baby boom generation join their ranks.

Many have lamented the demise of Ukrainian organizations that were active in the past, but have either ceased to exist or are no longer active. However, such developments are predictable and natural, given that many organizations were established to aid the immigrants in their new surroundings – for example, to ensure that workers' needs were being met and to fight for workers' rights. Many immigrants flocked to such organizations for advice and aid and the opportunity to socialize with other Ukrainians. Today, the services of such organizations are no longer needed, for young people know the local languages well, are financially secure, and enjoy vastly improved working

conditions; indeed, many have achieved professional and managerial positions. Moreover, since the Second World War, the Ukrainian population in countries that housed displaced persons, such as Austria and Germany, has diminished significantly, because many Ukrainians have since emigrated abroad. Thus, the disappearance of some organizations, in particular, those devoted to immigrant aid, should be viewed not as a sign of the demise of the ethnic group, but rather as part of a natural process whereby circumstances change and certain organizations outlive their usefulness. Should their services be required again at some future date, to aid newly arrived immigrants from Ukraine, such organizations could be revived and updated.

The future of Ukrainians as an ethnic group in the diaspora depends on the continuing strength of the forces that held Ukrainians together in the past – churches, schools, and organizations, as well as a sense of ethnic pride and a shared concern for the homeland. As the older immigrant generation passes away, the following trends are most likely to prevail: a decrease in the number of Ukrainian-language speakers; an increase in the number of mixed marriages; a decrease in the number of and membership in Ukrainian organizations that conduct their business solely in the Ukrainian language; a corresponding increase in the number of and membership in Ukrainian organizations that conduct their business in the local language of the host country; an increase in the number of church services conducted fully or partially in the local language; a continued lack of vocations to the priesthood and religious life; and a continued interest, especially among young people, in Ukrainian culture – arts, crafts, food, dance, and music.

These trends are part of the natural processes of acculturation and assimilation of generations born and reared in the host society. It is impossible to halt these processes entirely when youth comes into daily contact with the mainstream culture. Furthermore, it should be noted that although many environmental influences are at play, assimilation is ultimately a matter of choice: it is up to the individual members of an ethnic group to decide whether to become structurally assimilated by entering into primary relationships and marriage with those outside the ethnic fold. Once the choice is made, either consciously or unconsciously, the process of assimilation starts in motion, with the eventual outcome for the individual and his or her progeny depending on the degree to which the ancestral heritage was internalized. Recognition on the part of parents, grandparents, and religious and community leaders of the inevitability of the assimilation process, including the reality of mixed marriages, biculturalism, and language assimilation, will serve to avert friction between the generations.

For many members of the younger generation, the direction of ethnic identity is changing from an attitude of "I am a Ukrainian" to one of "I am of Ukrainian descent"; at the same time, knowledge of Ukrainian as the mother tongue is giving way to the learning of Ukrainian as a foreign language out of an interest in one's ancestral heritage. Given these trends, one should expect the future to bring a continued shift away from typical all-Ukrainian events toward bilingual and sometimes bicultural gatherings that would be of interest to those born outside Ukraine. For example, in place of the formal commemorations, with speeches, recitations, and concerts, that characterized the national holiday observances of the older generation, one might expect to see more of the informal panel, round-table, or multisession discussions and workshops characteristic of the younger generation of professionals born in the host countries. Festivals and jamborees that provide ethnic music, dancing, and food will also continue to be popular among all age groups, but will hold particular appeal for Ukrainian youth. Community leaders and parents who wish to keep the younger generation within the ethnic fold will organize

such activities for youth and encourage their attendance. In this way, succeeding generations of Ukrainians will have the opportunity to adopt the identity of the local society without completely renouncing their sense of Ukrainian ethnic identity. Ethnicity need not be surrendered for the sake of assimilation.

One very important factor must not be overlooked when considering scenarios for the future of the Ukrainian community in the diaspora: the introduction of any new variable could significantly alter the situation depicted here. At present, one new variable might very well be the influx of new immigrants from Ukraine and from the countries of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc. If it occurred, such a wave of immigration could serve to revitalize Ukrainian communities throughout the world by reinforcing ties with the homeland, increasing the use of the Ukrainian language as a means of daily communication, and adding to the ranks of church and organization members. As large numbers of Ukrainian immigrants arrived, one might see an injection of "new blood" into the Ukrainian communities abroad, which would undoubtedly serve to strengthen them. Immigration of Ukrainian priests and other religious (as well as of candidates for the priesthood) would serve to strengthen the church in the diaspora. It should be pointed out, however, that although the initial reaction to an influx of immigrants from Ukraine would most probably be favorable, problems, frictions, and tensions could eventually arise between the newcomers and those who currently view themselves as the diaspora – second, third, and succeeding generations of Ukrainians. Issues such as language spoken, control of the leadership in organizations, and political views would have to be confronted in order to ensure harmonious relations between new immigrants and current members of the diaspora.

As Ukrainians grow more akin to the "native population" with respect to such factors as education, occupation, income, family size, place of residence, leisure activities, and even language spoken, they may indeed become harder for sociologists to distinguish as a group on the basis of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. However, a closer analysis of the importance of their cultural heritage, as manifested in the Ukrainian churches and organizations and in the people's common concern for the political fate of their homeland, will reveal the unique role that heritage plays in the preservation of national awareness, of a sense of ethnic pride, and of the cohesion of the Ukrainian community. Finally, their cultural heritage will be a means of survival for Ukrainians as an ethnic group.

Conclusion

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has ceased to exist. In its place has emerged a nation that has proclaimed itself independent and democratic – Ukraine. With the euphoria of independence in the air both in Ukraine and in the diaspora, it is important to bear in mind that complete political, economic, and military independence as enjoyed by democracies in the West will not come overnight. More than seventy-five years of totalitarian rule, under which Ukraine was a puppet of the Soviet government, without a separate army, independent monetary system, separate postal system, or its own foreign, financial, or economic policies, left the country in economic ruin and its people deprived of basic human rights. The political atmosphere under decades of Communist dictatorship included deprivation of the freedoms of religion, speech, and the press; suppression of the Ukrainian language and culture; deportation and harsh penalties in Siberian labor camps, psychiatric wards of hospitals, and prisons for anyone who dared to voice opposition to

the terroristic oppression of the government; and untold loss of life, especially during the artificial Great Famine of 1932–3. Such circumstances necessarily had a profound effect not only on the everyday lives of the Ukrainian people, but also on the continuing evolution of their age-old culture. Decades of oppression also had an effect on their material well-being, for this "breadbasket of Europe," a nation richly endowed with natural resources, was not in control of its own harvests, its own production, or its own industries. Its people were not allowed to reap the fruits of their own labor. As a result of decades of inept Communist policies, food, medicine, and basic necessities remain scarce.

Among the most urgent tasks being addressed by the new Ukrainian government is the implementation of radical democratic and economic reforms to ensure basic human rights, protection of minorities, free enterprise, protection of private property, and the efficient production and distribution of basic necessities to meet the needs of the entire population. Western experts, scholars, and volunteers are offering technical and financial assistance in the areas of economic and democratic reform. Other political issues being addressed include the role that an independent Ukraine will play among the nations of the world and, especially, the nature of its relationship with the former Soviet republics and the countries of Europe. Diplomatic ties are being established with other countries as embassies are opened and ambassadors exchanged.

Religious, educational, cultural, and social needs must also be met: churches and synagogues must be rebuilt and seminarians trained for the priesthood; the quality of education must be upgraded and curricula changed to reflect the true course of history; the culture must be allowed to blossom uninhibited and the widespread use of the Ukrainian language must be revived.

The diaspora, if it so chooses, can have an important role to play in the rebirth of an independent Ukraine. It can serve as a window to the world, offering not only financial but also technical, economic, and political aid. It can provide the necessary political and business contacts and networks to ensure a successful transition to an economically sound democratic society. It can restore to Ukraine its cherished culture – literature, music, art, dance, and folk arts – suppressed until recently in the homeland, but carefully preserved abroad. The diaspora can also facilitate cultural exchanges between Ukraine and the rest of the world. In time, Ukraine, in turn, can aid the diaspora by ensuring that the rights of Ukrainian minorities abroad are protected and by lending financial and material support to Ukrainians living in less-developed countries.

Although outside influences, including ongoing events associated with the collapse of the Soviet empire, will inevitably play an important role in the country's future, the ultimate fate of Ukraine lies in the determination, hard work, and perseverance of its people.

Notes

An article based on research gathered for this volume, entitled "Ukrainian Immigration: A Study in Ethnic Survival," by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko, is scheduled to be published in 1994 in *Perspectives in International Migration*, edited by Mary G. Powers and John J. Macisco, Jr. (Staten Island, NY: Center for Migration Studies, forthcoming).

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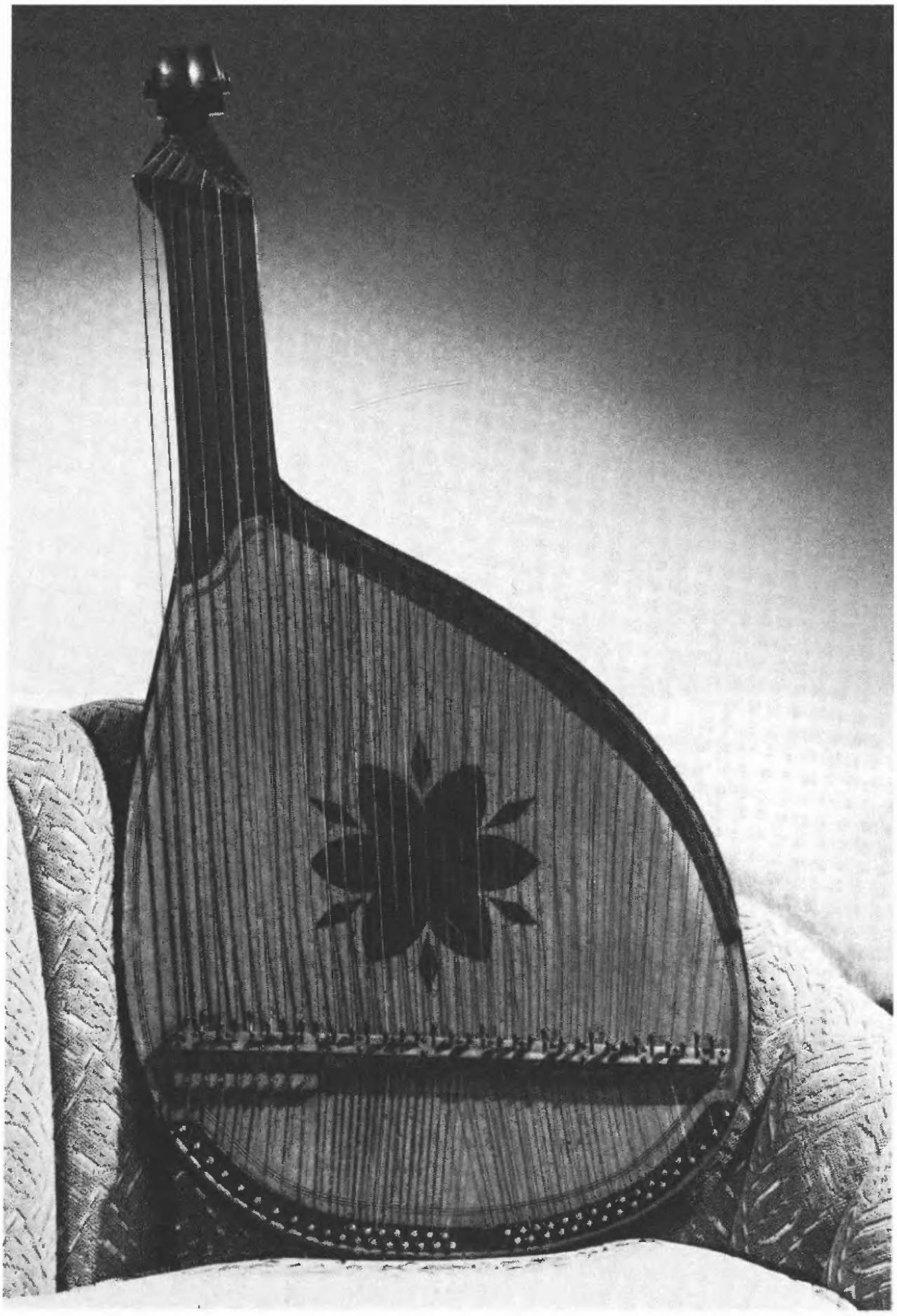
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Ukrainian Folk Art – exhibit organized by the Ivan Franko Home, Mississauga, Ontario, Canada. *Svoboda* archives.



Traditional native costume of the Borshchiv region in Ukraine. Photo by Fenchynsky.



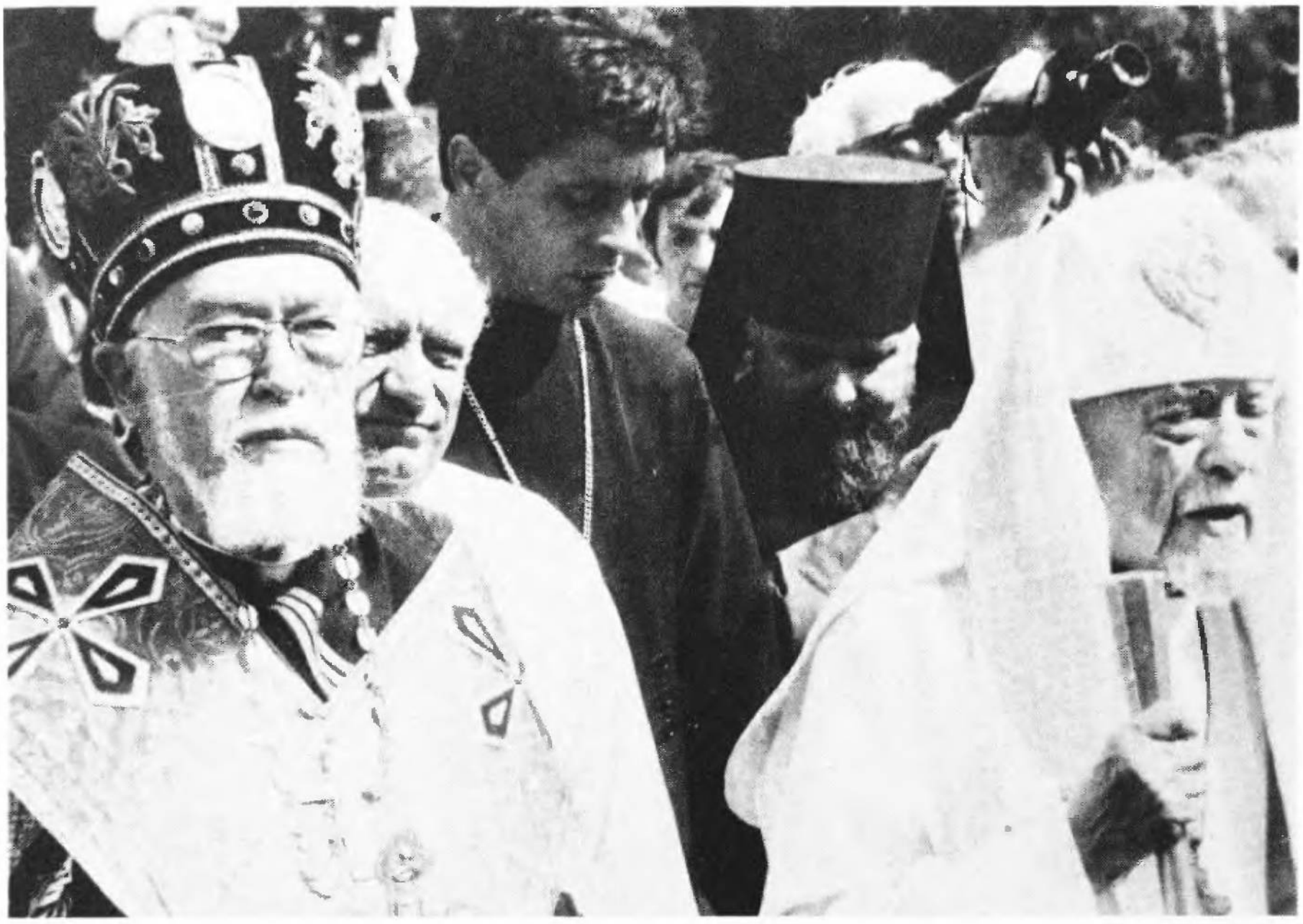
Bandura, Ukrainian musical instrument. *Svoboda* archives.



Pysanky (Ukrainian Easter eggs) decorated by Natalie Michaluk and Barbara Michaluk-Rohrdanz, of Woonsocket, Rhode Island. *Svoboda* archives.



Hutsul-style wooden Ukrainian Catholic Church of Saint John the Baptist, in Hunter, New York. Photo by George Pawliczko.



His Eminence Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky, Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church (left), and His Holiness the late Mstyslav Skrypnyk, of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Patriarch of Kiev and all Ukraine (right). *Svoboda* archives.



Rukh Congress Hall, Kiev, 1989. *Svoboda* archives.



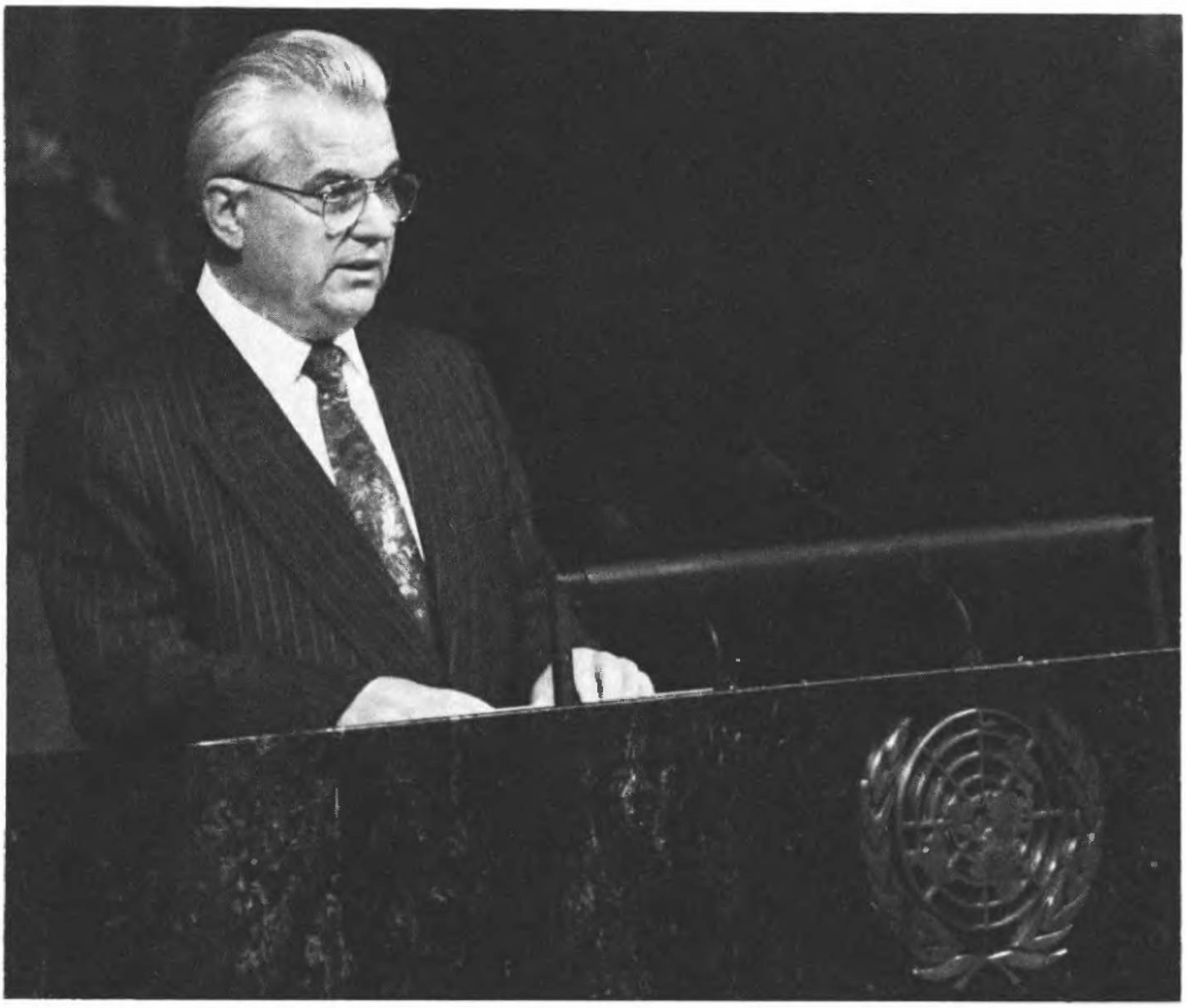
Demonstration against the Commonwealth of Independent States, Kiev. *Svoboda* archives.



Inaugural flight of Air Ukraine, Kiev, June 1991. *Svoboda* archives.



Sign in Kiev reminding citizens to vote in favor of the referendum on December 1, 1991. *Svoboda* archives.



President of the Verkhovna Rada (Supreme Council) of Ukraine, now President of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk, addressing the 46th Session of the General Assembly at the United Nations in New York, September 1991.
UN Photo 178445/J. Isaac Doc. 0058P.



The World Forum of Ukrainians, Kiev, 1992. *Svoboda* archives.



The Ukrainian transport *Mria*, the world's largest airplane, at Bradley International Airport, Connecticut. Courtesy of Emanuel C. Wolff. *Svoboda* archives.



Ukrainian immigrants preparing to leave Ternopil, Ukraine, for Canada, 1923. *Svoboda* archives.



Traditional blessing of water on the Feast of the Epiphany at the displaced-persons (refugee) camp in Mittenwald, Germany, 1946. Courtesy of Wasyl Lencyk.



The migrant transport ship *Wooster Victory* approaches Sydney, Australia, March 15, 1949. Courtesy of Eugene Seneta.

2

Ukraine: Its Culture and History

Ann Lencyk Pawliczko

Culture

Religion

Christianity is believed to have penetrated the coastal regions of present-day Ukraine by the end of the first century A.D. It came from the East, by way of the Greek colonists who settled the northern coast of the Black and Azov seas. Tradition has it that the Apostle Saint Andrew, brother of Saint Peter, preached in this area and traveled up the Dnieper River to the present site of Kiev, where he blessed the surrounding hills. For this reason, Saint Andrew has always been revered among Ukrainians, who built churches and monasteries in his honor, named kings after him, and wove many oral traditions and devotional songs around him. Archeological excavations have revealed ancient churches dating from the fourth and fifth centuries, in the area of the Black Sea coast then known as Scythia. Christianity came to Ukraine by another route as well – from the West, especially from Moravia, where Saints Cyril and Methodius, the Apostles of the Slavs, worked as missionaries.[1]

In 988, Ukrainian Grand Prince Volodymyr the Great officially adopted Christianity, from Byzantium, as the state religion. He ordered all pagan statues to be destroyed and the people to be baptized in the Dnieper River. Volodymyr then began the task of building churches and schools, thus spreading Christianity throughout his kingdom. At the time that Ukraine accepted Christianity, the Eastern and Western churches were united: there was one Christian faith and one church – "Christian, Apostolic, and Universal" – with the Pope as its visible head.[2]

The Great Schism of 1054, which split the Christian church, did not have an immediate effect on the Ukrainian church. The latter maintained a neutral stand for some 150 years, until the end of the eleventh century, when, under the rule of a Greek metropolitan, it eventually sided with Constantinople. Nonetheless, the church continued to maintain contacts with the Western world, including Rome. In fact, Prince Danylo of Galicia and Volhynia was crowned King of Rus' (Ukraine) by the papal legate in 1253.[3]

The idea of church union was formally realized in 1596 at the Council of Brest, when the Ukrainian church united with Rome on the condition that it would retain the Eastern rite, its own metropolies and episcopates, the Julian calendar, and the right of the clergy to marry if they chose. The Ukrainian church recognized the Pope as the head of the church. The Union of Brest was accepted by the entire metropolitanate of Kiev with the exception of two eparchies, which accepted the union at the end of the seventeenth century.[4]

Church relations in Ukraine became tense after the Union of Brest, as the church became

divided into two warring camps – the Catholics, called the "Uniates," and the Orthodox. The Catholics were accused of abandoning their faith and were encouraged by Eastern patriarchs to disobey their bishops, reject the union, and remain obedient to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Orthodox fears that Ukraine would eventually be Latinized were reinforced by the fact that Jesuit colleges were drawing Uniate students to Latinism (they were also attracting Orthodox youth from noble families); the Ukrainian nobility was fleeing to the Latin rite; and Latin monastic orders, including the Benedictines, Franciscans, and Jesuits, were appearing on Uniate territory. Supporters of the union believed that allegiance to the Pope did not disturb the foundations of the Ukrainian faith and that the Ukrainian Catholic Church, united with Rome on the condition that it would retain its rite, tradition, hierarchy, and rights, would never be sacrificed to the Latins. Instead, they believed that the Ukrainian church would profit greatly by achieving equality with the Latin-rite Catholic Church: it would lose its inferiority complex; head off the ongoing assault by the Polish nobility; gain state and church holdings; improve the quality of education it provided for its seminarians; build churches and monasteries; and establish a strong organization, similar to that found in Latin-rite churches in Catholic countries. A large percentage of the clergy and laity accepted these persuasive arguments. However, even in eparchies that had Uniate bishops, many priests and faithful remained Orthodox. They were supported by well-organized brotherhoods, the high noble class, a significant number of monasteries, and the Cossack leaders and Cossacks in general, who believed that acknowledgment of the primacy of the Pope would end in the demise of the Ukrainian church and its incorporation into the Latin church, as well as in the assimilation of Ukrainians within the multinational Polish state of the time. The attempts of Uniate bishops to reach an understanding with the Orthodox bishops through an exchange of ideas and common councils met with opposition. There was even a plan to form a Ukrainian patriarchate, independent of Constantinople, an idea favored by both Metropolitan Yosyf Rutsky of the Uniate Church and Metropolitan Petro Mohyla of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Opposition in the conservative circles of Ukrainian Orthodoxy, however, prevented the realization of this plan. Believing that the differences between the churches could eventually be resolved with goodwill, Metropolitan Mohyla never gave up the idea of uniting the two Ukrainian churches.[5]

The two churches existed side by side on Ukrainian territory, their fate in the hands of the dominant powers – Moscow and Poland – that occupied the various regions of Ukraine. Both churches experienced periods of growth and decline.

In 1686, despite opposition from the Kievan metropolitans, the tsarist government succeeded in its attempt to subordinate the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to the Patriarch of Moscow. The guaranteed rights of autonomy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church were violated, and what followed was 250 years of Russification and of the destruction and uprooting of all signs of independence of the Ukrainian church. The use of the native language in church sermons was prohibited and all traces of ancient Ukrainian traditions were erased. After the Russian Revolution and the fall of the Russian Empire, in 1917, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church formed the All Ukrainian Church Council in Kiev, composed of clergy and laity, with the goal of obtaining the independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from the Russian Orthodox Church. After a second council, formed in 1918, failed to achieve its goal, the leading governmental body of Ukraine, the Directorate, issued a decree, dated January 1, 1919, recognizing the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church as a separate church, independent of Moscow. The Bolshevik occupation and the destruction of the Ukrainian state made it impossible to obtain the support of the Patriarch of Constantinople or, subsequently, his agreement to the proclaimed autocephaly.[6] Since it was

impossible to establish a Ukrainian Orthodox episcopate canonically (the Russian Metropolitan of Kiev refused to consecrate a Ukrainian Orthodox bishop), the Orthodox clergy held their own episcopal ordination at a council in Kiev in October 1921.[7] Despite the Moscow hierarchy's campaign against the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the Church attracted a large number of followers; in 1927, it had 10,657 priests and several thousand parishes.[8]

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was formally dissolved by a Soviet-convened *sobor* (council) in 1930; its leaders were imprisoned or exiled and its parishes reconstituted as the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which was eventually suppressed, in 1936. The Church revived briefly during the Second World War, with a canonically ordained hierarchy; shortly afterward, however, the majority of the clergy and the entire hierarchy fled to the West, while the Church in Ukraine once again fell under Moscow's domination. Numerous churches were either absorbed or annihilated.[9] The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) reemerged in Ukraine during the glasnost-inspired relaxation in Soviet religious policy that began in 1989. Easter services were celebrated in several cities throughout Ukraine in April 1990, marking the first time that clergy were allowed to celebrate the liturgy since the Church was banned by Stalin in 1930. Several bishops were consecrated during separate ceremonies in March and April of 1990. Within less than a year, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine consisted of a total of eight hierarchs and 2,500 declared autocephalous congregations. On June 6, 1990, the Holy Synod of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church established a patriarchate and proclaimed Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk, of the United States, Patriarch of the UAOC. The first such gathering to be held since the destruction of the Church by the Soviet government, the synod proclaimed the Church to be fully independent of the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church. His Holiness Mstyslav was enthroned Patriarch of Kiev and all Ukraine on November 18, 1990, in the Saint Sophia Cathedral, in Kiev. Patriarch Mstyslav installed two new Autocephalous Orthodox bishops in Ukraine in June 1991.[10]

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church opened a theological seminary on November 5, 1991, in Ivano-Frankivske, in Western Ukraine. According to Archbishop Andrii, who presided over the opening ceremonies, the UAOC has its own patriarch, eleven bishops, and fourteen eparchies in Eastern Ukraine.[11]

Tensions plagued the Orthodox Church as a result of struggles among church heads for leadership of the more than 35 million Orthodox faithful in Ukraine. In 1992, Metropolitan Filaret Denysenko, of Kiev, former head of the Ukrainian Exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC), attempted to break away from Moscow. He was reprimanded by Patriarch Aleksei of the ROC and defrocked by an ROC *sobor* in Moscow. Metropolitan Filaret, who is accused of being a KGB agent, continues to oversee the finances, real estate, churches, and buildings that were under his jurisdiction while he was prelate under the Russian Orthodox Church. Ignoring Metropolitan Filaret's confrontation with Moscow, Ukrainian bishops of the Ukrainian (formerly Russian) Orthodox Church (UOC), Moscow Patriarchate, held their own *sobor* in Kharkiv in May 1992 and elected Metropolitan Volodymyr Romaniuk (a Ukrainian) as their leader. Although Metropolitan Filaret enjoyed the support of President Kravchuk and the Ukrainian Parliament, Metropolitan Volodymyr had the overwhelming support of the Orthodox faithful. Not willing to relinquish the power he had held in Ukraine since the early 1960s, Metropolitan Filaret joined forces with Metropolitan Antonii of Sicheslav and Pereiaslav, head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAOC) in the absence of the Patriarch, uniting his faction of the UOC with the UAOC to create one independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Kiev Patriarchate (UOC-KP).[12]

The union, which was made unbeknownst to Patriarch Mstyslav, exacerbated the schism between the UAOC, headed by Patriarch Mstyslav, and the UOC-KP, headed by Metropolitans Filaret and Antonii. (Patriarch Mstyslav dismissed the latter, his former locum tenens, from the episcopate on November 17, 1993). The Patriarch issued a communiqué stating that the unification had been dictated solely by private interests, and was not binding on the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Demands by Patriarch Mstyslav to dismiss both Metropolitans Filaret and Antonii were rejected by a *sobor* of bishops of the UOC-KP, which, in turn, declared that the Kiev Patriarchate would create a single Orthodox Church in Ukraine no matter what position Patriarch Mstyslav adopted. Although Metropolitan Filaret did not view the Patriarch as a serious opponent, he was still faced with the fact that only 350 of the 1,650 UAOC parishes had registered as UOC-KP members.[13]

Patriarch Mstyslav died on June 11, 1993, at the age of ninety-five. Thousands gathered to mourn his death during three days of patriarchal funeral rights at Saint Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church Center in South Bound Brook, New Jersey. Along with political dignitaries and the faithful, hierarchs and clergy of the following churches were among the mourners: the UOC in the United States, Canada, Ukraine, Western Europe, South America, and Australia; the Ukrainian Catholic Church; and the Belarusian, Greek, Carpatho-Russian, and Serbian Orthodox churches. In his testament, the Patriarch called the existence of a number of Orthodox churches in Ukraine an "unhealthy condition, exacerbated by their refusal to submit to their rightful hierarchs, and their submission to the [Russian Orthodox] Church, which has scorned our people and our Church for centuries and prefers to see them enslaved and not free." Patriarch Mstyslav called upon his successors to resolve the unfortunate situation, and upon the clergy and hierarchs of the Church to work "for the sake of God, the martyrs of the Church, and the people" to achieve the goal of a sovereign Church that is dependent on no one.[14]

On July 13, 1993, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine elected Archbishop Petro Petrus of Lviv and Halych as locum tenens for the Kiev Patriarchal seat; in September 1993, the Church named the Reverend Volodymyr Yarema Patriarch, to be known as Patriarch Dymytrii. The Church's hierarchs seek reregistration of the UAOC's status and a renewal of the Church's legal rights as an independent religious organization that is not subject to the UOC-KP. Since the UOC-KP elected Metropolitan Volodymyr as locum tenens just days after the death of Patriarch Mstyslav, with a Patriarch to be chosen at the next *sobor*, there are currently two Orthodox church hierarchs elected to serve as successor to the late Patriarch Mstyslav.[15]

The Ukrainian Catholic or Uniate Church suffered persecution under Tsar Peter I and the Russification policies of Empress Catherine II. "Missionaries" (the army) tried to persuade Uniate priests, often with threats, to convert to Orthodoxy; Uniate churches that had been founded by Orthodox believers were returned to the Orthodox. The Polish government also subjected the Uniate Church to discrimination. Latinization was accompanied by Polonization, especially among the upper strata of the clergy and many members of the Ukrainian nobility. The Uniate Church in the Russian Empire was abolished by Tsar Nicholas I, in 1839, during a "reunification" celebration at which the Union of Brest of 1596 was declared null and void and the conversion of Uniates to the Russian Orthodox Church was proclaimed. Clergy who refused to adopt Orthodoxy were exiled.[16]

The Uniate Church in Galicia was able to flourish under Austrian rule, which granted it equal status with the Roman Catholic Church and introduced the term *Greek Catholic* to distinguish it from the Austrian Roman Catholic Church.[17]

With the Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine in 1939, church institutions, including

schools, seminaries, monasteries, and publishing houses, were abolished or taken over by the state, which also confiscated all church properties and lands. While the Church suffered greatly at this time, it remained steadfast under one of its greatest leaders, Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky. In April 1945, having decided to destroy the Ukrainian Catholic Church by force, since neither the persecution of priests and laity nor terrorization and mass arrests had achieved their desired effect, the Bolsheviks imprisoned the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy. Mass arrests of leading clergy followed. A "*sobor*" proclaiming an end to the 1596 Union of Brest was convened by the Soviets on March 8–10, 1946, liquidating the Ukrainian Catholic Church and merging it with the Russian Orthodox Church under the Patriarch of Moscow. This forced reunification was uncanonical and illegal, since it took place against the wishes of the rightful primate and without the participation of Ukrainian Catholic bishops. The Uniate Church in Carpatho-Ukraine was liquidated in 1947. Besides destroying the entire Church hierarchy (only Metropolitan Yosyf Slipy survived eighteen years of Siberian exile and hard labor), the Soviet regime was responsible for the deaths of hundreds of priests, monks, and nuns and thousands of faithful, who perished as martyrs in the concentration camps of Siberia.[18] The Ukrainian Catholic Church was forced underground; it existed clandestinely for more than four decades, until its revival in 1989–90.

On January 23, 1990, the Ukrainian Catholic Church held a synod in Lviv, the first such council since the Church's liquidation in 1946. Declaring the Lviv Synod of 1946 uncanonical and illegal, it established the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine as a legal entity. In June 1990, Pope John Paul II held a historic meeting in the Vatican with ten bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine. The group was joined by Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky, the Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and eighteen Ukrainian Catholic bishops from the West. This was the first synod of the entire hierarchy, including both the homeland and the diaspora, and the liturgy celebrated at the Ukrainian Catholic Pro-Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Rome involved the largest gathering of Ukrainian Catholic bishops in the history of the Church. A Ukrainian Youth for Christ rally, entitled "Seeking Christ," was held in September 1990 in Lviv. Attended by an estimated 40,000 Ukrainian Catholic youth, it was the first such event to be held in Ukraine since 1933, when Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky organized a similar rally.[19]

By the spring of 1990, there were more than a thousand Ukrainian Catholic priests, more than 350 of whom were formerly Russian Orthodox priests (that is, Ukrainian Catholic priests who had been forced into Orthodoxy). Religious orders, although still illegal in the Soviet Union, began to function openly once again. Several churches and monasteries, including Saint George's Cathedral in Lviv, had already been returned to their former owners, the Ukrainian Catholics; the majority, however, were still in the hands of the Russian Orthodox Church, which had received the Ukrainian Catholic churches and properties from the Soviet government upon the liquidation of that Church. Monsignor Ivan Datsko of the Archeparchy of Lviv summarized the status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine as of December 1990 as follows: 4.2 million faithful; 10 bishops; 954 priests; 1,737 churches; 946 seminarians; and 244 men and 706 women religious. The Ukrainian Catholic Seminary in Lviv, which had been closed after the Soviet army occupied the city in 1944, was reopened by Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk in 1990.[20] In January 1991, Pope John Paul II officially confirmed the positions of the ten formerly clandestine bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine and appointed five Latin-rite bishops for the Latin-rite faithful in Ukraine.[21]

On March 30, 1991, Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky ended his fifty-three year exile and returned to Lviv as the spiritual leader of his flock. Several days later, on April 7, Ukrainian

Catholics were able to celebrate Easter (according to the Julian calendar) at the Cathedral of Saint George for the first time in forty-six years. On May 28, 1991, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was officially registered in Ukraine, following a visit to Kiev by Cardinal Lubachivsky. In June 1991, the Cardinal announced his intention to remain permanently in Ukraine and to begin work on the establishment of an infrastructure for the Ukrainian Catholic Church, focusing first on the education of young people, especially new cadres of priests.[22] In a speech delivered at the Special Assembly of European Bishops, which took place at the Vatican from November 28 to December 14, 1991, the Cardinal pointed out that, as of late 1991, there were 11 bishops, 1,100 priests, 300 religious, 800 nuns, and 5 million faithful in Ukraine. Moreover, the faithful had regained some, but not all, of their churches: in 1991, they had 2,176 churches, compared with 4,500 before the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1946.[23] The Catholic Church also had a presence in predominantly Orthodox Eastern Ukraine, with ten parishes, including Yalta and Sevastopil, on the Crimean peninsula. Two parishes are located in the country's capital, Kiev.[24]

A synod of the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy was held in May 1992 at the Cathedral of Saint George in Lviv, the first such gathering held in Ukraine since the Synod of Lviv in 1891, which was called by Metropolitan (later Cardinal) Sylvester Sembratovych. The Ukrainian Catholic bishops formally declared invalid the government-manipulated synod of 1946, which had liquidated the Ukrainian Catholic Church and merged it with the Russian Orthodox Church.[25] Items on the agenda included canonical structures of the major archbishopric (or patriarchate), new Ukrainian translations of liturgical books, the creation of new eparchies in Ukraine, the status of the beatification process of Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky, and a formal petition to the Pope to officially recognize the Ukrainian Archbishop as the Eastern Rite Patriarch, as prescribed by Church law.[26]

In August 1992, more than a million faithful from around the world joined leaders of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate, and Latin-rite churches, together with the President of Ukraine and other dignitaries, to pay their last respects to Yosyf Cardinal Slipy, whose remains were brought from Rome to their final resting place at Saint George's Cathedral in Lviv. It was Cardinal Slipy who first presented the concept of a Ukrainian patriarchate at the Vatican Council in October 1963.[27]

On July 12, 1993, Lviv and Rome simultaneously announced the creation of four new eparchies in Ukraine, which were decided on by the Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in May 1992 and which received the blessing of Pope John Paul II. The new eparchies – Ternopil (Bishop Mykhailo Sapryha), Kolomyia-Chernivtsi (Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk), Zboriv (Bishop-elect Mykhailo Koltyn), and Sambir-Drohobych (Bishop Yuliian Voronovsky) – join the existing eparchies of Lviv (Bishop Philemon Kurchaba), Ivano-Frankivske (Bishop Sofron Dmyterko), and Mukachiv (Bishop Ivan Semedi), to bring the total number of Ukrainian Catholic eparchies in Ukraine to seven.[28]

The majority of Ukrainians belong to the two major religious denominations: approximately 76 percent are Orthodox, and 13 percent are Catholic of the Eastern or Byzantine rite. A small minority of Ukrainians are Protestants, of various denominations. The Orthodox Church adheres to the doctrines of only the first seven ecumenical councils, whereas the Catholic Church professes all the doctrines of the universal Catholic Church and acknowledges the Pope as its spiritual head. The Ukrainian rite, both Catholic and Orthodox, is rich in the Byzantine tradition. Its churches can be distinguished from those of the Latin, or Western, rite by their characteristic architectural styles, icons, iconostases (ornate screens separating the sanctuary from the nave), liturgical services, and vestments. The first liturgical language of

the Ukrainian church was Church Slavonic. Never a spoken language, Church Slavonic was the oldest literary language of the Slavs, originating in 863 A.D. With the acceptance of Christianity in Ukraine in 988 A.D., Church Slavonic was adopted as the language of the church and the literary language. After the Russian Revolution, in 1917, the Ukrainian Orthodox churches outside the USSR introduced modern Ukrainian into their liturgies, without completely abandoning Church Slavonic. The Ukrainian Catholic Church followed suit after the Second Vatican Council (1962–5), at which time it began to publish and use liturgical books in Ukrainian as well as in the language of the host country, while continuing to publish some materials in Church Slavonic.[29]

There are approximately two hundred Roman Catholic parishes in Ukraine, served by five Latin-rite bishops appointed by Pope John Paul II. The faithful are mostly Poles and Hungarians who live in Ukraine.[30]

The Baptist doctrine was brought to Ukraine by German colonists; the first Baptist congregation was established in the Kherson region in 1869. Baptists, including Evangelicals and Seventh-Day Adventists, were known in Ukraine as "stundists."[31] The largest populations of Baptists were found in the Kherson, Katerynoslav, and Kiev regions and in Volhynia. Like all other religious groups, the Baptists were subjected to religious persecution by the tsarist government, the Russian Orthodox Church, and, later, Soviet authorities. In 1944, the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists was formed. It was headquartered in Moscow and recognized by the Soviet government. The Council embraced Evangelical Christians, Baptists, Pentecostals, Adventists, and Mennonites. Those who refused to subordinate themselves to the leadership in Moscow were severely persecuted. The Ukrainian Reformed and Lutheran churches were liquidated when the Soviets occupied Western Ukraine in 1939.[32] The religious freedom that swept over the Soviet Union in 1989–90 saw a revival of the Protestant denominations in Ukraine.

Jews first settled on Ukrainian lands in the fourth century B.C., in the Crimea and among the Greek colonies along the Black Sea. At the end of the nineteenth century, Ukraine had the highest concentration of Jews of any country in the world, with approximately 30 percent of the total world population. This number has decreased dramatically over the years, as a result not only of the death-toll of the Second World War, but also of low birth rates, a rise in intermarriage, and, most recently, mass emigration. According to the 1989 census, there were 486,326 Jews in the Ukrainian SSR.[33] The demise of the Soviet Union and the proclamation of Ukraine's independence has brought the Jewish population in the country a guarantee of freedom of worship .

There are also Muslim communities in Ukraine, especially in the Crimea, where there are mosques and Islamic schools. Buddhists and animists are also found in Ukraine, but there seems to be no organized expression of these religions.[34]

The chief concerns of the churches in Ukraine today include the following: to open seminaries and educational institutions to prepare future priests and religious for the important task of ministering to a population that has been without spiritual guidance for decades; to return churches and church properties to their rightful owners; and to resolve intra- and interconfessional conflicts (the latter believed to be orchestrated chiefly by the former Russian Orthodox [now Ukrainian Orthodox] Church in Ukraine)[35] that arose as the Ukrainian churches began to rebuild their infrastructures and establish their bases. In October 1991, in Kiev, representatives of the Ukrainian Catholic, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox, Ukrainian Orthodox, and Protestant churches as well as of the Jewish and Muslim religions formed the Council of Religions in Ukraine and proposed the establishment of a Ministry of Religious Affairs, to promote harmonious relationships among the different religious groups.[36]

Language and Literature

Ukrainian is an independent language that belongs to the Slavic family of languages of Indo-European root. Although it shares features with other Slavic languages, it is also characterized by a number of unique features. The Ukrainian language uses the Cyrillic alphabet. Although the history of the spoken language really knows no periods, that of the literary language can be divided into three eras: (1) the early, or old Ukrainian, period (tenth to thirteenth centuries), when the basic literary language was Church Slavonic, to which popular elements were slowly but constantly being added; (2) the middle period (fourteenth to eighteenth centuries), when, after a long period of vacillation between popular elements and foreign influences, the language stabilized as a mixture of different components; and (3) the modern period (nineteenth and twentieth centuries), when the literary language was reconstructed entirely on the basis of the popular language.[37]

Various dialects and subdialects, based on geographic areas, exist in the Ukrainian language. In the diaspora, the language has been influenced, mostly with respect to vocabulary, by the language of each particular country of settlement. Thus, for example, English has influenced the Ukrainian language spoken in the United States and Canada; Spanish and Portuguese have left their mark on the Ukrainian language spoken in South America. The Ukrainian language spoken in Ukraine was influenced, in both tsarist and Soviet times, by Russification, which aimed to discredit the language and suppress its use, in both the written and spoken forms and both in public and in private.

On October 28, 1989, the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet decreed that, beginning January 1, 1990, Ukrainian would be the official language of the Republic, while Russian would be used for communication between nationality groups. Both Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine for *Perebudova* [Reconstruction] and the Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society had been pressing to make Ukrainian the state language of Ukraine.[38] Today, Ukrainian is the official language of an independent Ukraine.

Although Slavic writing was probably not unknown in Ukraine during the first millennium, a wider acquaintance with the written word came only with the introduction of Christianity, at the end of the tenth century. Church literature, including liturgical service books, collections of religious songs and prayers, sermons, philosophical and theological treatises, moral and ascetic works, and other types of religious literature, were soon being copied and translated.[39]

The first independent literary works are dated around the middle of the eleventh century. The subject of much of the scholarly literature of the eleventh to fifteenth centuries was historical. Also appearing around this time were romances and poetry; collections of classical literature, including quotations from the ancient Greek philosophers; sermons; tales; and biographies. Among the more famous works of the period are the Chronicle of Nestor, *Povist vremennykh lit* (A Tale of Bygone Years); the writings of Prince Volodymyr Monomakh; and the epic poem *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (A Tale of Ihor's Campaign).[40]

The Renaissance and the Reformation brought about a new literary development in Ukraine by the sixteenth century. It was a time of departure from Byzantine literary traditions and of an approach to western European conventions. It was during this period that the Bible was printed in Church Slavonic and that the genre of the tale, both religious and secular, enriched the literary repertoire. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – the baroque period – saw the emergence of a rich Ukrainian verse poetry; more than two hundred poems, on both spiritual and secular themes, appeared at this time. Other works of this period include epic poetry, short stories, dramas, sermons, theological treatises, and

scholarly and historical writings. The classical period of the mid-seventeenth century arose in opposition to the complexity and artificiality of the baroque style. In the eighteenth century, under the influence of the prevailing materialistic and atheistic philosophy, religious literature took second place, while the comedy, satire, fable, and similar works took precedence. Classicism was instrumental in the renovation of the vernacular Ukrainian language and the dissemination of the new literature to classes other than the elite. Ivan Kotliarevsky (1769–1838), author of the popular travesty of Virgil's *Aeneid*, was the founder of the new Ukrainian literature in the vernacular. Other notable literary figures of the classical period include Petro Hulak-Artemovsky (1790–1865) and Hryhorii Kvitka-Osnovianenko (1778–1843).[41]

Nineteenth-century romanticism revitalized the Ukrainian language by introducing new linguistic elements, including those of popular speech, and thereby helped to reawaken national consciousness. Ballads, fairy tales, poetry based on the model of folk songs, and mystery plays were all part of the romantic free form of poetry. This was the period of Ukraine's greatest poet (also an accomplished painter), Taras Shevchenko (1814–61). The excellence of Shevchenko's poetry made a great impression on Ukrainian society. His earliest compositions were ballads and lyrics typical of the romantic spirit of his day. His later works included historical poems recounting the triumphs of Cossack Ukraine and poems deploring social injustice and the political and cultural oppression of Ukraine by tsarist Russia. His first collection of poems, published in 1840, was entitled *Kobzar* (The Kobza Player).[42] Shevchenko's influence, which was social and political as well as literary, continues to the present day. The anniversary of his birth and death is still celebrated every March with concerts, lectures, and recitals of his poetry by Ukrainians throughout the world.

Realism replaced romanticism in the middle of the nineteenth century. In Ukraine, the elements of this new style could be traced back to folklore and the old literature. Notable among the writers of this period were Marko Vovchok (pen name of Maria Vilinska-Markovych, 1834–1907) and Ivan Franko (1856–1916). Vovchok incorporated ethnographic material in her tales and her short stories for children. Franko wrote stories, narratives, psychological and social studies, sketches, satires, and social and historical novels. The themes of his writings included peasant life after the abolition of serfdom in Western Ukraine; descriptions of the life of children; prison life; the growth of capitalism and workers' first attempts to obtain better working conditions; and social and personal conflicts in the lives of wealthy landowners and the new intelligentsia, who were struggling to gain a place in society.[43]

The end of the nineteenth century saw Ukrainian writers moving toward an interest in subjective impressions and experiences and the personal perception of events. Among the best-known writers of this period were Lesia Ukrainka (pen name of Larysa Kosach, 1871–1913) and Vasyl Stefanyk (1871–1936); other notable writers included Olha Kobylianska (1865–1942), Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky (1864–1913), and Bohdan Lepky (1872–1941).[44]

The cultural renaissance of the 1920s included such notable literary figures as Andrii Holovko (1897–1972), Mykola Khvylovy (born Mykola Fitilev, 1893–1933), Mykola Kulish (1892–1942), Hryhorii Kosynka (pseudonym of Hryhorii Strilets, 1899–1934), Maksym Rylsky (1895–1964), Pavlo Tychyna (1891–1967), and Mykola Zerov (1890–1941).[45]

Since the 1920s, literature in Soviet Ukraine was molded by efforts to preserve national identity and resist Soviet attempts to Russify and destroy independent Ukrainian literature. Periods of decline of the Ukrainian written word coincided with the prevailing terrorism of the time. Authors were forced to rewrite their works in the spirit of "social realism," making Ukrainian literature an organ of Soviet propaganda. Many writers were killed, imprisoned, or deported; others were coerced by terror or bribed by rewards to work for the Soviet

regime. Many emigrated from Ukraine and continued to write in prison or in displaced-persons camps and, later, in their new homelands in the free world.[46]

A new generation of writers, critics, and poets emerged in the post-Stalin thaw. They included Ivan Drach, Ivan Dziuba, Lina Kostenko, Dmytro Pavlychko, Evhen Sverstiuk, and Vasyl Symonenko. Known as the Shestydesiatnyky (the Sixtiers), the group called for a correction of errors committed by Stalin, and assurances that Ukraine's cultural development would not be stifled in the future. Moreover, they demanded the end of the Communist Party's meddling in art and literature, the right to experiment with various literary and artistic styles, and a recognition of the central role of the Ukrainian language in the educational and cultural activity of Ukraine.[47]

Customs and Traditions

Throughout the centuries, the Ukrainian people have developed a very rich and unique culture, which is manifested in their architecture, art and folklore, customs and traditions, literature, music, and religion. Many folk rites and customs (some originating in pre-Christian times) are related either to the folk calendar or to family life.

There are special customs surrounding the Christmas–New Year period, including a traditional twelve-course Christmas Eve supper, with accompanying prayers and ritual preparations and activities, the singing of carols, the Malanka carnival, the ritual blessing of the waters on the feast of the Epiphany, and the blessing of homes. Easter also has its special traditions: fasting and prayer services during Lent and Holy Week, the distribution of pussy willows on Palm Sunday, customs associated with Easter Sunday Mass, the blessing of Easter foods, the painting of *pysanky* and *krashanky* (Ukrainian Easter eggs) and the singing and dancing of the traditional *hahilky* (spring plays involving songs and dances). Pentecost, or Zeleni Sviata (meaning, literally, "green holy days"), is celebrated by decorating churches and homes with green branches and leaves. Summer brings the rite of the Kupalo, which celebrates the beginning of the harvest and the day of the summer solstice. The Kupalo, which came to be associated with the feast-day of Saint John the Baptist, is observed on Midsummer's night by burning a bonfire, floating wreaths in a river or lake, and singing ritual songs. In August, the Feast of the Transfiguration of the Lord marks the end of the harvest and is celebrated by the blessing of fruits, which are brought to church services. The Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, also in August, is celebrated with the blessing of the last summer flowers.

There are also customs and traditions to mark important stages in the life cycle: birth, marriage, and death. Most folk customs connected with the birth of a child originated in pre-Christian times and are not normally observed today. Some of these include the midwife's ritual, the rite of cleansing the mother forty days after the birth, and the traditional haircutting of the child a year or more after the birth. Baptism, however, continues to be practiced as a ritual salvation of the infant from the forces of evil. The cleansing of the mother has survived in a greatly modified form – namely, as a collection of prayers read by the priest over the mother and her newborn at the end of the baptismal ceremony.[48]

Wedding customs extended beyond the immediate family and, in earlier times, included festivals that lasted for days and involved the entire community. The major rituals were the matchmaking, the betrothal, the marriage ceremony itself, and the wedding festivities that followed. Matchmaking occurred after courtship and was merely a formalization of the intention to marry. It involved ceremonial inquiries at the home of the girl's parents,

inspections of the prospective groom's home, acceptance of bread by the girl's parents, the bride's formal consent, the tying of ceremonial towels (embroidered ritual cloths) over the shoulders of each matchmaker, and the exchange of gifts between parents and matchmakers. The betrothal, which could take place during the matchmaking, at the future bride's house, was performed in the presence of all the relatives of the couple and was accompanied by ritual songs, speeches, binding with ceremonial towels, and the exchange of gifts. Banns were announced in church and preparations for the wedding began. A ritual wedding bread, the *korovai*, was baked and decorated with branches and doves, geese and pine cones, all made of dough. This custom has been preserved and, to this day, one will find a *korovai* gracing the table at a Ukrainian wedding reception, often side by side with a tiered wedding cake. Two wreaths, made of periwinkle or myrtle and symbolizing everlasting love, are plaited for the marriage ceremony. A *divych-vechir* ("maiden's evening"), at which the bride says farewell to her girlfriends, is often held at the bride's home on the eve of the wedding. Another custom that has been preserved over the years is the blessing of the betrothed couple by their parents just prior to leaving for the marriage ceremony. The church ceremony itself is rich with customs and traditions. At the wedding reception, the newlyweds are traditionally greeted by their parents, together with their honorary "mother" and "father" of the wedding day, the *starostynia* and *starosta*, with a loaf of bread and salt and, sometimes, wine and honey, symbolic of items necessary for a prosperous and happy life.[49]

Burial rites also have their origins in ancient times. However, many of the old customs that were faithfully observed in the villages in Ukraine have not survived in the diaspora. Those customs include covering all the mirrors in the house, changing the arrangement of the furniture, and sounding the death knell to ensure that the dead person's soul leaves the house, and providing the deceased with bread, salt, groats, vodka, and coins for the passage to eternity. Religious funeral services, including the *parastas* and the *panakhyda*, are faithfully observed to this day. A custom that has also been kept in most places is the *tryzna*, or reception, immediately following the burial, to which all those who attended the funeral are invited. Such a luncheon or dinner is accompanied by speeches in honor of the deceased and a formal thank you from the person chosen to represent the bereaved family. Some women, especially older widows, still follow the custom of wearing black or some combination of black, white, and gray in public, as a sign of mourning, for one year following the death of a member of the immediate family. One is expected to stay away from dances during the mourning period for a very close member of the family. It is customary to offer Masses and prayers for the deceased on the fortieth day after the death.[50]

It is important to note that different regions of Ukraine observed different customs connected with the holy days, the calendar year, and family life. People in the cities and towns, for example, did not necessarily have the same rituals as the rural folk. Also, customs that were preserved intact by one group may have been altered or completely forgotten by another. Such regional differences were compounded by the changing habits of Ukrainians who left their homeland and settled in other countries. Circumstances were not always conducive to the preservation of every custom exactly as it was observed in Ukraine. Thus, among Ukrainians scattered throughout the world, one finds different customs based not only on the region of Ukraine from which their ancestors came, but also on such factors as the length of time since emigration, the place of settlement, the current lifestyle, and the importance attached to the preservation of traditions and customs from one generation to the next.

Fine Arts

Evidence of artistic activity on the territory of present-day Ukraine dates back to the Paleolithic period. Carved mammoth tusks from this period as well as figures of animals and birds and representations of women have been uncovered in Kiev and other areas of Ukraine. Drawings of mammoths and stags in stone caves date back to the same period. The type of meander incision found on the mammoth tusks uncovered in Mizyn is believed to be unique in Europe and is much older than any such patterns found in China or Mexico. Artistic expression developed rapidly in the Neolithic period, when pottery making was common. In the middle of the first millennium B.C., the Scythians produced gold jewelry whose artistry surpassed that of comparable Greek artifacts.[51]

Numerous pieces of figural sculpture exist from the time of the Greek colonization of the northern shores of the Black Sea. Most of the discovered fragments, from the works of both Greek and local artists, date back no farther than the fifth century B.C. Ancient painting has survived in the form of murals discovered in tombs dating from the first few centuries B.C. Although the early paintings usually depict Greek deities, later murals include painted flowers, plants, birds, animals, and warrior life. Some examples of painted portraits have been preserved from this early period: the head of a young man from Chersonesus, from the fourth century B.C., painted with encaustic on a stone slab; a painter dressed in local costume, represented on a sarcophagus in Kerch, from the first century A.D.; and a number of decorative mosaic floors depicting human and animal figures, from the third and second centuries B.C., discovered in ancient houses in Chersonesus and Olbia. Several Scythian murals, including depictions of a hunting scene and a Scythian playing the lyre, have been discovered in tombs near Symferopil in Crimea. Christian symbols including crosses and monograms began to appear early in the third century A.D. in the murals in Crimea.[52]

From the tenth century, Byzantine art and culture played an important role in Ukraine. The Princely Era (tenth to fourteenth centuries) saw the erection of cathedrals and churches and the flourishing of various art forms, including mosaics, frescoes, icons, and paintings. This era is also represented by religious reliefs, such as those found in the Cathedral of Saint Michael in Kiev; secular scenes, found in the catacombs of the Pecherska Lavra (Kievan Cave Monastery); and filigree carvings, crosses, and Christian symbols reflecting early Syrian and Byzantine influences, as seen in the tombs of the Church of the Tithes and the Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kiev. One of the greatest achievements of Ukrainian art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the Galician icon, based on the prevailing Byzantine style, but with typically Ukrainian features (for example, Christ pictured in embroidered robes).[53]

The influence of Byzantine art was overshadowed in the sixteenth century by renaissance and, subsequently, baroque art, giving rise to new art forms, such as portraiture. The most characteristic sculptures of this period are memorial tombs and memorial tablets sculpted in relief in conventional styles, similar to those found in Venice and Northern Italy. The baroque era brought decorative sculpture, which developed mainly along the lines of architectural ornamentation, memorial tablets, and, especially, elaborate iconostases constructed in several tiers, magnificently carved and polychromed, and richly ornamented with native Ukrainian floral motifs. The rococo influence produced lighter and more sophisticated iconostases, such as the one found in the Saint Sophia Cathedral. The iconostases in peasant churches were more original and closer to folk art, combining ornamental motifs with a harmonious polychromy and gilding. Among the examples of the figural sculpture in the classical style that appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century are figures of Justice, Saint George, Hercules, the Muses, and the hetmans. The period of the empire style

in Ukraine saw the custom of decorating churches and public buildings and squares with statues and monuments (the fountains in the market in Lviv are a good example).[54]

During the first half of the nineteenth century, realism replaced classicism in Ukraine, although academism continued to exist almost to the end of the century. Taras Shevchenko, the national bard of Ukraine and a painter and engraver by profession, was instrumental in the rebirth of Ukrainian art. He gradually turned away from academism to a more realistic depiction of scenes from peasant life, Ukrainian history, and the Ukrainian landscape. Shevchenko's followers gave rise to a Ukrainian ethnographic school of art.[55]

Academism in Ukrainian art gave way to impressionism at the turn of the century. The first decade of the twentieth century saw a reaction against impressionism and ethnographism, and new movements in world art became influential in Ukraine. The world-famous Ukrainian artist Alexander Archipenko was among the founders of a new stylistic trend.

The Ukrainian Academy of Arts was established in Kiev in 1917 (it was renamed the Kiev State Art Institute by the Soviet government). Advanced schools of art were also founded in Kharkiv, Odessa, and Dnipropetrovske. Existing Ukrainian artists' associations were disbanded and socialist realism was the approach required of all artists in the 1930s. Works that did not conform to the Soviet style were destroyed and their authors persecuted for "nationalism" and "formalism." Many valuable works of art, including icons, mosaics, paintings, and sculptures, were destroyed or confiscated by the Soviet authorities. Such policies forced many Ukrainian artists to seek refuge in the West before and after the Second World War. Once settled in their new homelands, many of them continued to pursue their careers, and exhibited their works both within the Ukrainian community and in society at large. Artists who remained in Soviet Ukraine, however, saw Ukrainian art develop in the context of a constant struggle between socialist realism and the desire for freedom of expression.[56]

In the field of graphic arts, from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, manuscript books were ornamented with headpieces, initials, tailpieces, and illuminations; many of these features also appeared in the first printed books. With the establishment of a printing house in 1573, Lviv became the country's first center of printing and graphic arts; Kiev subsequently became its second. In the second half of the seventeenth century, secular subjects, portraits, and town plans joined religious themes in the works of graphic artists. Engraving became highly developed during the Ukrainian baroque period; it was characterized by elements of allegory, symbolism, heraldry, and very ornate decoration, as well as new forms, including the *teza*, a large graphic portrait, on paper or silk, of a famous political or church figure, accompanied by an elaborate poetic dedication. The turn of the eighteenth century saw the emergence of the first engraved landscapes. Lithography became a medium of Ukrainian artists in the 1820s. Etching was popularized by Taras Shevchenko. As new graphic artists and illustrators appeared, a new style developed, combining elements of traditional Ukrainian printing with popular folk motifs and making use of the latest graphic technology, especially in book publishing. The fate of graphic arts in Ukraine was similar to that of other art forms: artists were forced to conform to the style of socialist realism, and many of the most talented emigrated to the West.[57]

Architecture

Ukrainian architecture has a rich history, incorporating ancient principles of art and engineering and refining and supplementing them with local characteristics. Architectural construction in Ukraine dates back to the Paleolithic period. Each historic era – the Princely Era and the

adoption of Byzantine Christianity, the Renaissance, the baroque period, the mid-eighteenth century rococo period, classicism, and the Soviet period – left its characteristic architectural style, evident especially in the churches and municipal buildings. The style of architecture prevalent during each period was adapted to the Byzantine–Ukrainian heritage and to the Ukrainian character and spirit. The result was often a uniquely Ukrainian architectural style. Typical of Ukrainian architecture are the beautiful wooden churches found not only throughout Ukraine, but also in Ukrainian communities throughout the world.[58]

Folk Art

Ukrainian folk art is based on ancient traditions and traces its beginnings to the Neolithic period (ceramics), the Bronze Age (metalwork), and the Paleolithic period (carvings in bone).[59] Among the most beautiful and intricate of Ukrainian folk arts are ceramics, *pysanky* (Easter eggs), embroideries, woodcarvings, metalwork, woven tapestries, and beadwork.

The rich deposits of clay in Ukraine, especially kaolin, or china clay, facilitated the development of the ceramic industry. Vases, pottery, kitchen and tableware, terra-cotta lamps, and candlesticks and candelabra were decorated with ornamental motifs in attractive colors. There were also sculpted figures, animals, toys, and religious articles (such as icons, crosses, and amulets). Ceramics for construction purposes included bricks, slabs, and various tiles (including multicolored glazed tiles for stoves and walls, and solid-colored tiles with carved ornamentation), and architectural terra-cotta details. Ukrainian ceramics are also decorated with geometric designs, including dots; straight, broken, and wavy lines; crosses; and various combinations of flat geometric shapes such as squares, triangles, and circles. Floral ornamentation typically includes stylized versions of grape, oak, and sunflower leaves; ears of grain; berries; and periwinkle. Other motifs include birds, especially the rooster and peacock; animals, including deer, horses, and fish; and human figures. Different regions of Ukraine developed and became known for the distinctive style and decoration of their ceramics.[60]

The painting of *pysanky* (Easter eggs) has been a tradition in Ukraine since prehistoric times. Originally symbolic of spring and the renewal of life, with the spread of Christianity, the eggs became part of the celebration of Easter and the Resurrection. *Pysanky* can be made of various materials – chicken or other poultry eggs, stone, wood, or clay. The process of decorating, or "writing" (*pysaty*), the poultry-egg *pysanka* is similar to batik painting. The initial design – anything that is to remain white – is covered with melted beeswax using a special instrument, a small, conical metal tube attached to a wooden handle – much like a pen that writes with melted wax. The egg is then dipped in yellow dye. The parts of the design that are to be yellow are covered with wax, and the egg is then dipped in a red dye. This process is repeated, with areas being covered with wax as needed and the egg dipped into progressively darker dyes, until the entire design has been drawn. The finished egg is heated to melt the wax, and the beautiful colors reappear. Another, less elaborate, method of decorating *pysanky* is to paint the egg a single color and to scratch a design on it using a sharp needle or knife.[61]

The surface of the Easter egg is usually divided into sections by a system of lines. Patterns consisting of dots, lines, crosses, cones, and other geometric shapes as well as plant and animal motifs are painted within these sections or at their junctions in symmetrical and asymmetrical arrangements. There is an endless variety of designs, each of which has a special meaning or symbolism. The more traditional symbols include the following: (1) drops or dots, symbolizing the tears Mary wept for her crucified Son (drops in an all-over

pattern may also suggest the stars); (2) triangles, which can stand for various trinities, including the Holy Trinity; heaven, earth, and hell; father, mother, and child; and air, fire, and water; (3) rakes and ladders, representing a peasant's tools, which symbolize good husbandry and prosperity; (4) the sun and stars, symbolizing life, growth, and good fortune; (5) the cross, symbolizing Christ's victory over death; and (6) ribbons and endless lines, symbolizing everlasting life.[62]

Floral designs include roses, poppies, periwinkle, sunflowers, evergreen trees, wheat, oak leaves, branches, vines, pussy willows, cherries, and grapes. Flowers represent love, charity, and good will. Sunflowers are symbolic of the warmth of the sun's rays, and roses, of love and caring. Evergreen trees represent eternal youth and health, whereas wheat symbolizes good health and wishes for a bountiful harvest. Animal motifs include storks, chicks, hens, and roosters, all of which symbolize fertility and the fulfillment of wishes. Deer, horses, and rams represent wishes for good health, wealth, and prosperity. Fish symbolize Christianity.[63]

In earlier times, peasants believed in the magical powers of the *pysanka*: it was said to protect one from evil, cure illness, and prevent the destruction of homes by fire and lightning. *Pysanky* were and still are given as gifts or exchanged as signs of affection at Easter.[64] The ancient and beautiful art of the *pysanka* is kept very much alive among Ukrainians today, even in the diaspora.

Embroidery is another very popular form of folk art among Ukrainians. Archeological discoveries in Ukraine indicate that embroidery has existed since prehistoric times. It is said that cloth embroidery was first inspired by faith in the power of protective symbols and later by aesthetic motives. Various symbolic designs were incorporated into woven cloth by means of a weaving shuttle or a needle. In time, new artistic styles were developed, and techniques and materials perfected. Embroidery began to thrive in three important arenas: (1) churches, where it appeared on altar linens and vestments; (2) folk rites and customs, including the use of embroidered towels to decorate icons and as part of the wedding ritual; and (3) clothing, especially shirts and blouses, sleeveless jackets, and, in some areas of Ukraine, skirts, aprons, kerchiefs, and the head coverings of married women.[65]

Ukrainian embroidery boasts close to one hundred different stitches and techniques. The oldest is a type of backstitch known as *nyz*, which is first worked with the main color (usually black) on the reverse side and then filled in with colored thread on the right side of the fabric. This type of embroidery lends itself only to geometric designs formed by the crossing and breaking of lines. Another very popular technique of embroidery is the leafing stitch, or *lyshtva*, a two-sided, counted satin stitch that looks almost identical from the front and back of the cloth. The most popular stitch in embroidery today is the cross-stitch. Although it is of more recent origin, it has become widespread and has often replaced other, ancient, techniques because it lends itself to the creation of not only geometric but also floral motifs and, thus, to the composition of personal designs. Openwork stitches are also popular with some Ukrainian embroiderers: the cut-and-drawn work, the drawnwork, and the cutwork.[66]

Each region of Ukraine has its characteristic embroidery stitches and techniques, favorite designs and motifs, and predominant colors. Modern-day Ukrainian embroidery picks up on those traditional techniques, designs, and colors and sometimes supplements them with creative, stylized motifs that suit the occasion and the fancy of the embroiderer. A typical Ukrainian arts-and-crafts festival will display or sell hand-embroidered blouses, shirts, ties, handbags, pillows, towels, tablecloths, pincushions, bookmarks, and other articles, all meticulously done in a variety of stitches, designs, and colors.

Other popular forms of folk art in Ukraine include woodcarving, metalwork, and beadwork. Woodcarving is a highly developed craft in Ukraine, dating back to pre-Christian times.

Ukrainian peasant houses were very often decorated with carvings on doorposts, windows, columns of porches and verandas, gables, and balustrades. The interiors of Ukrainian homes were decorated with carvings on the beams, windowsills, doorposts, and shelves. Hand-carved furniture included tables, chairs, benches, trestle beds, and chests. Carts, sleighs, walking canes, decorative vases and plates, knives, household utensils, and baking molds were also carved from wood. Many churches and monasteries in Ukraine had beautifully, and elaborately, carved gilded iconostases, crosses, and candelabra. Geometric ornamentation predominated in these works, but plant and animal motifs also appeared, though less frequently. The iconostases, for example, were adorned with grapevines, sunflowers, or roses, and figures of angels or saints were often added. Along with regular woodcarving, Ukrainian craftsmen applied inlay techniques, using brass wires, colored beads, metal plaques, and mother-of-pearl to decorate the various objects they carved from wood. Woodcarving is still alive among Ukrainians today, though to a much lesser extent than embroidery. Hand-carved or inlaid objects that are popular today include candelabra, decorative vases, plates, wooden boxes, wooden beads, crosses, picture frames, and wooden Easter eggs.[67]

Metalwork in Ukraine produced such articles as jewelry, household items, agricultural implements, and weapons. Iron and steel, copper, zinc, and lead were used. Objects made of precious metals included expensive vessels, adornments for icons, crosses, bells, and kettles. There were also hammered gates, doors, and handles and cupola crosses.[68]

Weaving is an old tradition in Ukraine. The most popular woven items include *kylymy*, or kilims (ornamental fabrics used as floor coverings or wallhangings), cloth, kerchiefs, ritual cloths or towels, belts, and furniture covers. Of these, the *kylymy* have achieved the status of an art form. At first, *kylymy* were made only in the households of the noble class, but, in time, a school for the weaving of *kylymy* was opened, and workshops and *kilim* factories using local patterns as well as the designs of known artists were established. Geometrical ornamentation in *kilim* making has been preserved in Right Bank Ukraine and Galicia, whereas plant motifs are more common in Left Bank Ukraine.[69] The geometric designs arrange serrated lines, broken lines, rhombuses, spirals, and stars in unique symmetries and harmonies of color. Plant motifs include the "tree of paradise," the lotus flower, the palmetto, branches with leaves, and flowers or vases filled with flowers.[70]

Beadwork, or the art of making *gerdany* (beaded necklaces), is a very delicate and intricate one requiring reserves of both time and patience. The most popular items made from colored beads include elaborate necklaces, bracelets, and hair ornaments.

Music and Dance

From the earliest times, Ukrainian music could be categorized into two types: secular and religious. The secular music of the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries belonged to the highest levels of society – the princely courts and the nobility. Although this music has not been preserved, the literature, descriptions of instruments, and frescoes dating from the period indicate that most of it focused on history as its subject. Songs glorifying princes were performed in recitative style to the accompaniment of instruments; they recounted the military exploits and other heroic deeds of the prince or his ancestors. The most famous of these is *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (The Tale of Ihor's Campaign). Such early secular music was spread throughout the country by wandering minstrels and singers of heroic epics.[71]

Church music was brought to Ukraine from Byzantium, along with Christianity. The Greek clergy were followed by professional Greek musicians who organized and conducted church choirs and became Ukraine's first teachers of church music.[72]

In time, musical guilds were established and handbooks written. Ukrainians gained the reputation of being good musicians, distinguishing themselves in the field of instrumental music. They served not only at the courts of Ukrainian princes and nobles, but also at Polish and Russian courts. The Hlukhiv Singing School was founded in 1738; it turned out many famous Ukrainian singers, instrumentalists, and composers of the eighteenth century. Among them were the composers Maksym Berezovsky and Dmytro Bortniansky, both of whose works included operas, while the latter's also included more than one hundred choral religious compositions. The nineteenth century brought such great composers as Semen Hulak-Artemovsky, who wrote the popular opera *Zaporozhets za Dunaiem* (Zaporozhian Cossack beyond the Dahube); Mykola Arkas, who wrote the opera *Kateryna,* based on the poetry of Taras Shevchenko; and Mykola Lysenko, noted music ethnographer and founder of the Ukrainian national school of music, whose numerous contributions include the opera *Taras Bulba* and arrangements of more than six hundred folk and ritual songs. The most famous of the twentieth-century Ukrainian composers include Mykola Leontovych and Oleksander Koshyts. Like their predecessors, the composers of the twentieth century were greatly influenced by folk music. Leontovych is well known for his "Dudaryk" and "Shchedryk," the latter popularized in the United States as the "Carol of the Bells." Koshyts was co-founder of the Ukrainian Republican Kapelle, later known as the Ukrainian National Choir, which toured Europe and North and South America for seven years in an effort to win public support for the Ukrainian National Republic. He not only popularized Ukrainian folk songs but, having composed five liturgies, also played an important role in the enrichment of Ukrainian church music. Ukrainian musical development changed markedly under the Soviet regime, with its full state control over all musical activities and its policy of gradually suppressing all attempts to revive Ukrainian cultural and national life.[73]

Ukrainian folk music consists of vocal and instrumental melodies composed both generations ago and in our own time. Folk songs express the common experience of the Ukrainian people, and accompany all the important events of life, from birth to death. Ukrainian folk songs can be divided into four basic groups: (1) ritual songs, such as Christmas carols, spring songs, songs about nymphs, and Kupalo songs (midsummer rituals); (2) harvest and wedding songs; (3) historical and political songs, such as ballads and *dumy* (lyrical-epic works of folk origin depicting events of the Cossack period, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries); and (4) lyrical songs, including love songs, family songs, and social-class songs. Besides these four basic groups, there are also cradle songs or lullabies, *chumak* songs (depicting the life and adventures of wagoners and traders, common in Ukraine from the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century), army songs, marches, conscripts' songs, and wanderers' songs. Nature manifests human emotions in Ukrainian folk songs. Lyrical songs, for example, often contain poetic images, symbols, and similes. The eagle or falcon is the symbol of manliness, power, courage, or freedom. The dove symbolizes femininity, whereas the sea gull is the symbol of the suffering mother. A girl is compared to a guelder-rose tree or a star; a boy is compared to an oak or a maple. Dramatic dialogue is often used to express emotion in lyrical songs. Such folk songs provided inspiration not only for Ukrainian composers but also for world-renowned composers of other nationalities, such as Tchaikovsky, Glinka, Moussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, and Rachmaninoff, all of whom made use of Ukrainian folk melodies in their works.[74]

Popular folk musical instruments peculiar to Ukraine include the *bandura,* a stringed instrument resembling a lute; the *sopilka,* or flute; and the *trembita,* a woodwind instrument popular with the Hutzul mountaineers.[75]

Closely connected with Ukrainian folk songs is folk dancing. There are dances of different types, paralleling the various kinds of folk songs: dances for the rituals of spring and the

Kupalo, sword dances, harvest dances, and wedding dances. Many of the folk dances use movement, gesture, and a specific type of music to portray events that occur in nature or everyday life. Many dances that were originally designed for either men or women exclusively are now choreographed for pairs. The more famous of the Ukrainian folk dances include the *hopak*, the *arkan*, the *kolomyika*, the *kozachok*, the *metelytsia*, and the *zaporozhets*. Some of these dances, notably the *hopak* and the *arkan*, often feature physical strength and acrobatic agility. The melodic accompaniment and the colorful native folk costumes of the country's different regions add to the originality and beauty of Ukrainian folk dances.[76]

Classical ballet was introduced in Ukraine in the eighteenth century as entertainment at the manors of noblemen. The early ballet performances drew from the Russian and world repertoires. The first ballets by Ukrainian composers were staged in 1930, but they were devoid of distinctly Ukrainian elements. Ballets featuring Ukrainian themes and accompanied by music written by Ukrainian composers began to be produced on the eve of the Second World War. A characteristic feature of Ukrainian choreography is the synthesis of classical ballet and the national folk dance.[77]

History

According to archeological discoveries and the writings of ancient Greek, Roman, and Arabic historians, the earliest traces of human existence on the territory of present-day Ukraine date back to the early Paleolithic period of the Stone Age (c. 300,000 B.C.). By the Upper Paleolithic period (40,000–15,000 B.C.), almost all of that territory was inhabited by clans of hunters and gatherers. By the Mesolithic period (10,000–7,000 B.C.), the clans were engaging in fishing and had learned to use the bow and arrow. It was at this time that the first tribal units appeared. The Neolithic period (7,000–3,000 B.C.) saw the rise of primitive agriculture and animal husbandry as well as pottery making and weaving. These activities developed further during the Copper and Bronze ages. The Trypilian culture, first discovered in 1896, existed from 4,000–2,000 B.C. in the Dnieper and Dniester river basins. Noted for its pottery decorated with incised or painted spiral bands, it was the most advanced culture on the territory of Ukraine during this period. The high level of technical and artistic accomplishment evident in the Trypilian ceramics equals that of the artifacts of the Aegean culture. Ancient Greek colonies were founded on the Black Sea coast as early as the end of the seventeenth century B.C.[78]

Many different tribes lived in or passed through the area now known as Ukraine. Some of these were unfriendly invaders who poured out of the Asian subcontinent to exploit and ravage the fertile Ukrainian steppe.[79]

The direct ancestors of the Ukrainians are the Slavic peoples known as the Antes, who lived in the area from the fourth to the seventh century and who created the first Slavic state. By the sixth century, there were a number of proto-Ukrainian tribes, headed by tribal princes, dwelling in the area. Their activities were many: agriculture and cattle raising, gardening, fishing, hunting, pottery making, weaving, and working in wood, bone, and metal.[80]

Trading was a well developed and important part of the lives of the tribespeople. International trade routes linked the Baltic and Black seas, and, hence, Scandinavia and Byzantium, by means of the Dnieper River. The east–west route from the Caspian Sea to Kiev and then Krakow, Prague, and Regensburg joined the Arab world with central and western Europe, and the route between the Caspian and Baltic seas linked the Arab world with Scandinavia.

Living at the crossroads of these major trade routes, proto-Ukrainian tribes played an important economic and political role in eastern Europe.[81]

In the mid-ninth century, the tribal territories were conquered by the Varangian (Norman) invaders from Scandinavia, paving the way for the establishment of the Kievan Rus' state, with Kiev as its capital. What followed was the Princely Era, almost five hundred years (860–1340) of royal rule starting with the arrival of the Varangians Askold and Dyr, who assumed power from the local tribal princes and protected them from the neighboring Khazars. The most outstanding Varangian ruler of Kievan Rus' was Prince Oleh, who killed Askold and Dyr in 882, conquered most of the East Slavic tribes, eliminated the Khazar menace, and became ruler of the Kievan Rus' state. A succession of rulers attempted to pacify rebellious neighboring tribes, unite their lands, and maintain contact with Constantinople.[82]

Among the Kievan rulers, several stand out for their contributions. Princess Olha, who was baptized in 955, established direct contact with Constantinople and links with western European leaders. Volodymyr Velykyi (Volodymyr the Great) united under his rule all the lands acquired by his predecessors and, in 988, accepted Christianity from Byzantium as the state religion, thereby introducing Byzantine art, architecture, and literature into his state. Yaroslav Mudryi (Yaroslav the Wise) instituted the Ruska Pravda, the first unified code of laws for the Slavic world; established schools; and founded the Pecherska Lavra (Kievan Cave Monastery) as well as a library at the Saint Sophia Cathedral. It was during his reign that the Kievan state reached the peak of its cultural development. Yaroslav arranged dynastic alliances with nearly all the reigning families of Europe; consequently, his influence extended far and wide. This was a period of close ties with western Europe: Yaroslav's wife Ingegarda (Irene) was the daughter of the Swedish king Olaf; his daughter Elizabeth married the Norwegian king Harold; his daughter Anna married King Henry I of France; and his son Iziaslav married the German princess Gertrud. A third daughter became the wife of the king of Hungary and two other sons married European princesses. Volodymyr Monomakh, grandson of Yaroslav, strove to curtail the internal wars of succession among the princes, drove back warring neighbors, built churches, and saw to it that literature thrived.[83]

The Kievan state began to disintegrate with the widespread rivalry among Monomakh's successors for the title of Grand Prince of Kiev. The wars continued for some one hundred years, with the throne of the Kievan state changing hands almost fifty times.[84]

In 1169, Kiev was sacked by Prince Andrei Bogoliubsky of Suzdal and plundered again in 1203 during an outbreak of interprincely wars. The city was left in ruins, the title of grand prince went unclaimed, and the once-unified Kievan state disintegrated into separate political and economic units.[85]

All these territories met different fates, some falling temporarily into foreign hands. Prince Danylo was able to reunify and rule Galicia-Volhynia as a state. In 1240, the Mongols invaded and sacked Kiev, then proceeded to penetrate farther west. Danylo turned to western European countries in search of military aid against the threat of further invasions. Those negotiations culminated with the coronation of Danylo with the papal crown in 1253. King Danylo fought against the Mongols, defeating them in 1255, but the great offensive of 1259 forced him finally to surrender. Galicia-Volhynia declined steadily under Danylo's successors and, in 1340, when the last prince died without leaving an heir, Poland, Hungary, Lithuania and the Mongols struggled to gain possession of it.[86]

The five hundred years of the Princely Era were very significant in the history not only of Ukraine but of the whole of Europe. It was during this time that the separate Ukrainian

tribes created a powerful unified nation. Situated at the crossroads of trade routes and the juncture of disparate cultures and linked by marriage to Europe's royalty, medieval Ukraine flowered both culturally and economically, and its seat in Kiev was frequently the center of western Europe's attention. Maintaining a constant struggle against the invading nomads of Asia, Ukraine served as a powerful fortress for Europe.[87]

The next period in Ukrainian history was one of Lithuanian and Polish rule. After the fall of the Galician-Volhynian state, the Ukrainian princes turned for help to their Lithuanian neighbors, who soon began to rule in Volhynia and extended their jurisdiction to include Kiev and Belarus. In the West, Casimir of Poland together with Louis of Hungary conquered Galicia and the Kholm area from Lithuania. Threatened by the Teutonic Knights, the Tatars, and the expanding Principality of Moscow, Lithuania signed the Union of Krevo with Poland in 1385. Then, with the marriage of the Grand Prince of Lithuania to the Queen of Poland, the two countries became even more closely united. But ongoing wars with Moscow and the Tatars over the course of several successive reigns created the need for a comprehensive, formal union between the two countries, one that would go beyond dynastic relations to ensure close collaboration and a mutual defense. Such a union was signed in Lublin in 1569, but only after several regions of Ukraine, including Podlachia, Volhynia, and Kiev, were formally annexed by Poland. Since Poland now occupied the larger territory, it had greater governmental representation and became the dominant partner in the union.[88]

The annexation of Ukrainian lands by Poland brought numerous changes: many of the Ukrainian elite became increasingly Polonized, converting to Roman Catholicism and adopting the Polish language and culture. The Orthodox Ukrainian townspeople were persecuted and segregated, and the peasants were forced into serf labor and restricted in their movements. Polonization, religious and social persecution, and economic exploitation resulted in growing dissatisfaction and national opposition to Poland. Thousands of men fled to the frontier of the steppes to escape oppression by the Poles. They became the Ukrainian Cossacks, organizing themselves into armed groups to defend against incursions by Poland and the Tatars. The Cossack movement soon became a threat to Polish rule, as it began to lead peasant uprisings against the Polish lords. One of the great hetmans of the Cossacks was Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who, in 1648, organized a massive revolt against the Poles. Securing the aid of the Tatars and later of Sweden and Russia, Khmelnytsky founded an independent Cossack Ukraine. To avoid the inevitable confrontation with Moscow after Khmelnytsky's death, Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky signed the Treaty of Hadiach with Poland in 1658. Under the terms of the treaty, Ukraine became a third and equal member, with Lithuania and Poland, of a three-nation commonwealth. Moscow, refusing to tolerate this move, sent an army into Ukraine, increased the number of Muscovite governors and garrisons there, and restricted the Hetman's power. Ukraine was divided along the Dnieper River into two spheres of influence: Left Bank Ukraine, including Kiev, was in Muscovite hands, while Right Bank Ukraine was occupied by the Poles. Hetman Ivan Mazepa sought to reunite Right Bank with Left Bank Ukraine and attempted to overthrow Muscovite domination by siding with Swedish king Charles XII in his war against Russian tsar Peter I. Charles and Mazepa were defeated in 1709 at Poltava, after which Peter began to avenge himself cruelly on Ukraine. He absorbed the hetmanate into the Russian Empire, eliminated the autonomous rights of the Hetman State, and greatly weakened political, economic, and social life in Ukraine.[89]

The end of the Hetman State came during the reign of Catherine II, who followed Peter I's policy of centralization and Russification. By 1795, the entire Right Bank of Ukraine (which had once more fallen into Polish hands, as a consequence of the three Partitions of Poland) was incorporated into the Russian Empire. Eighty percent of Ukrainian lands were

now in the possession of Russia, while the remainder, including Galicia, Bukovyna, and Transcarpathia, became part of the Hapsburg Empire.[90]

The significance in the history of Ukraine of the Cossack–Hetman State of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries lies in the very fact that a Ukrainian national state existed on a large part of the Ukrainian ethnographic territory (even if under foreign protection). Culturally, this was an important era, in that it saw the flourishing of science, literature, and art.[91]

Ukraine was under imperial rule from the late eighteenth century to 1917–18: tsarist Russia occupied Eastern Ukraine, while the Austrian Hapsburg dynasty ruled Western Ukraine. The tsarist government did everything in its power to eradicate all traces of Ukrainian distinctiveness. Fearful of a rise in Ukrainian nationalism, Russian officials banned publications in the Ukrainian language and dissolved the civic and cultural groups known as *hromady*, sending many of the members into internal exile. In the end, however, tsarist repression failed to stop the development of a Ukrainian national consciousness, and scholarship, literature, and the arts eventually made significant gains. After the death of Tsar Nicholas II in 1855, the national movement once again began to show signs of life as a new generation of Ukrainian activists, mostly students, formed new civic and cultural *hromady* in Kiev and St. Petersburg. In the early 1860s, *hromady* also arose in Poltava, Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Odessa, and Moscow. Advocating nationalism and involved in cultural and scholarly activities as well as publishing, the *hromady* were accused of fostering Ukrainian separatism. They soon became the target of government officials, who once more banned all publications in the Ukrainian language, dissolved the *hromady*, and sent some members, whom they called Ukrainophiles, into internal exile. Some ten years later, the Ukrainophiles renewed their activities and formed new *hromady*. As the movement grew, the government once again stepped up its restrictions, banning not only the printing of Ukrainian-language publications, but also their importation, and sending several Ukrainophiles into external exile.[92]

A note is in order about the Ukrainian peasantry under imperial rule: The abolition of serfdom in 1861 did not totally ease the suffering of the Ukrainian peasantry, which did not benefit from the economic modernization and industrialization that followed. The scarcity of land, in addition to high taxes and rapid population growth, caused thousands of peasants to emigrate to the Asian regions of the empire, including Siberia and the Far East.[93]

The Revolution of 1905 brought certain relaxations in government policies, including the freedom to publish in the Ukrainian language and the freedom of association, both of which had an important impact on the development of the Ukrainian movement. Soon publishing houses, Ukrainian periodicals, Prosvita (Enlightenment) cultural societies, cooperatives, and music and drama groups proliferated. This period of activity was short-lived, however; by 1908, government restrictions began to be enforced once more.[94]

In Austrian-occupied Western Ukraine, Galicians lived in a constitutional monarchy and therefore enjoyed more freedom of expression than did their counterparts in the Russian Empire. The result was widespread Ukrainian educational, religious, civic, cultural, economic, and literary activity, and the consequent emergence of Galicia as the center of the Ukrainian national movement. Western Ukraine experienced a rise in national consciousness, fostered by the influx of Western ideas in combination with the rise of the intelligentsia. There was renewed interest in Ukrainian history, ethnography, folklore, and the Ukrainian language. A chair of Ukrainian language and literature was established at the University of Lviv, and a literary and educational society was organized. The first Ukrainian newspaper in Galicia, the *Zoria Halytska* (The Galician Star), was published in May 1848, the same year that serfdom

was abolished. Nationhood became a major political issue in Western Ukraine during the revolution of 1848 (also known as the Spring of Nations) in the Hapsburg Empire, as Ukrainians began to organize and demand autonomy. New political parties were established in an effort to gain national and political rights.[95]

In the 1860s, a nationalist, or populist, movement of Galician Ukrainians was active, maintaining close contacts with its counterpart in the Russian Empire. The movement was supported by students who also became organized into *hromady*, the first of which was established in Lviv in about 1863, followed by others in Ternopil, Stanyslaviv, Sambir, and Berezhany. In 1868, Prosvita (the Enlightenment Society) was founded to educate and raise the national consciousness of the Ukrainian peasants; in 1873, the Naukove Tovarystvo imeny Shevchenka (Shevchenko Scientific Society) was established. In addition, cooperatives and mutual credit associations as well as an agricultural association of Ukrainian peasants, Silskyi Hospodar (Village Farmer), were formed.[96]

The cultural, scholarly, and political activity that thrived in Galicia during this period is evident from the strength of the network of schools, institutions, and organizations that existed prior to the First World War: there were more than 3,000 elementary schools; 6 state gymnasiums (secondary schools); 15 private secondary schools; 2,944 local branches of Prosvita; the Shevchenko Scientific Society; a network of gymnastic associations; local circles of the Silskyi Hospodar association, and more than 500 cooperatives and mutual credit associations, with their central land associations and institutions.[97]

Cultural advances notwithstanding, the reality under Austrian rule was that the majority of the Ukrainian population in Galicia (90 percent of whom were peasants) lived in the poorest regions of the Hapsburg Empire, owned tiny plots of land, and were exploited by both landlords and usurers. Since industry was practically nonexistent, the best option for escaping rural poverty was emigration. Between 1890 and 1914, more than 500,000 Ukrainians left Western Ukraine for the Americas.[98]

Ukrainians in Bukovyna experienced an upsurge in activity similar to that of their compatriots in Galicia. They were able to establish a sound educational system and gain significant representation in the parliament in Vienna. By contrast, Ukrainians in Hungarian-dominated Transcarpathia experienced great difficulty in establishing their national identity because of the strong Magyarization policies of the government. In addition, a Russophile trend dominated the political life of the Ukrainians in Transcarpathia, where, for a long time, there was no populist movement to serve as a counterbalance. That trend also caused the estrangement of the intelligentsia from the peasantry. Under the reigns of Empress Maria Theresa and Emperor Joseph II, Ukrainians in Transcarpathia experienced a rise in educational standards and in the social status of their clergy; developed close ties with other Ukrainian lands, despite their political isolation; and produced a number of highly trained intellectuals. With the creation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1867, however, the gains of the 1850s began to fade: the church became an instrument of the government's denationalization policy, schools and newspapers began to disappear, cultural organizations lost their influence, and Transcarpathia became increasingly isolated from Galicia. The years 1900–14 saw increased Hungarian oppression, a new wave of Russophilism, and the emergence of a new Ukrainian populist movement, which later contributed greatly to the Ukrainian national rebirth of Transcarpathia under the Czechoslovak regime.[99]

The First World War brought devastating effects to Ukraine and its people. Some of the larger battles on the eastern front were fought in Western Ukraine, leaving the area in ruins. Caught between two major adversaries, most of the population fought with the Russian army, while some joined the Austrian forces. Formally siding with the Hapsburgs, Western

Ukrainians organized a twenty-five-hundred-man volunteer military unit, the Ukrainski Sichovi Striltsi (Ukrainian Sich Riflemen), and formed the coordinating General Ukrainian Council in Vienna, hoping to secure German and Austrian aid for the creation of an independent Ukrainian state. As the Russians occupied Western Ukraine, however, the retreating Austrian authorities, suspecting the Ukrainians of being pro-Russian, arrested and executed hundreds without trial and deported more than thirty thousand to various internment camps. After occupying Western Ukraine, the Russian government pursued a policy of Russification; shut down Ukrainian institutions; forbade the use of the Ukrainian language; launched a campaign to liquidate the Ukrainian Catholic Church; sent its primate, Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky, into internal exile in Russia; and arrested and deported thousands of Ukrainian activists. In 1915, Austria regained Western Ukraine, while the remainder of the country was left within the Russian Empire, where Ukrainian activities were suppressed until the outbreak of the revolution in 1917.[100]

The February Revolution of 1917 and the fall of the Russian Empire paved the way for the establishment of the Ukrainian Central Rada (Council) in Kiev, which had as its goal the attainment of Ukrainian independence. This all-Ukrainian representative body established various committees, revived both the banned Prosvita and the newspaper *Rada* (Council), reorganized and created various political parties, held a congress of cooperatives, and staged a mass rally of more than a hundred thousand people in support of Ukrainian autonomy. From March to October 1917, the Rada dealt with the weak and ineffective Russian Provisional Government under Alexander Kerensky. It issued four *Universaly* (manifestos) calling for an autonomous Ukraine. After the Bolshevik Revolution, the Rada tried to secure recognition of the Ukrainian state from the new Soviet government. The Bolsheviks, however, opposed such a move and instead began preparations for a takeover of the country. Initial attempts at a Bolshevik-led armed uprising in Kiev failed and the Soviet government officially recognized the Ukrainian National Republic in December 1917. At the same time, however, Soviet authorities sent an ultimatum to the Rada, threatening war if it was not heeded: Ukraine was to prevent the passage through its territory of the Don Cossacks, who were leaving the southwestern front to join the anti-Bolshevik army in the Don region, and it was also to allow Bolshevik forces to fight counterrevolutionaries on Ukrainian territory. The Rada ignored the Soviet ultimatum, whereupon the Bolsheviks proclaimed the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and, on December 25, 1917, invaded Ukraine. The Soviets had the advantage of military superiority from the start, and they used it to commit mass terrorism and brutal massacres of thousands of people. During the Ukrainian–Soviet War, the Bolsheviks established several short-lived governments in Ukraine. It appeared that Ukraine's only hope for independence lay in making peace with the Central Powers and then in obtaining their cooperation and aid in the organization of the country's defenses. Since only a truly independent state could conclude an international agreement, the Rada issued its fourth *Universal*, proclaiming Ukraine's independence, on January 22, 1918. The peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk, between the Ukrainian National Republic and the Central Powers, was signed on February 9, 1918, and soon the German-Austrian armies began their offensive against the Soviets in the occupied lands. By April, the last of the Red Army had retreated from Ukraine. Ironically, however, Ukraine was still not free of foreign domination: the Germans had started to interfere in the country's internal affairs as soon as the offensive began. On the day that the Constitution of the Ukrainian National Republic was adopted and Mykhailo Hrushevsky was elected president, a German-supported, bloodless *coup d'état* was staged by conservative forces and General Pavlo Skoropadsky was proclaimed Hetman of Ukraine. Skoropadsky's government lasted until December 1918, when the political opposition besieged

Kiev and reestablished the Ukrainian National Republic under a governing body called the Directory. On November 1, 1918, after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Western Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed in Galicia and Bukovyna. The new government quickly established contact with the Directory in Kiev and voted to unite with the Ukrainian National Republic. On January 22, 1919, the union of the Western Ukrainian National Republic with the Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed in the Saint Sophia Square in Kiev. The new independent state immediately found itself in a difficult political situation. In December, the Bolsheviks occupied Kiev for the third time and, by early 1920, all of Ukraine was under Bolshevik control, with the exception of Volhynia and Western Podilia, which were occupied by the Polish army. The Polish government signed an armistice with the Soviet government, and the thirty thousand soldiers of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic were forced to retreat into Poland, where they were placed in internment camps. The Peace Treaty of Riga, signed in 1921 by Poland and the Soviets, granted Western Ukraine to Poland; the annexation was legitimized by the Council of Ambassadors in Paris in 1923. The parliament-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic operated out of Poland until August 1921. A multinational federation of "sovereign" Soviet republics – the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (including Ukraine) – was formally constituted on December 30, 1922.[101]

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukrainian SSR) included the Ukrainian lands that had once been part of the tsarist Russian Empire. Some Ukrainian ethnic territories went to the Belorussian SSR and the Russian SFSR. Until the Second World War, Western Ukrainian lands, including Galicia and Volhynia, remained under Poland; Bukovyna and Bessarabia, under Romania; and Transcarpathia, under Czechoslovakia. It was not until 1939, during the first Soviet occupation, that Galicia and Volhynia became part of the Ukrainian SSR, in accordance with the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of August 23, 1939. Bukovyna and Bessarabia were annexed in 1940, and Transcarpathia was incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR in 1945.[102]

The years 1920–4 were a period of consolidation of the Soviet regime in Ukraine. The New Economic Policy (NEP) was initiated to increase agricultural and industrial production, appease workers and peasants, and gain support for Soviet rule. A new nationalities policy that condemned Russian chauvinism and emphasized the need for the economic and national development of the republics was established in 1923, and a period of Ukrainization followed. The ultimate goal of the policy was to broaden the social base of Communist rule in the republics and to increase the effectiveness of Communist propaganda by disseminating it in the native language of each republic. In Ukraine, the application of the policy involved increasing the enrollment of Ukrainians in the Party and advancing them in various government and civilian positions; promoting the Ukrainian language as the language of the state and encouraging its use in the media and the schools; and encouraging Ukrainian cultural, artistic, literary, and scholarly endeavors. The ten-year period of de-Russification that ensued was welcomed by Ukrainians, and its effects were impressive in all areas of Ukrainian life, especially in the political, educational and cultural spheres.[103]

The success of Ukrainization soon became a threat to Moscow's supremacy, and a struggle between the policy's supporters and its opponents followed. In an effort to undermine Ukrainization, thousands were expelled from the Communist Party of Ukraine and hundreds of thousands more disappeared. Joseph Stalin emerged as the leader from among the various internal Party oppositions and ushered in an era of centralized totalitarianism.[104]

For Ukraine, the late 1920s and 1930s were filled with terror. The collectivization of agriculture and the acceleration of industrialization completely transformed Ukrainian society.

Periodic waves of arrests and executions virtually annihilated the intellectual and artistic segment of the population. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which had been violently persecuted by the government, was forced to "self-liquidate" in 1930. The few Ukrainian parishes left after the dissolution of the Church were eventually incorporated into the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church. Peasants, including the *kulaks,* who owned prosperous farms and substantial parcels of land, were slowly wiped out as a class by forced collectivization and the unrealistic quotas of grain and food they were given to fill. It is estimated that approximately seven hundred thousand Ukrainian peasants were deported to Siberian labor camps, imprisoned, or killed between the years 1930 and 1933. In a further effort to crush the peasants, Stalin confiscated all grain and food that remained in their hands, causing a catastrophic artificial famine in which more than six million Ukrainian men, women, and children were left to starve to death while their food was taken from them into the cities and carefully guarded by the army and the police. The grain was then exported to Western Europe and sold at competitive prices. According to some estimates, the number of victims of this holocaust was as high as nine to ten million. The press was forbidden to report on the genocide of 1932–3, and the brutal massacre of innocent victims was thus hidden from the eyes of the world. Having broken the backbone of the Ukrainian nation – the peasants and the Ukrainian villages – the government began an all-out effort to transform Ukrainian culture into a tool of the Soviet regime. Ukrainization was officially abolished in November 1933 and replaced with Russification. Approximately four-fifths of the Ukrainian intellectual and cultural elite perished during the period of terror. The end of the 1930s saw the Ukrainian population decimated and its culture destroyed.[105]

Western Ukrainians did not fare much better under Poland. Despite the decision of the Council of Ambassadors that Galicia was entitled to an autonomous regime and despite the terms of the Treaty of Riga, by which Poland was bound to respect the autonomous rights of all Ukrainians, the actual Polish policy was rooted in a denial of the individuality and separateness of the Ukrainian national entity. Indeed, Poland used all available means to achieve the process of denationalization as rapidly as possible, including isolating the north-western lands – Kholmshchyna, Polisia, Podlachia, Volhynia, and Lemkivshchyna – from Galicia by prohibiting any cooperation between social and political leaders and banning Galician newspapers from the territory. Ukrainians were divided up and classified under various names and tribes in a further effort to split the nation. The June 28, 1919 treaty at Versailles between the Entente powers and Poland ensured the Ukrainian population under Polish occupation equality under the law, including the right to maintain its own schools and to use its own language in public life and teach it in Ukrainian elementary schools. The same rights were guaranteed by the League of Nations and the Polish constitution of March 17, 1921. After Poland occupied Galicia, however, the government initiated a campaign of terror against all manifestations of Ukrainian national life. There were mass arrests and deportations of Ukrainians. According to an estimate by the International Red Cross, there were twenty-three thousand Ukrainians in Polish prisons and concentration camps in the autumn of 1919. Approximately seventy thousand Ukrainians were imprisoned during the years 1919–20, and many of them died from epidemics resulting from unsanitary conditions in the prisons. There were mass trials of Ukrainians who had fought against Poland in the war; many received stiff penalties, even death sentences. Most Ukrainian publications were banned outright or suspended (only to reappear later under different names). Ukrainian inscriptions were removed from all official buildings, and administrative institutions were abolished. Polish officials even avoided using of the name "Ukrainian"; they insisted on various forms

of the older term "Ruthenian." In March 1920, the government provided Galicia with a new name, Wschodnia Małopolska (Eastern Little Poland). The anti-Ukrainian policies of the Polish government continued throughout the 1920s and were intensified in the 1930s: municipal self-government was abolished in some areas inhabited by Ukrainians, and Polonization and conversion to Roman Catholicism was forced on Ukrainians in other regions. The notorious "pacification" policy of 1930, designed to stifle reaction to Polish oppression, included searches of Ukrainian villages by detachments of the police and the army, indiscriminate terrorization, arrests, beatings and killings of the Ukrainian population, and property damage to Ukrainian cultural buildings and business establishments.[106]

Both Bukovyna, which experienced national persecution under Romania, and Transcarpathia, which was under Czechoslovakia, were nevertheless able to develop Ukrainian cultural life in the period between the two world wars.[107]

Soon after the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, Western Ukraine was occupied by Soviet forces. They adopted a policy of cautious and carefully planned Sovietization, together with limited Ukrainization. The region was officially annexed into the Ukrainian SSR in November 1939. Two years later, Germany invaded the USSR, and Ukraine found itself under brutal German occupation from 1941 to 1944. Nazi beliefs of racial superiority led to harsh and discriminatory treatment of Ukrainians: there were mass executions; prisoners of war were starved; peasants were recruited for forced labor; food and supplies were requisitioned; villages were burned. The Ukrainska Povstanska Armiia (UPA, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army) was formed to fight both the German and Soviet armies.[108]

At the end of the war, Ukraine lay in ruins: the population had declined by 25 percent – that is, by approximately 10.5 million people: 6.8 million had been killed or died of hunger or disease, and the remainder had been evacuated or deported to Soviet Asia as political prisoners or had ended up as slave laborers or émigrés in Hitler's Germany, and remained in the West as displaced persons. An estimated twenty million people were homeless and destitute as seven hundred cities and towns and twenty-eight thousand villages lay in complete or partial ruin. Industry had been devastated and tens of thousands of collective and state farms destroyed. Forty percent of the national wealth had disappeared.[109]

By autumn 1944, almost all of Ukraine had been reoccupied by the Soviet Union, thus uniting most of the Ukrainian ethnographic territory into one political body, the Ukrainian SSR, and leaving Lemkivshchyna, Nadsiania, and Kholmshchyna under Polish rule. Cultural and linguistic Russification was renewed, especially in Western Ukraine. The last years of the Stalin era saw great repression in Western Ukraine, directed against the former freedom fighters (members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists [OUN], the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and the Division Galizien), all nationalists, and the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In 1945, the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy was arrested and, in March 1946, an illegal, Soviet-called synod liquidated the Church and subordinated it to the Russian Orthodox Church. Thousands of priests who refused to submit to the Orthodox Church were imprisoned, deported, or tortured to death, and several hundred went underground as part of what came to be known as the Catacomb Church. Arrested bishops were tortured, poisoned, or died later in Soviet concentration camps. Only Metropolitan Yosyf Slipy survived, having endured eighteen years of exile and hard labor in Siberian concentration camps. He was released in 1963 through the intercession of Pope John XXIII and U.S. president John F. Kennedy. He was later named a Cardinal of the Catholic Church by Pope Paul VI.[110]

After Stalin's death in 1953 and with the return of many prisoners from labor camps as part of Nikita Khrushchev's de-Stalinization policy of 1956, Ukrainian political prisoners, intelligentsia, and students condemned the oppression of the Ukrainian people by the Soviet

government and began to demand cultural and intellectual freedom and social change. What followed was a few years of slight relaxation in policy and censorship and some economic concessions. Anti-religious attitudes remained strong, however, and by 1961, the government had renewed its anti-religious propaganda campaign.[111]

The 1960s saw a brief rise in literary and artistic activity and a denunciation of Russification by the Ukrainian intelligentsia. A dissident movement was growing, one that opposed the official policies of the Communist leadership and made itself heard in the form of petitions, protests, demonstrations, underground literature, workers' strikes, and the formation of political groups with secessionist programs. The first wave of arrests of Ukrainian dissidents took place in 1965. The dissident movement throughout the USSR was further persecuted by the KGB under Leonid Brezhnev; this persecution reached its peak with a second wave of arrests in 1972.[112]

The 1970s saw a new wave of cultural activity, a growing human rights movement, and the formation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. However, the ascent of the hard-liner Volodymyr Shcherbytsky, who replaced the ousted Petro Shelest as First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, brought renewed intolerance, including the implementation of Russification policies in education and the suppression of the activities of the Helsinki Group and other manifestations of political and religious dissent.[113]

The policies of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (rebuilding) announced by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 renewed cautious and skeptical hope in a nation that had lived through many such unfulfilled promises. Although several notable Ukrainian dissidents had been freed in recent years (including V. Moroz, L. Pliushch, M. Rudenko, N. Strokata, N. Svitlychna, and Y. Terelia), most Ukrainians viewed this as merely an attempt to pacify the growing wave of unrest. They were quick to point out that many others still remained in prisons, mental institutions, and labor and concentration camps throughout the USSR. Dissident voices were once again demanding greater rights for the people, rights that were guaranteed them by the Soviet Constitution but that they had yet to possess.

The end of the 1980s and the beginning of the new decade witnessed an unprecedented chain of events in Eastern Europe, as country after country sought to throw off the yoke of Communism and to demand democratic reforms. As the symbolic Berlin Wall began to crumble and as Eastern Europeans and the peoples of the Soviet Republics demanded the ouster of their oppressive regimes, Ukraine, too, stepped up its voice of dissent amid the growing tide of ethnic and religious unrest. The nuclear tragedy at Chornobyl[114] outraged the nation and reinforced its determination to control its own destiny. In 1989, the human rights movement in Ukraine became a popular movement calling for democratic reforms and national rights. Among the numerous groups organized toward this end was Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine for *Perebudova* (Reconstruction), which became legalized on February 9, 1990, as the first public political organization in Ukraine. The final year of the decade saw unprecedented numbers of Ukrainians attending public meetings, mass rallies, and demonstrations. Ukrainian Independence Day observances were held for the first time in decades. Open-air church services were attended by tens of thousands of faithful. The Shevchenko Scientific Society, one of the most prestigious scholarly institutions in Ukraine, which had existed from 1873 until 1940,[115] was reestablished in Lviv in October 1989. Other Ukrainian organizations that were reestablished, in 1990, include the Soiuz Ukrainok (Ukrainian Women's Association), which had been a nationwide organization until the Second World War, and Plast, Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization – the Ukrainian Scouts), which had been disbanded in Western Ukraine by the Polish government in 1930.[116]

The year 1989 was a landmark year for religion in the Soviet Union, as the Soviet Council for Religious Affairs of Ukraine announced that Eastern-rite Catholics had been granted the right to officially register their congregations.[117]

On September 26, 1990, the Soviet Union approved a new law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations stating that all religions are equal and that the government will not interfere with religious affairs.[118]

The Ukrainian Catholic, Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox, Ukrainian Orthodox, and Ukrainian Baptist churches all began to experience a revival as churches were opened and services were held publicly for the first time in decades.

The first year of the new decade continued to bring more reforms in the political arena. In a historic meeting of the Communist Party in February 1990, the Central Committee recommended the repudiation of Article 6 of the Soviet Constitution, which proclaimed the Communist Party's leading role in Soviet society. In an effort to break the Party's monopoly on power and move in the direction of a multiparty system, the Soviet republics, including Ukraine, held elections for their local legislatures or Supreme Soviets. According to statistics released by the secretariat of Rukh, a total of 43 out of 112 deputies elected to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on March 4, 1990, were from the Democratic Bloc. Further victories were reported in the March 18, 1990 run-off elections, especially in the capital city of Kiev, the Galician area of Western Ukraine, and the oblasts (provinces) of Lviv, Ivano-Frankivske, and Ternopil. When the newly elected Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR held its inaugural session in Kiev on May 15, 1990, the Democratic Bloc members were reported to have 162 seats in the new Parliament. Although the majority of the 450 seats were still held by Communist Party members, the event was unprecedented in that it was the first time that the Party convened with members of the Democratic Bloc, many of whom were former political prisoners, representatives of such groups as the coal miners' strike committees, activists of the Green ecological movement, and nonaligned people's deputies. Even the Communist Party members themselves were no longer of like mind, ranging from old-time hard-liners to democratic-minded reformers. During a session of Parliament on June 8, 1990, an opposition group of deputies, the National Council of Ukraine, organized within the Parliament to unify the democratic opposition against the Communist Party and *nomenklatura* deputies. Its goals included sovereignty for the Ukrainian Republic, a multiparty system, and the legalization of a variety of forms of property ownership, including private ownership, particularly with regard to land. During its June 15, 1990, session, the Ukrainian Parliament elected deputies from the Democratic Bloc to head seven standing committees of the new Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.[119]

In April 1990, the Ukrainian Helsinki Union voted to disband and form a new political party, the Ukrainian Republican Party. Its primary goal was the creation of an independent Ukrainian state. A coalition of popular fronts and other democratic organizations from throughout the Soviet Union was established in Kiev on May 6, 1990. The main goals of the coalition, which called itself the Union of Democratic Forces, were to help the republics secede from the USSR and to promote the idea of round-table discussions with the Soviet government to ensure the peaceful dissolution of the Soviet empire. Another important task was the creation of horizontal structures that would ensure cooperation between the republics after the dissolution of the USSR. An independent citizens' group calling itself Helsinki 90 was established in Kiev by former political prisoners and activists to continue monitoring human rights in the tradition of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union.[120]

On July 16, 1990, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR proclaimed the Republic's sovereignty, decreeing that Ukrainian SSR laws take precedence on Ukrainian territory over all-union laws; declaring that the Ukrainian SSR will maintain its own army and its own

national bank and, if necessary, will introduce its own currency; and claiming the supremacy, independence, fullness, and indivisibility of the Republic's authority within the boundaries of its territory and its independence and equality in external relations.[121]

At its second all-Ukrainian Congress in October 1990, Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine, declared that independence for Ukraine would be its principal goal. The words "for *perebudova* (reconstruction)" were deleted from the organization's full name, as Rukh no longer considered restructuring to be its chief aim. At that time, Rukh included more than 630 thousand members and approximately five million supporters throughout Ukraine.[122]

Events of the final months of 1990 seemed to reinforce the hope that Ukraine was well on its way toward democracy. Among the more notable of these were the emergence of yet another political organization in Ukraine, the Democratic Party of Ukraine, on December 15; activities to pave the way for the United States and Canada to open consulates in Kiev in 1991; the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet's adoption of a law making Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost legal holidays in the Republic; the signing of a ten-year bilateral agreement by Ukraine and Russia covering political, economic, cultural, and other issues; and a demand by the leaders of Ukraine and Russia that the USSR Supreme Soviet respect the sovereignty of their republics.[123]

By year's end, however, although significant advances toward freedom had occurred, the USSR was still a nation in transition and the Ukrainian SSR was not yet a democracy. In fact, 1991 did not commence with the euphoria that had swept both Ukraine and the diaspora the previous year. Instead, it was replaced with the realization that an impending crisis seemed increasingly inevitable in the wake of Gorbachev's determination to preserve the Soviet Union at all costs. It was also feared that a crackdown on democratic independence movements throughout the republics could spell the end of all hopes of a peaceful dissolution of the USSR and of freedom for its republics. In fact, the planned deployment of Soviet armed forces to enforce the military draft was seen by many as an attempt by the regime to gain control over the restive republics and suppress the striving for freedom by force, if necessary. Moreover, no Western government had announced plans to support the declarations or implementations of sovereignty by Soviet republics. Incidents of arrests, bombings, and explosions in Ukraine and similar acts of provocation in other republics were seen as a trap aimed at instigating violent reactions by the population, which would necessitate a military crackdown.[124]

Despite these signs of political uncertainty, 1991 saw further advances in the areas of culture and education: newspapers and journals were established or reestablished (among them the weekly *Ukrainske Slovo* [The Ukrainian Word]) and the first Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic lyceum (secondary school) was opened. The year also saw the proliferation of contacts between Ukraine and the diaspora. Meetings and congresses of various Ukrainian organizations, including professional, youth, and women's organizations, were held for the first time in Ukraine and were well attended by Ukrainians from both the homeland and abroad. Numerous medical, educational, and political projects were launched to aid Ukraine. Medical supplies and equipment, humanitarian aid, technological equipment, and school textbooks were sent to help the country and its people. Western experts and scholars provided their expertise in the spheres of business and politics. Volunteers from Canada and the United States traveled to the eastern oblasts of Ukraine to campaign for independence.[125]

The failed *coup d'état* staged by Communist hard-liners in Moscow in August 1991 proved to the Soviet leadership and to the world that the reforms and openness of the last few years could not be turned back at the whim of a clique that staunchly defended the dictatorial policies of a fading era.

Spurred on by the failed coup, the demise of the Communist Party, and the obvious

disintegration of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian Parliament voted on August 24, 1991, for a resolution declaring Ukraine an independent, democratic state. It called for a republican referendum on December 1, 1991, to affirm the Act of Declaration of Independence and to choose a democratically elected president. The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, also resolved to halt the activity of political party organizations in the structures of the Procuracy of the Ukrainian SSR, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, and the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR. Furthermore, it resolved that employees of the Procuracy, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the KGB were obligated to relinquish their membership in any political party; those who did not comply were subject to dismissal from those organs within ten days of the adoption of the resolution. Parliament voted for the creation of a national guard of Ukraine and gave jurisdiction over all armed forces located on Ukrainian territory to the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine. A number of resolutions and decrees were passed by the Presidium in the days following the proclamation of Ukraine's independence. Among them were the nationalization of all Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) property, which was to be handed over to the Supreme Soviet and local councils; the issuance of an amnesty for all political prisoners; the suspension of all CPU activities and the freezing of CPU assets and bank accounts pending official investigations into possible collaboration with the August 1991 coup plotters; the formation of a committee of inquiry into official behavior during the coup; and the establishment of a committee on military matters relating to the creation of a Ministry of Defense of Ukraine. The red flag of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was taken down from the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Moreover, the City Executive Committee of Kiev voted to remove all monuments of communist heroes from public places and to rename the central October Revolution Square, "Ukrainian Independence Square." On August 29, 1991, the Parliament of an independent Ukraine dissolved the Communist Party of Ukraine.[126]

In a referendum on December 1, 1991, the population of Ukraine voted overwhelmingly to approve the declaration of independence passed by Parliament in August and elected Leonid Kravchuk to serve as president of the new democracy.[127] On December 8, 1991, Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus declared that the Soviet Union had ceased to exist and proclaimed a Commonwealth of Independent States; before the year was out, eleven of the twelve remaining Soviet republics had become members of the new Commonwealth.[128]

In the days that followed the referendum, Ukraine began to be formally recognized as an independent state. The Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirmed that, as of August 25, 1992, 123 countries had joined the list of those recognizing Ukraine. The list included Canada, the United States, France, Germany, Great Britain, Argentina, Brazil, and Australia, all countries with large Ukrainian communities. By August 17, 1993, the number of countries recognizing Ukraine as an independent state had grown to 141; of those, 125 had established diplomatic relations with Ukraine, and 47 had a diplomatic presence in Kiev.[129] Ukrainian embassies have also been established abroad.

In an effort to rebuild a sound economy, Ukraine began 1992 with radical economic reforms, including price liberalization, wage and pension increases, and the introduction of multiple-use coupons that would gradually replace the inflationary ruble and usher in a new national currency. Ukrainian-born George Yurchyshyn, of the United States, was named deputy chairman of the National Bank of Ukraine to aid in the reorganization of the banking system in Ukraine and to attract foreign investment to the country.[130]

Ukraine is receiving humanitarian and financial assistance from governments, organizations, churches, and private individuals. Ukrainian communities throughout the diaspora, as well as concerned non-Ukrainians, are also providing technical assistance by sending equipment

and experts in various fields, such as business, medicine and science. Numerous instructors of English as a Second Language have come to Ukraine from North America. Ukraine is among the countries participating in the 1993–4 Fulbright Teacher Exchange Program. The International Ukrainian Economic Association was formed to serve as a bridge between East and West by providing a framework within which scholars in Ukraine and scholars in the West could work together to accomplish the following: advance the development of general economic studies, especially through the dissemination of Western economic works in Ukrainian translation; facilitate the development of research in Ukrainian economics; foster the integration of Ukrainian economics and Ukrainian economists into the international economic community through academic exchanges, scholarships, international conferences, and joint publications; and influence the reform and improvement of Ukrainian-language instruction of economics at Ukrainian institutions of higher learning. Approximately one hundred economists from the West, Ukraine, and the former republics of the Soviet Union attended the first congress of the Association held in Kiev in May 1992. Ukrainian credit union associations from abroad continue to assist in the reestablishment of the cooperative credit union movement in Ukraine. The World Forum of Ukrainians held in August 1992 saw 1,250 delegates from around the world convene in Kiev to determine their political, social, and cultural direction and to work jointly toward the creation of a new identity for Ukraine.[131]

The country is making its debut in the international arena: Ukraine was invited by NATO to join the alliance's Cooperation Council; it became a member of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in April 1992 and has been accepted as a full-fledged member of the Council of Europe. In March 1992, Viktor Batiuk was named Ukraine's new Ambassador to the United Nations. The Peace Corps has announced plans to establish programs in the former republics of the Soviet Union, including Ukraine. On the domestic front, an independent Ukraine issued its first postage stamps in February 1992. Also in 1992, a new Ukrainian Constitution was presented by Parliament for nationwide review. It envisioned a complete democratization of society, including the establishment of a socialist-oriented market economy. The draft Constitution took into account the historical experiences of Ukrainians; Ukraine's present economic, political, and social conditions; and the theories and practice of contemporary constitutional principles from around the world – in short, it was based on the overriding principle of upholding the rights and freedoms of the people. It incorporated the following fundamental principles: popular sovereignty, limited government, separation of powers, a system of checks and balances, judicial review, and decentralized unitarism. The rights of minorities were guaranteed; ecological rights as well as economic–social and cultural rights were also included.[132]

The government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic, headed by President Mykola Plaviuk and other dignitaries, transferred authority, flags, and insignias of the Ukrainian National Republic and of the government-in-exile to President Leonid Kravchuk and Prime Minister Vitold Fokin in a ceremony at Kiev's Mariinsky Palace on August 24, 1992, the first anniversary of Ukraine's independence. This marked the end of seventy-three years of activity of the government-in-exile.[133]

Ukraine's first year as an independent country was marked by a fundamental realignment of political parties. The democratic forces within the country split into two basic camps, both committed to the same ultimate goal of consolidating independence, but differing in their views on how to achieve that end. In spite of these differences, Ukraine remained politically tranquil and showed few, if any, signs of the deep political divisions that have plagued several of its neighbors. Moreover, Ukrainian president Leonid Kravchuk has been skillful in

courting the opposition. Rukh averted a formal split by agreeing on a compromise resolution to the effect that, while the organization was generally opposed to Kravchuk's political and economic policies, it would support them insofar as they did not conflict with its own platform. By the end of 1992, Rukh was transformed into a political party. With approximately fifty thousand card-carrying members and more than two million supporters and sympathizers, Rukh is the largest and most important political grouping in Ukraine. A faction of Rukh that did not agree with the decision to register the organization as a party and was at odds with its chairman created an alternative organization called the Vsenarodnyi Rukh Ukrainy (All-People's Movement of Ukraine), which was officially registered in February 1993. A coalition called the Kongres Narodnykh Demokratychnykh Syl (Congress of National Democratic Forces, CNDF) was formed by the Ukrainska Demokratychna Partiia (Ukrainian Democratic Party) and the Demokratychna Partiia Ukrainy (Democratic Party of Ukraine) and joined by a number of center-right political parties and groups. The CNDF supported Kravchuk, but joined Rukh in calling for a new Cabinet of Ministers and new parliamentary elections. A third coalition to emerge in 1992 was Nova Ukraina (New Ukraine), which reflected the views of the democratic center-left. The driving force behind this group was the Partiia Demokratychnoho Vidrodzhennia Ukrainy (Party for the Democratic Rebirth of Ukraine), which traces its origins to the Democratic Platform in the Communist Party of Ukraine. Nova Ukraina comprised various social, democratic, liberal, Green, and trade-union organizations. It also included representatives of industry and business. The left opposition was represented by the Sotsiialistychna Partiia Ukrainy (Socialist Party of Ukraine), formed in October 1991 to succeed the banned Communist Party of Ukraine. The group espoused an "anti-crisis" economic program that was openly hostile to the market and privatization, and concentrated its efforts on lifting the ban on the Communist Party. Several ultranationalist groups also emerged on the political scene in 1992, proclaiming their commitment to exclusively "Ukrainian national interests." The year 1993 saw the formation of still more political parties and coalitions, including Robitnycha Ukraina (Workers' Ukraine), a coalition formed in June 1993 by communists and socialists in order to restore power to the working class, abolish the presidency as an institution, strengthen regional councils and the Supreme Council, and restore the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Liberalna Partiia Ukrainy (Liberal Party of Ukraine), formed in Kiev in June 1993, called for the rapid dissolution of Parliament, privatization of agricultural land holdings, and an active environmental policy.[134]

A sound program of economic reform was yet to be launched, stalled by political infighting between proponents of a radical reform package and traditionalists wary of the market. Meanwhile, Ukraine experienced steady economic deterioration – a decline in production, spiraling inflation, and increasing prices for consumer goods. By year's end, despite restructuring of ministerial posts, including the important positions of prime minister and minister of economics, Ukraine had yet to see any sign of improvement in its economy.[135]

Among the foreign-policy issues that Ukraine faced in its first year of independence was that of its relations with Russia, many of whose leading political figures view the country as an integral part of Russia and cannot accept its independence. Continuing disputes over Crimea and the Black Sea Fleet reflected the tense relations between Kiev and Moscow. Despite an agreement reached by Presidents Kravchuk and Yeltsin at a summit in Yalta in August 1992 that placed the fleet under joint Ukrainian–Russian command for a three-year period, after which it was to be divided between the two sides, negotiations continued, and, on July 9, 1993, the Russian Parliament voted to proclaim as Russian the Ukrainian city of Sevastopil. The move was denounced by the United Nations Security Council on July 20,

1993. In a June 1993 summit, the two presidents agreed that practical measures toward the formation of separate Ukrainian and Russian navies would be initiated in September 1993, for completion by the end of 1995.[136]

Western capitals view tensions between Ukraine and Russia with dismay, particularly because the two countries have nuclear weapons on their territory. Objecting to Moscow's determined effort to play the role of sole successor to the Soviet Union, especially in the international arena, Ukraine has continually expressed concern over the security guarantees and financial compensation that would follow if it agreed to remove its strategic nuclear weapons, a move that it is under constant pressure to make, especially by the United States. Moreover, it does not embrace the idea of transferring nuclear weapons to its territorially ambitious neighbor, claiming that there is no guarantee that the short-range nuclear arms already transferred to Russia were in fact destroyed, as had been agreed. Indeed, there is a growing and increasingly vocal lobby in Ukraine that argues for the retention of a nuclear capability. Many Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians alike believe that Ukraine's weapons are a powerful source of protection and an important bargaining chip. The voices of Ukrainian government officials are not the only ones expressing the belief that, to ensure a balance of power in Eastern Europe, Ukraine must remain a nuclear power as long as Russia retains its nuclear arsenal.[137]

Ukraine has also concentrated on the establishment of its own army, administering the oath of allegiance in military schools and at army bases, naval fleets, and national guard headquarters. Most members of the military based on Ukrainian soil have signed oaths of allegiance to Ukraine; the approximately 10,000 who refused are due to leave the country. There are approximately 700,000 troops in Ukraine, including forces withdrawn by Moscow from Germany, Hungary, and the Czech and Slovak Republics. This force is expected to be reduced to 450,000 by 1995, to conform with negotiated manpower ceilings. In addition, there may be as many as 200,000 Ukrainian officers currently serving in other republics who are eligible to return to Ukraine. An independent Ukraine is no longer obligated to supply resources and personnel to intervene in crises that erupt in the former republics, an obligation that would place a significant strain on the country. However, Ukraine's troops are part of the United Nations peacekeeping forces in war-torn Yugoslavia.[138]

In the area of business and investment, it was reported that 812 joint ventures were operating in Ukraine, mostly in the Kiev, Odessa, Lviv, Dnipropetrovske, Donetske, Zakarpattia, and Kharkiv oblasts, as of January 1, 1993. In 1992, joint ventures exported US $10 million worth of products to fifty-one countries, primarily Germany, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Poland, and the United States. Ukrainian joint ventures imported US $19 million worth of goods from forty-nine countries, primarily Cuba and Germany. Several factors help to explain why joint ventures in Ukraine are attractive to foreign investors: there is a market for many goods that need no longer be imported from the former Soviet republics; producers and importers in Ukraine face relatively little competition, allowing the sale of products at comparatively high prices; and Ukraine offers substantial opportunities for producing new products. Drawbacks that inhibit foreign investment include a lack of legislative protection for private investors, unclear tax regulations, the unpredictability of Ukrainian laws in general, the inconvertibility of the *karbovanets*, and the threat of hyperinflation. By mid-1993, 366 representatives of foreign companies from forty-five countries were registered in Ukraine, including 45 from Germany, 40 from Poland, 28 from Austria, and 25 from the United States. In the first quarter of 1993, 1,420 individual investments were made in the Ukrainian economy, totaling more than US $114 million. Of those investments, 1,337 were joint ventures, and 70 were investments in wholly foreign-owned firms. According to the

Ukrainian Ministry of Finance, as of May 15, 1993, foreign investment totaled US $1.5 billion, reflecting 5,400 enterprises registered as having foreign capital. The United States has the greatest number of investments in Ukraine, with Germany ranking second. The American embassy in Kiev estimates that U.S. companies account for roughly half of all foreign investment in Ukraine.[139]

Government agencies, the private sector, and private individuals continue to provide assistance to Ukraine, launching new medical, educational, and embassy-related projects.

Scholarly exchanges, faculty and student exchanges, research projects, educational and scholarship initiatives, and institutional collaborative projects between Ukraine and the diaspora continue to thrive.[140]

Finally master of its own destiny, Ukraine has reentered the world arena, and has taken back its rightful place in the community of nations. The country persists in the arduous task of rebuilding its economy and reorganizing its cultural, educational, professional, and religious activities.

Notes

1 J. Madey, "History of the Ukrainian Church," in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyc (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 472; W. Lencyk, "Christianization of Ukraine," in ibid., 460–1; Rev. George Fedoriw, *History of the Church in Ukraine*, trans. Petro Krawchuck (Toronto: Saint Sophia Religious Association of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada, 1983), 9–11.

2 Fedoriw, 27. It should be noted that the terms *Catholicism* and *Orthodoxy* did not have the same meaning at the time of the Christianization of Ukraine as they do today. Originally, the terms *orthodoxy* and *orthodox* (or *right believing*) referred to faith itself and to the individual who professed the true Christian faith. They did not refer to the church as an institution. Similarly, the terms *catholicity* and *catholic* did not denote "Catholic faith" but described the nature of the church in accordance with the pronouncements of the councils of Nicea and Constantinople and applied to the Church of Christ as a whole; *catholic* was translated in Church Slavonic as "universal."

Christianity evolved through the centuries in two ecclesiastical forms – Roman and Greek. When discord emerged between the two ecclesiastical worlds, the East and the West, it was not a matter of confrontation between the Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church, but rather a conflict between the Greeks and the Latins. Thus, in the early days of the church, there was no such division and no such nomenclature as "the Orthodox Church" and "the Catholic Church." After the schism, the emphasis was shifted and the concepts "Catholic" and "Orthodox" were transformed to reflect the division between the two parts of the Christian church. A new designation was adopted – Catholic Church for the Western branch and Orthodox Church for the Eastern branch. The faithful became either "Catholic" or "Orthodox," depending on the church they belonged to. See Rev. Ivan Hrynioch, *Orthodoxy and Catholicity* (Newark, NJ: Prolog, 1990).

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6 Ibid., 143–8, 225–6.

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18 Madey, 480–1; Fedoriw, 237–8, 240–1.

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25 Catholic News Service, "Ukrainian Catholic Bishops Hold Synod in Lviv," *The Sower*, 28 June 1992, 1, 2; "Bishops of Ukrainian Catholic Greek-Catholic Church Conclude Synod," *UW*, 7 June 1992, 6, 13.

26 Rev. Stephen Sulyk, "Archbishop Sulyk Reports on 1992 Lviv Synod," *The Sower*, 26 July 1992, 4, 16; Jonathan Luxmoore, "Church Intends to Increase Activity in Eastern Ukraine," *The Sower*, 28 June 1992, 2, 4.

For years the Holy See has been hesitant to officially recognize a Ukrainian patriarchate, on the grounds that it would antagonize Moscow and the Russian Orthodox Church, thus destroying all hope of evangelization in the Orthodox East and, most recently, that it would be badly perceived by the Orthodox Church, worsening already uneasy ecumenical relations.

27 "Crowds Honor Patriarch Slipyj in St. George's Cathedral," *UW*, 6 September 1992, 1, 5.

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29 Wasyl Lencyk, "Ukraine," lecture delivered to the Stamford (CT) Historical Society, 1977; G. Shevelov, "Church Slavonic," in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* 1: 488–9, and J. Madey, "Churches of Ukraine, Structures," in ibid., 1: 489.

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31 The name *stundist* came from the German *Stunde* (meaning "hour"), because Baptists set aside one hour a day for reading the Bible.

32 V. Borovsky, "Baptists," in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* 1: 174, and V. Borovsky and I. Korovytsky, "Evangelical Christians," in ibid., 1: 844–5.

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For a discussion of pogroms against Jews carried out on Ukrainian territory by Russians and Poles as well as Ukrainians, see Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 276–8, 297, 363–4, 369.

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Church, Kiev," *The Sower*, 15 August, 1993, 4, and Irene Jarosewich, "Catholic Church Dedication Marred by Demonstrations," *UW*, 25 July 1993, 1, 17.) This is one among many such incidents that have occurred since the rebirth of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

36 "1991: A Look Back – The Rebirth of the Churches," *UW*, 29 December 1991, 6, 7.

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3

Independent Ukraine on the Map of Europe

Volodymyr N. Bandera

Country Data

Official Name – Ukraina (Ukraine)

Geographic Location – Ukraine is situated between 44°20′ and 52°20′ north latitude and 22°′5′ and 41°15′ east longitude. It is bordered by Belarus and Russia on the north; Russia on the east; the Black Sea on the south; Moldova and Romania on the southwest; and Hungary, the Slovak Republic, and Poland on the west.

Area – 233, 100 sq. mi., or 603,700 sq km

Population Density – 223.7 inhabitants per sq mi.; 86.4 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Kiev

Form of Government – Unitary multiparty republic with a single legislative body, the Supreme Council or Verkhovna Rada (450 seats)

Official language – Ukrainian

Population – 52,135,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 72.7% Ukrainian; 22.1% Russian; 0.9% Belorussian; 0.9% Jewish; 0.6% Moldovan; 0.5% Bulgarian; 0.4% Polish; 1.9% other (1989)

Religious Affiliation – Believers are predominantly Ukrainian Orthodox; there is a Ukrainian Catholic minority.

Literacy – Data are not available. Unofficial sources indicate virtually complete literacy.

Percent Urban – 67.5% (1991)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 66.0 years; female, 75.0 years (1990)

Per Capita GNP – 3,600 rubles (1990). No equivalent U.S. dollar value is given, as the GNP data are very speculative.

Introduction

The proclamation of independence by Ukraine's Parliament, or Verkhovna Rada, on August 24, 1991, ended seven decades of existence as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukrainian SSR), a painful period of subjugation by Moscow's Communist rule. Embracing democracy and turning to a free-market system, the newly independent country has claimed its rightful place as a member of the international community of nations.

Ukraine's Parliament has reinstated the national symbols, previously adopted by Ukraine's National Assembly in 1917 but suppressed under Soviet rule. The national flag consists of two horizontal bands, the upper being sky-blue, and the lower, yellow, like the golden wheat fields. The coat of arms is the golden trident on a blue shield, a symbol used by the rulers of the powerful Kievan Rus' during the tenth to twelfth centuries. The national anthem is "Shche ne vmerla Ukraina" (Ukraine still lives). The capital of the country is Kiev ("Kyyiv" in Ukrainian phonetic spelling).

This chapter's survey of contemporary Ukraine, referring to specific conditions as of 1992, is presented under the following headings: (1) Geography and Natural Resources; (2) Demographic Conditions; (3) Government and the Political System; (4) Economic Conditions and the Changing Economic System; (5) Social Conditions and Culture; and (6) Annotated Bibliography.

Geography and Natural Resources

Before 1992, the official name of Ukraine as an entity within the former USSR and as a founding member of the United Nations was the Ukrainska Radianska Sotsiialistychna Respublyka (URSR), or the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukrainian SSR). Encompassing 233,100 square miles, or 603,700 square kilometers, within its present borders, Ukraine is slightly larger than France.

The territory of Soviet Ukraine was enlarged through the annexation of Western Ukraine (Halychyna or Galicia) in 1939, Transcarpathia in 1945, and Crimea in 1964. However, the present boundaries of Ukraine still exclude certain adjacent regions that had a majority of Ukrainians as of 1945. Those areas include the Prešov (Priashiv) region, in the Slovak Republic; the Lemko region, in Poland (from which the natives were forcibly resettled to Ukraine and to the northwestern regions of Poland that were reclaimed from Germany); parts of the Podlachia and Chełm (Kholm) regions, in Poland; parts of the Polisia region, in Belarus; and areas in the Belgorod, Kursk, Voronezh, and Kuban regions, in Russia. Thus, the Ukrainian ethnic territory, taking the aforementioned regions into account, extends to about 289,000 square miles, or 748,705 square kilometers.

Ethnic Ukrainians throughout the world regard contemporary Ukraine as their native land, their motherland. To be sure, some Ukrainian emigrants and their descendants trace their origins to certain border regions of Ukraine that have historically been inhabited by compact settlements of native Ukrainians but that are outside present-day Ukraine, namely, in Poland, the Slovak Republic, Belarus, Croatia, Romania, and Russia proper.

Topography and Climate

Ukraine's topography consists of vast plains and plateaus that seldom rise higher than 1,000 feet, or 305 meters, above sea level. It is possible to travel for hundreds of miles without

seeing any noticeable change in the landscape. The Carpathian Mountains cover parts of the southwest border regions. The Crimean range is on the Crimean peninsula, with the shore running parallel to the mountains at the Crimean Riviera, where the warm Mediterranean climate, beaches, and picturesque bays constitute desirable resort attractions.

Rivers in Ukraine are mostly long arteries that flow slowly across the plains southward to the Black Sea. The largest rivers, particularly the Dnieper (Dnipro), Dniester, and Boh, are navigable over a combined distance of some 3,105 miles, or 5,000 kilometers, and provide a link to the Black Sea and Mediterranean ports, making them useful for both passenger and freight transportation. The Dnieper is the largest river in Ukraine; over the centuries, it has come to be closely interwoven with Ukrainian history, literature, and folksongs. The third-largest river in Europe after the Volga and the Danube, the Dnieper is 1,419 miles, or 2,285 kilometers long, has many tributaries, and flows into the Black Sea. The Danube touches Ukrainian lands only in its delta section, but some of its chief tributaries flow through Ukrainian territory.

Ukraine's lakes are small and shallow and few in number and are found mostly in the northwest and in the south, near the Black and Azov seas. Mineral springs are found throughout Ukraine. Carbon dioxide springs are located in the Carpathians and in the Caucasus. Iron-bearing springs are found in the Carpathians as well as in the Kiev and Kharkiv areas. There are also sulfuric springs, saline springs, thermal springs, and bitter springs in various areas of Ukraine, as well as radioactive springs on the Black Sea shores. Several resort towns have developed these mineral springs commercially as part of their spas.

Ukraine has a moderate continental climate. There is considerable climatic variation across the different regions of the country because of the great range in altitude of its terrain and its longitudinal width, stretching from areas influenced by the Atlantic Ocean to areas in the interior of the continent. Situated in the temperate belt of the northern hemisphere at a considerable distance from the Atlantic Ocean and close to the continent of Asia, Ukraine is characterized by decreasing air temperature not only from south to north, but also from west to east. The intensification of the country's continental character toward the east is manifested in increasing annual temperature ranges, increasing summer temperatures, decreasing winter temperatures, and increasing aridity as one progresses eastward. The characteristic features of Ukraine's climate include four distinct seasons, annual snowfall, a predominance of summer over winter precipitation, and a long and mild autumn. The Carpathian and Crimean highlands have a typical mountain climate, while the southern coast of Crimea enjoys a Mediterranean climate.

In summer, temperatures increase toward the east because of the influence of the hot and dry air masses from the desert steppes of central and southwestern Asia. Western parts of Ukraine are influenced by warm air masses coming from the Atlantic Ocean. In winter, when the Asian continent is in the grip of a cold and dry anticyclone, central and part of western Ukraine experience cool, dry weather. The highest average temperature for the year is found in southern Ukraine and on the southern coast of Crimea. The lowest annual average temperature is found in the northeast and the north – approximately forty-one degrees Fahrenheit, or five degrees Celsius. In the month of January, all regions of the country except the southern coast of Crimea experience below-freezing temperatures, with the lowest temperatures occurring in the mountain regions and in the northeast.

Precipitation for the country as a whole exceeds 19.7 inches, or 500 millimeters, per year, with the highest precipitation found in the high mountain areas and in the western and northwestern regions. Total annual precipitation diminishes toward the southeast, to 11.8

inches, or 300 millimeters, on the Black Sea coast and in northern Crimea. The summer months, especially June and July, receive most of the precipitation, while the winter months, especially January and February, experience the lowest precipitation. A winter snow cover is typical of Ukraine's climate, with the exception of southern Crimea, which has winter rainfall. The snow appears in mid-November in the north and northeast and lasts until April; it begins to fall earlier in the higher mountain elevations, where it lasts until May or later. In the south, snow begins to fall at the end of December or the beginning of January and starts to disappear in early March.

Flora and Fauna

More than 16,000 species of plants are found in Ukraine, including more than 4,400 species of higher plants, 800 species of bryophytes, 1,000 species of lichen, nearly 7,000 species of fungi and molds, more than 3,000 species of continental algae, and 600 species of marine algae. Many foreign plants, including various decorative plants and useful cultivated grasses, have also been introduced in the country. The vegetation of Ukraine, so dependent on factors such as climate, humidity, relief, and soil, can be grouped in wide belts extending from north to south, as follows: forest, forest–steppe, steppe, and Mediterranean. The mountains of Ukraine have their own characteristic vegetation.

The forest belt extends through northern and western Ukraine. The northern part of this belt is characterized by Eastern European mixed forests; the western part consists of Central European deciduous forests, which contain a greater variety of trees than do any other forests in Ukraine. The forest–steppe belt is characterized by fertile and high-yielding deep *chornozem* (black) soils. The steppe belt, which extends southward from the forest–steppe belt to the foothills of the Crimean Mountains and the Caucasus, has ordinary *chornozem* soil. A narrow strip of Mediterranean vegetation extends along the southern coast of Crimea and the Caucasian coast of the Black Sea. The Carpathian mountains contain a large number of Western European varieties of trees, as well as some north Balkan, Mediterranean, and Euro-Siberian taiga and alpine vegetation. The Crimean mountains, which have well-developed forests and rich vegetation, are covered with oak, beech, hornbeam, and other trees and topped with pastures of short, thick grasses. The western and southern foothills of the Caucasus are covered with thick Mediterranean evergreen vegetation. The scenery changes with the different elevations: juniper and juniper–oak forests, mountain–steppe and mountain–meadow vegetation, grasses, deciduous forests, mixed forests, high mountain meadows, and, finally, beyond 9,840 feet, or 3,000 meters, bare cliffs that lie snow-covered year-round.

Ukraine's border position and the absence of natural boundaries provides the country with fauna intermediate between the fauna of Europe and that of Central Asia, and between the fauna of the forest and steppe belts and that of the subtropics. There are about 28,000 species of fauna found in Ukraine; among them are more than 690 species of vertebrates, including 101 mammal, 350 bird, 21 reptile, 19 amphibian, and more than 200 fish species; more than 1,500 protozoan species; more than 700 worm, 400 crustacean, and 330 mollusk species; and 3,300 arachnid and 20,000 other species of insects. The western boundaries of the habitats of many eastern species run through Ukraine, as do the eastern and northern limits of many Western European and Mediterranean species. The Dnieper River is an important natural barrier to the east–west distribution of animals. The habitat of many northern species, such as elk, lynx, brown bear, white hare, capercaillie, black grouse, and hazel hen, extends as far south as Ukraine. Similarly, the northern boundary of many

southern species, such as lesser mouse-eared bat, long-winged bat, and many insects extends as far north as Ukraine. There are few species endemic to Ukraine.

Mineral Resources

Ukraine is favorably endowed with natural resources, including coal, natural gas, peat, and petroleum. The Donets Basin is well known for its great coal deposits; this area also boasts rock salt and other salts, some iron ore, mercury, phosphorite, kaolin, alumina, and many small deposits of other metals, limestone, marl, dolomite, chalk, quartz sand, and building stone. In the Dnieper Bend on the Right Bank, one finds iron ore at Kryvyi Rih (the most important deposits in Eastern Europe), manganese ore, graphite, ocher, brown coal, and kaolin. Ukraine is the world's leading depository and producer of manganese – it has 25 to 30 percent of the world's reserves, with Nikopol in southern Ukraine having the richest deposits in the world. The foothills of the Caucasus have petroleum, coal, lead, tin, and iron ores; many small deposits of non-precious minerals; large deposits of raw materials used in cement manufacturing and rich deposits of iron ore. The Carpathian Mountains have deposits of petroleum, mineral wax, salt, potassium, manganese ore, iron ore, graphite, and brown coal.

Titanium, mercury, magnesium, uranium, and small deposits of nickel, tin, and zinc have also been found in Ukraine. Precious stones include topaz, quartz, agate, opal, and garnet. Many cities and towns boast mineral springs, which are of medicinal value.

Environmental Concerns

The disastrous nuclear accident at Chornobyl in 1986 claimed hundreds and possibly thousands of lives and imperiled tens of thousands of people, especially children. Moreover, the soil and the vegetation in that region, which extends north into Belarus, was contaminated with radiation and became dangerous to human and animal habitation. The new government of Ukraine created a separate ministry to deal with the consequences of Chornobyl and has appealed for international technical and humanitarian aid to help the victims.

Unfortunately, reckless exploitation of Ukraine's resources during the Soviet years also resulted in water and air pollution in industrial cities and mining regions, especially in the Donbas area. Environmental concerns sensitized the people politically and stimulated the drive for independence. A political movement called Zelenyi Svit (Green World), appealing especially to the younger generation, has been campaigning to safeguard the natural environment. The new national policies include the scheduled elimination of nuclear plants and weapons on Ukrainian territory, as well as the expansion of national preserves such as the state park Askania Nova in the Kherson steppe region.

Demographic Conditions[1]

The population of Ukraine totalled 52.1 million inhabitants in 1992, constituting a density of 223.7 persons per square mile, or 86.4 persons per square kilometer. A total of 46.4 percent of the population are males and 53.6 percent are females.

The rate of natural increase of the population in the first half of the 1980s was 3.5 per 1,000, but this rate declined to 0.6 per 1,000 by 1990 because of a drop in the birthrate. In 1990, Ukraine's birthrate was 12.7 per 1,000 (compared with a world average of 27.1), and its

Map 1 Population of Ukraine by oblast, in thousands, 1989 Census



Source: Prepared by the editor, based on data from *Narodnoe khoziaistvo Ukrainskoi SSR v 1989 godu: Statysticheskii ezhegodnik* [The national economy of the Ukrainian SSR in the year 1989: Statistical yearbook] (Kiev: Tekhnika, 1990), 32.

death rate was 12.1 per 1,000 (compared with a world average of 9.8). The average life expectancy is seventy-one years – sixty-six for men and seventy-five for women.

Urbanization has progressed rapidly in Ukraine. The urban population grew from 19 percent in 1913 to 34 percent in 1939 and 67.5 percent in 1991. In 1991, five cities boasted more than one million inhabitants: Kiev, the capital had 2.6 million; Kharkiv, 1.6 million; Dnipropetrovske, 1.2 million; Donetske, 1.1 million; and Odessa, 1.1 million. Lviv had 809,000 inhabitants.

Ethnic Composition and Languages

According to the 1989 census, the permanent inhabitants of Ukraine numbered 51.7 million, of whom 72.7 percent declared their nationality as Ukrainian; 22.1 percent, as Russian; and 5.2 percent, as "other." The largest percentage of Ukrainians was in the southwestern regions (87 percent), and the smallest, in the southern regions (55 percent). More than fourteen million Ukrainians live in other former republics of the USSR. Having long been denied their own schools and other ethnic rights, the Ukrainians of the "Eastern diaspora" began to reawaken and organize their cultural life after 1990.

Russians are concentrated heavily in the Crimea, Luhansk, the port city of Odessa, and, generally, the Eastern industrial districts.

The number of Jews in Ukraine declined to 486,000 in 1989 as a result of ongoing emigration. Before the Second World War, they had maintained viable, compact communities in the Western regions of Galicia and Bessarabia and, before the Russian Revolution, in Kiev and Odessa, as well. Under the Soviet regime, Jews participated in the sanctioned forms of political, social, and economic activity, but were prohibited from cultivating their religion and culture. The Jews suffered genocidal persecution when the Germans overran Ukraine during the Second World War; the executions in Babyn Yar near Kiev symbolized their plight.[2] The leaders, the Parliament, and the government of independent Ukraine guarantee ethnic rights to all minorities and specifically encourage the revival of Jewish community organizations and culture.

In the Ukrainian SSR, 34.1 million people, or 66.3 percent of the population, declared Ukrainian to be their mother tongue. About one-third of the people identified as ethnic minorities are fluent in Ukrainian. The Ukrainian and Russian languages coexist in many cities in such sectors as trade, communal services and education. In 1989, in response to the growing demands of patriotic leaders and the masses, the Parliament added an amendment to Ukraine's Constitution granting the status of a state language to the Ukrainian language, while assuring free use of the Russian language in interethnic relations among the peoples of the country.

Educational Conditions

The population of Ukraine has attained virtually complete literacy. In 1989, the educational status of the population aged fifteen years and older was as follows: 6.8 percent – some primary education; 13.8 percent – completed primary education; 18.4 percent – some secondary education; 31.1 percent – completed secondary education; 19.5 percent – some postsecondary education; and 10.4 percent – obtained postsecondary or postgraduate degrees. The country's widespread network of educational institutions includes more than 27,000 schools. Professional education is provided by 147 institutes of higher learning. The labor force includes 3.6 million people with university education, 16.5 million with secondary school equivalence, and 5.2 million with elementary education. Public nurseries and kindergartens accommodate

57 percent of children in those age groups. In 1990, 7.1 million children attended elementary and secondary schools. Of the total number of 888,000 university students, 51 percent were women.

Thus, in many respects, the level of formal schooling in Ukraine compares favorably with that in other European countries. During the Soviet era, however, the doctrinaire approach to the social sciences and a lack of interaction with foreign countries diminished the quality of academic and technical education. Efforts have recently been made, however, to eliminate obstacles to educational excellence. Several private secondary schools have been founded. The Ivan Franko University of Lviv has begun a graduate management program in conjunction with Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan, USA. The International Management Institute has been established in Kiev, and the renowned Mohyla Academy has been revived as a private university with a mandate to provide a Western-style liberal arts education. International academic exchanges between Ukraine and Western countries have opened new opportunities for students, educators, and scholars.

Government and the Political System

Attainment of Independence

The emergence of independent Ukraine and the demise of the USSR represent a fundamental change in the geopolitical structure of Europe. The referendum of December 1, 1991, with the participation of 84.2 percent of the eligible voters, approved Ukraine's independence by an impressive 90.3 percent majority. The affirmative vote ranged from 98.7 percent in the Ternopil oblast to 54.2 percent in the Crimea. Significantly, not only ethnic Ukrainians but also national minorities such as Russians and Jews approved the formation of an independent and democratic Ukrainian state, unequivocally free and separate from the former Soviet empire. At the same time, the voters chose Leonid Kravchuk as president, giving him a strong mandate to implement the nation's will to become a nuclear-free state and a cooperating member of the international community of nations.[3]

Following the dissolution of the USSR, Kravchuk's government agreed to participate in a loosely structured Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) consisting of eleven former Soviet republics. The stated purpose of the CIS has been to coordinate nuclear, military, and economic policies during a transitional period, that is, while the member nations restructure themselves as independent countries. Ukraine explicitly and unequivocally asserted its objectives to control the military and naval forces on its own territory, to establish its own diplomatic services, and to create an independent monetary and fiscal system.

The political and administrative structures of independent Ukraine have grown out of the institutions inherited from the Soviet era. Since the demise of the USSR, however, Ukraine's leaders have opposed the revival of supranational imperial organizations and have insisted on structuring economic and political relations with Russia and other newly independent states on the basis of normal bilateral treaties. Ukraine's government and Parliament, as well as public opinion throughout the country, have demonstrated a firm commitment to eradicate dependence on the Moscow-dominated governmental and other institutions of the former USSR. Thus, Parliament outlawed the Communist Party and the KGB. Moreover, the highly centralized system of the former planned, or command, economy is being dismantled. In its place, Parliament has been formulating the new laws needed to launch a market system, with extensive private ownership, demonopolization, and free domestic and foreign

business enterprises. The new government has taken steps to replace the inherited hierarchic structures with decentralized democratic institutions that are responsive to the needs of the communities, the cities, and the nation.

The Executive Branch

The executive branch of the government has been headed since 1991 by President Leonid Kravchuk, elected by a popular vote for a period of five years. The president appoints a Cabinet of Ministers, headed by the Prime Minister. The appointed ministers are in charge of their respective ministries, including the ministries of culture, defense, the economy, education, energy and electrification, finance, foreign affairs, health, justice, trade, and youth and sports.

A separate ministry was created to deal with the protection of the people from the consequences of the Chornobyl disaster. The Ministry of Defense, headed by Konstantyn Morozov, assumed responsibility over the armed forces stationed in Ukraine. The majority of soldiers stationed in the country have taken an oath of allegiance to Ukraine. A disagreement has been simmering with Russia regarding the transfer of part of the Black Sea naval fleet to Ukraine. Significantly, the size of the armed forces on Ukraine's territory will be reduced from one and a half million personnel to fewer than half a million. Furthermore, in line with Parliament's decision to make Ukraine a nuclear-free zone, tactical nuclear warheads were dismantled and shipped to Russia. Prior to the ratification of the START 1 Treaty dealing with the remaining strategic nuclear weapons, Ukraine has been seeking assurances of collective security from other nuclear powers as well as financial aid for the costly dismantling of such weapons.

Of great importance to the country is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, headed since 1991 by Anatolii Zlenko, who has been skillfully developing foreign diplomatic and cultural relations. Among the first to recognize Ukraine as an independent nation were Poland, Canada, Hungary, and Great Britain. Within the first three months after the independence referendum, more than forty countries, including the United States, France, Argentina, India, and Japan, established full diplomatic relations with Ukraine. The first ambassador from the United States to Kiev, Roman Popadiuk, and the first Canadian consul general, Nestor Gayowsky, were of Ukrainian descent. Eager to establish its own diplomatic services abroad, Ukraine has given priority to countries with large Ukrainian ethnic communities, namely, Poland, the Slovak Republic, Canada, the United States, Brazil, Argentina, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Australia.

It should be noted that members of the present government of Ukraine, especially Vice-Premier for Culture Mykola Zhulynsky and Minister of Education Ivan Dziuba, recognize the need to support cultural ties with the Ukrainian diaspora in the West and in the Eastern regions of the former Soviet Union.

Various aspects of national administration are coordinated by about thirty "state committees" (*derzhavni komitety*). They include the committees on agricultural reform, architecture and historical monuments, the food industry, machine building, and transportation. The National Bank of Ukraine is in the process of establishing a stable, independent monetary and banking system.

In order to implement national policies and administrative objectives, the president's representatives are being appointed in the country's twenty-five regional subdivisions, or oblasts.

The Legislative Branch

The legislative branch of the government consists of a unicameral Parliament called the Verkhovna Rada (Supreme Council). It consists of 450 regional representatives, elected every four years by a popular vote. Similar regional councils are elected in the twenty-five oblasts.

During the partly democratic election of 1989, about one-third of the elected deputies belonged to the so-called Democratic Bloc, while the other two-thirds were favored by the Communist Party and the establishment. However, the influence of the independence-oriented democratic forces has been increasing steadily since that time. On July 16, 1990, Parliament overwhelmingly passed a "Declaration of Sovereignty." It proclaimed that, in Ukraine, the laws of the Republic take precedence over the laws of the USSR. The ill-fated putsch staged by the hard-line Communists in Moscow accelerated Parliament's drive to transform Ukraine into an independent country.

Even as the parliamentary committee on the Constitution was drafting a new Constitution, Parliament passed several essential changes to the inherited Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR in the early months of independence. Article 68, for example, declaring that the objective of the Republic is to construct a Communist state, was abrogated. Moreover, Parliament has been revising or formulating new comprehensive legislation in such areas as business and finance, civil rights, and international relations.

The significance of the new legal provisions is that they lay the foundation for a democratic political system and a market-oriented, free-enterprise economy. Moreover, the new laws and the supporting institutions aim to implement the nation's independence in relation to other countries, including Russia, the largest successor state to the USSR.

The numerous committees of Parliament have asserted their importance not only in the preparation of new laws and Parliamentary acts, but also in the shaping of government policies and public opinion. Among the influential parliamentary committees are the committee on finance, headed by Volodymyr Pylypchuk, and the committee on international relations, headed by Dmytro Pavlychko.

In the early months of independence, Parliament was chaired by Ivan Pliushch. The Union of Democratic Forces, which has acted essentially as a loyal opposition, has been steered by such prominent deputies as Mykhailo Horyn, Larysa Skoryk, Viacheslav Chornovil, and Ihor Yukhnovsky.

The Judicial System and Law Enforcement

Thus far, the main legal institutions and law enforcement organizations in Ukraine are apparently being retained from the Soviet era. However, aside from the replacement of many discredited judges and the dismissal of KGB functionaries, some fundamental changes are being made in the system.

The Law on Legal Succession, passed by Parliament on September 12, 1991, confirmed the inherited laws, provided they do not contradict the Ukrainian Constitution and the laws adopted after the Declaration of Independence, on August 24, 1991. Among the new laws are those dealing with business partnerships, entrepreneurship and banking, foreign investment, foreign trade, and the tax structure. However, these laws are being implemented only very gradually during the transitional period.

According to United States Claims Court Judge (and legal expert) B. Futey, the people of Ukraine have a keen understanding and respect for the rule of the law, as evidenced by the

country's referendum process, its reliance on Parliament, and its civic movements and coalitions, such as Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine.[4] Ukraine has begun to structure its judiciary system as a third co-equal branch of the government. The parliamentary committee on the Constitution has proposed the creation of a supreme court and a separate constitutional court, as well as oblast and other lower-level courts. Steps have already been taken to try to make judges independent of political pressures by raising their salaries and overall prestige.

The police system and related law-enforcement agencies came under the control of the Ukrainian government and local authorities even before President Kravchuk's government assumed complete responsibility over the armed forces stationed in Ukraine. The hated, Moscow-controlled, KGB and the Communist Party were disbanded.

In view of rapid socioeconomic changes, Ukraine has experienced a rise in crime and in the illegal activities of organized crime by the so-called mafia, especially in business-related areas.

Political Parties and Democracy

The struggle for human and national rights was intensified in the late 1980s, under the reforms introduced by former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev. The struggle was spearheaded by such former political prisoners as Viacheslav Chornovil, Mykhailo and Bohdan Horyn, Iryna Kalynets, Levko Lukianenko, and Yurii Shukhevych. New organizations such as the Shevchenko Society for the Preservation of the Ukrainian Language augmented the revival of patriotism. In 1989, the Union of Writers of Ukraine founded Rukh, the Popular Movement for *Perebudova* (Reconstruction). Under the leadership of Ivan Drach, Mykhailo Horyn, and Dmytro Pavlychko, Rukh mobilized and coordinated various democratic, anti-communist groups with a pro-independence orientation. During the partly free elections of 1989, this democratic opposition won one-third of the seats in the Republic's Parliament, and the majority of seats in some regional and city councils in Western Ukraine.

The drive for independence was further strengthened when striking mine workers demanded not only better living conditions, but also greater autonomy from Moscow for the Republic's government. Similarly, youth organizations and university students pressured the government in Kiev to stand up for the rights of the nation. An organization of mothers for the rights of soldiers demanded that their sons serve only on the territory of Ukraine. Thus, the struggle for freedom, democracy and independence became an ever-widening popular movement, rather than remaining the exclusive domain of the still-weak opposition parties.

The political parties tested their strength during the first free presidential election in December 1991. Although the successful candidate, Leonid Kravchuk, was supported by the once-powerful establishment and the bureaucracy, he also appealed to a wide spectrum of voters who desired the attainment of independence without undue confrontation with Russia. Kravchuk also promised an orderly, albeit slow, evolution of the economic system into a new market-oriented economy. The President was elected by 61.1 percent of the vote; the other presidential candidates fared as follows: V. Chornovil received 23.3 percent; L. Lukianenko, 4.5 percent; B. Hryniov, 4.2 percent; and I. Yukhnovsky, 1.7 percent. Thus, although formal membership in various parties was still quite small, candidates representing more innovative political ideas received considerable support from the electorate.

It is also significant that the pro-independence democratic members of Parliament have formed an influential faction called the Narodna Rada (National Council) under the leader-

ship of such deputies as M. Horyn, D. Pavlychko, L. Skoryk, and I. Yukhnovsky. They have been able to steer Parliament toward the support of democratic reforms and national independence. President Kravchuk has been responsive both to the pressures of action-oriented democratic political forces and to various initiatives of Parliament.

President Kravchuk and his government have been eager to establish and strengthen an infrastructure that will make Ukraine an efficient and responsible modern independent state. However, since many top officials and lower-level functionaries are holdovers from the former Communist system, they have been criticized, especially by supporters of the democratic movement Rukh, for being too conservative and too indecisive in implementing market reforms and for submitting too readily to pressures from Russia. Nonetheless, the policies of the government appear to be helping the country make significant strides toward modern statehood and cultivate good relations with neighboring countries. Also of great significance has been the government's success in preserving internal peace within a population that is diversified with respect to language, religion, national consciousness, and history of past involvement with the former Communist regime.

Economic Conditions and the Changing Economic System

Ukraine may be characterized as a relatively highly industrialized country with a strong agricultural base. It is endowed with fertile land, rich mineral resources, and a well-educated labor force. However, as a consequence of more than seven decades of Communist central planning, the economy was inefficient in satisfying the essential needs of the people. In the late 1980s, only 53 percent of Ukraine's total production was devoted to consumer goods, whereas military production and investment projects specified by Moscow received high priority.

According to Western estimates, average annual consumer expenditure in the USSR in 1988 was equivalent to US$2,829, which was higher than that in Poland (US$931) and Hungary (US$1,616), but lower than that in Czechoslovakia (US$5,088), East Germany (US$6,523), and Spain ($4,740).[5]

Ukraine's intensive industrialization is reflected in the pattern of employment of its labor force. As shown in Table 1, of the approximately twenty-three million workers who constituted the total labor force in 1990, 40.2 percent were employed in industry and construction.

Table 1 Employment of the labor force in Ukraine by sector, 1990

Sector	Percentage of Total
Industry and construction	40.2
Agriculture and lumber	20.1
Health, education, and culture	17.6
Trade and distribution	7.4
Transport and communication	7.0
Government administration	2.2
Other	5.5
Total	100.0

Source: Derzhavnyi Komitet Ukr. RSR po Statystytsi [State Committee of the Ukrainian SSR for Statistics], *Ukrainska RSR u tsyfrakh u 1990 rotsi* [The Ukrainian SSR in figures for the year 1990], Kiev, 1991.

The engagement of 20.1 percent of workers in agriculture is rather high by Western standards and reflects the relative inefficiency of that sector; nonetheless, Ukraine has been able to satisfy its own food requirements as well as export agricultural goods to the former Soviet republics and other countries.

Ukraine's per capita output of many types of industrial and agricultural goods compares favorably with that of other countries, as shown in Table 2. As a large country endowed with many essential resources, Ukraine has the potential to develop a well-balanced modern economy.

Ukraine has the ability to develop its international trade not only with Russia to the east, but also within the geopolitical region between the Baltic and the Black Sea basins, as well as with the neighboring European Community. Ukraine's strong export potential has been demonstrated in various primary goods (iron ore, steel, manganese); agricultural staples (sugar, cooking oil, butter, salt); manufactured goods (excavators, automation equipment, chemical equipment); military equipment (shipbuilding, aerospace equipment, electronics); tourism (seaside resorts in Crimea, winter and summer resorts in the Carpathian Mountains, camping, river excursions); and educational services (about half of the foreign students in the USSR studied in Ukraine).

A recent survey by the Deutsche Bank has evaluated and ranked the economic potential

Table 2 International comparison of per capita output of key products, 1989

Key Products	Ukraine	Poland	Hungary	Italy	France
Electric energy, kilowatt hours	5,701	3,843	2,795	3,650	7,431
Petroleum and liquid gas, kilograms	105	4	186	78	57
Natural gas, cubic meters	595	142	581	302	59
Coal, kilograms	2,661	6,590	1,894	24	239
Steel, kilograms	1,059	399	314	436	344
Synthetic fabrics and fibers, kilograms	3.7	6	3	12	4
Tractors (excluding those for gardening), per 1,000 persons	2.2	1.3	0.01	1.6	0.4
Paper, kilograms	6.8	31	43	80	113
Shoes, pairs	3.8	3.8	2.8	7.6	3.0
Sugar beets, kilograms	1,003	380	499	249	414
Potatoes, kilograms	373	908	123	42	107
Meat, kilograms	86	73	161	63	112
Milk, kilograms	471	423	274	200	513
Sugar, kilograms	100	45	48	28	65
Fish and other seafood, kilograms	22	17	1.6	10	15

Source: Derzhavnyi Komitet Ukr. RSR po Statystytsi [State Committee of the Ukrainian SSR for Statistics], *Ukrainska RSR u tsyfrakh u 1990 rotsi* [The Ukrainian SSR in figures for the year 1990], Kiev, 1991.

of the former Soviet republics.[6] Each republic was evaluated on a scale of one to ten in thirteen different areas. Ukraine received relatively high scores in agricultural production (ten points), level of industrialization (nine), access to raw materials (eight), export potential of raw materials (eight), infrastructure (eight), and ability to satisfy domestic demand for manufactured foods (seven). Moreover, the nation received the highest total score of all – eighty-three points (compared with seventy-two for Russia and seventy-seven for the three Baltic states).

According to another business survey, conducted by L. Onyshkevych, Ukraine is well-endowed with a highly educated and technically skilled work force, which could serve as a basis for developing its international commerce and joint international business projects.[7]

The restructuring of Ukraine's economic system during the 1990s is likely to be fundamental. First, the centrally planned allocation of resources that characterized the former system of nationalized industry and collective agriculture is already being transformed into a free-market system, with expanding private ownership of land and industry. The process of marketization and privatization is in many respects similar to that under way in other East European countries and Russia. However, Ukraine's determination to transform its economy into a sovereign entity, independent of the imperial bonds of the former Soviet empire, constitutes an additional fundamental change that is far less significant for other East European countries. In pursuing its goals, the revived nation must overcome such barriers as the resistance of groups with vested interests; lack of experience; and limited access to Western technology, markets, and financial resources. From December 1992 to August 1993, economic reforms and stabilization policies were intensified under the energetic leadership of Vice Premier and Minister of the Economy Viktor Pynzenyk.

The transformation of Ukraine's political economy has progressed in several directions.

Implementation of Economic Sovereignty

Ukraine's Parliament has passed legislation transferring from Soviet to Ukrainian ownership and management the former so-called union enterprises, banking, transportation, and communications, as well as the military and defense establishments on Ukraine's territory. Ukraine has also taken steps to wrest away from Moscow's control the conduct of its international commerce and finance, and has become an independent member of such international institutions as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Fiscal Sovereignty

As early as the period Gorbachev's perestroika, Ukraine had begun to enlarge its authority over state taxation and expenditure. Under Soviet rule, the Republic was required to make excessive contributions to the Union budget. This enabled Moscow to control Ukraine's economy and to extract from it between 8 and 12 percent of its annual production for the benefit of other parts of the USSR. Having freed itself from such budgetary exploitation, Ukraine now faces the difficult task of managing and balancing its own domestic and international finances.

Formation of an Independent Monetary System

In the early months of 1991, it became necessary to accelerate the establishment of a separate monetary system, because Russia was unwilling to share the management of the

ruble system with independent successor states. When Russia freed its prices but did not provide Ukraine with an adequate share of the growing supply of rubles, prices increased more rapidly in Russia than in Ukraine. In order to prevent Russians from buying up essential products in Ukraine, the latter issued its own negotiable quasi-money, or "coupons." In 1993, efforts to implement a national monetary and banking system based on the country's own currency, the *hryvnia,* were intensified. It was now recognized that, without its own national monetary and banking system based on an internationally convertible monetary unit, the country would not be able to implement its domestic policies or manage its international commercial and financial business efficiently.

The National Bank of Ukraine has been developing the needed banking network, negotiating with foreign banks, and otherwise trying to integrate Ukraine into the framework of the International Monetary Fund and other international financial institutions.

Marketization

Efforts have been made to encourage the expansion of independent trade cooperatives and to allow the formation of commodity exchanges and similar market institutions. Ukraine's government favors a gradual introduction of free markets, in order to protect retirees and others on fixed incomes, as well as to protect jobs in state enterprises that are not yet ready to compete in free markets. In the early months of 1991, Ukraine continued to control the prices of essential consumer and industrial goods, but was forced to accelerate the freeing of prices in response to similar policies in Russia.

Privatization

The Minister for Property and Entrepreneurship is responsible for implementing legislation that mandates substantial privatization of state enterprises and decollectivization of farms. The industrial structure inherited from the Soviet era involves more than 30,000 state enterprises, of which some 1,000 have more than 3,000 employees each, and some 15,000, more than 1,000 employees each. Private, joint-stock, and cooperative enterprises are beginning to grow in significance. Although private land ownership was legalized, decollectivization has been slow because the credit and equipment needed to support small-scale farming have been lacking.

A law passed in early 1991 encourages the acquisition of financial assets and property by foreigners in order to attract foreign investment and know-how and to gain access to foreign markets.

International Trade and Multinational Business

Ukraine has recognized a need to modify its long-time reliance on trade within the former Soviet geopolitical region and to develop advantageous commerce with European and other developed countries. Within a few months of gaining independence, Ukraine had concluded commercial treaties with Argentina, Hungary, India, Iran, Poland, Turkey, and other countries. It has also passed liberal tax and property laws with the aim of attracting foreign investment and encouraging multinational enterprises to conduct business within its borders.

In order to gain access to foreign credit, Ukraine has agreed to service its share (16.7 percent) of the foreign debt of the former USSR and has demanded an equitable share of

Soviet foreign assets, including the property of the former Soviet embassies abroad, deposits in foreign banks, and past Soviet credit to the developing countries. Russia, however, has not been cooperating in assigning Ukraine its fair share of the assets. In spite of such problems, Ukraine has sought membership in such international institutions as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and has made efforts to become a reliable partner in international trade and finance. In addition to the government's intensified efforts to establish Ukrainian embassies and consular services and to create similar favorable conditions for trade, international business opportunities are being sought through participation in trade fairs and commercial conferences, as well as through promotion by consulting firms and new organizations such as the Canadian–Ukrainian Chamber of Commerce.

Defense Conversion

The defense industry has been wrested from Moscow's control by the Ukrainian government. The Minister for Military Industry and Conversion, Viktor Antonov, oversees the conversion of numerous defense establishments to civilian production. At the same time, however, Ukraine's leaders have tried to maintain adequate imdependent defense forces and to phase out the remaining joint military forces of the so-called Commonwealth of Independent States. A particular bone of contention between Ukraine and Russia has been control of the Black Sea fleet. In view of the need to shrink and transform the huge and once privileged military-industrial complex, the country must expand production for the civilian market and enhance competition among domestic and foreign firms.

Social Conditions and Culture

The emergence of Ukraine as an independent country has created fundamentally new conditions in all spheres of social and cultural life. First of all, cultural, social, and other organizations that were controlled by the Communist Party are now being reformed, replaced, or supplemented by a network of democratically managed institutions. In the emerging pluralistic society, private citizens can use their own initiative, without having to conform to Moscow-imposed strictures, and they can seek inspiration from Ukraine's own traditions and take advantage of current opportunities. Moreover, social and cultural activities are presently being encouraged and supported by the democratically elected national, regional, and municipal governments. This fundamental transformation of the society can be observed in various spheres of life.

Scientific, Academic, and Professional Institutions

As in the past, scientific organizations and universities are financed largely by budgetary allocations from the state. The Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, which employs some eighty-five thousand scientists, scholars and supporting staff, is the main promoter and coordinator of scientific and research activity. The Academy oversees many institutes dealing with pure and applied sciences, as well as those devoted to archeology, economics, history, literature, philosophy, and social sciences. Additional research institutes are attached to the Ministry of Education and other ministries.

Recently, the Academy of Sciences has been meeting the ongoing need for expertise in such diverse fields as the management of nuclear facilities, the exploration of outer space, and the formulation of legal codexes by Ukraine's Parliament. Among its new initiatives, the

Academy co-sponsored the International Ukrainian Economic Association, which held its first congress in Kiev in May 1992. The Academy has also inducted such eminent Western scholars as historian O. Pritsak, of Harvard University; mathematician V. Petryshyn, of Rutgers University; and economist B. Hawrylyshyn, who founded the International Management Institute in Kiev.

A heartening new development has been the revival, in 1989, of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, an event that received welcome encouragement and support from the diaspora. Founded in 1873, the Society was banned by Moscow in 1940, but remained active in the émigré communities abroad, where it sponsored significant projects, such as the compilation of Ukrainian encyclopedias in Ukrainian and English.

Independent Ukraine inherited extensive academic facilities from the Soviet era. The country's nine major universities are located in Chernivtsi, Dnipropetrovske, Donetske, Kharkiv, Kiev, Lviv, Odessa, Symferopil, and Uzhhorod. Various polytechnical institutes offer a variety of specializations in Kiev, Kharkiv, Lviv, and Odessa.

Agronomy is taught at twelve agricultural institutes, and medical and other professional education is provided by specialized schools called *tekhnikums*, ten of which are devoted to law and economics.

An interesting innovation has been the formation of the University of Kiev Mohyla Academy. This private university, headed by V. Briukhovetsky, derives its inspiration from Ukraine's rich academic traditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and aims to provide a Western-style liberal arts education to outstanding students.

In 1983, some twenty-five thousand foreign students from more than a hundred countries studied at Ukraine's seventy-one postsecondary institutions. However, only in recent years has it become possible for students and scholars from Ukrainian communities abroad to take advantage of academic opportunities in their ancestral homeland – a practice that is now being encouraged. The newly formed International School of Ukrainian Studies (located in the comfortable facilities of the former advanced school of the Communist Party, at 54 Volodymyrska Street in Kiev), offers summer sessions and other programs that attract students and faculty from many foreign countries.

The scientific and academic institutions in newly independent Ukraine are adapting themselves to the requirements and opportunities of a free country. Intensive efforts are under way to broaden international contacts and to introduce new ideas into a country that was harshly isolated for many decades from its European neighbors and the rest of the world.

One can also find similar changes in other areas of organized life. In the medical profession, the engineering and managerial fields, and such business sectors as tourism, cooperatives, and banking, inherited institutions are being adapted, and new institutions are being formed.

Student and Youth Organizations

During the Soviet years, youngsters were regimented and otherwise conditioned for life in a Communist state by a set of organizations that took them from childhood to adult life, from the Zhovteniata (Little Yellowbeaks) in elementary schools to the Pioneers and Comsomol in adolescence and young adulthood, and, ultimately, to the Communist Party. With the arrival of freedom of choice, this discredited system disintegrated rapidly. The void is being filled by new youth associations that cultivate native traditions and otherwise reflect national aspirations.

At several universities, the Brotherhood of Students and similar groups participated

actively in the struggle for language rights. This grass-roots movement became politicized during the uncompromising student hunger strike in 1990 in Kiev, under the leadership of Oles Doniy. The students helped persuade Ukraine's Parliament and the government to stand behind pro-independence policies. In 1991, various student organizations formed the Ukrainian Student Union under the leadership of Volodymyr Chemerys.

Of the new youth organizations offering recreational and cultural programs, the two that have spread most rapidly throughout the country are the Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (SUM, Ukrainian Youth Association), and Plast, Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization), a scouting organization founded in Western Ukraine in 1911. Both have received support and encouragement from their counterpart organizations abroad, which have greatly contributed to the retention of ethnic identity in Ukrainian communities in Canada, the United States, and several other countries.

Church and Religion

Enthusiasm for Ukraine's new-found religious freedom notwithstanding, seven decades of the militant atheist policies of the Communist state left their mark on both the organizational and the spiritual aspect of religious life in the country. Of the nearly 10,000 registered religious communities in Ukraine in 1991, 5,031 belonged to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 1,912 to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, 1,059 to the Baptists, and 811 to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church; there were also 23 registered and 2 unregistered Jewish congregations and several Muslim communities.[8]

The scope of religious life was manifested at an inter-denominational forum in Kiev in November 1991. Some five hundred assembled leaders of eleven religious denominations used the occasion to affirm their commitment to freedom and equality for all religious persuasions. They also appealed for tolerance and cooperation, especially in connection with conflicting claims to church properties in various localities.

Several significant developments in recent years should be noted. In 1990, the spiritual head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the diaspora, Metropolitan Mstyslav, returned to Ukraine and was elected Patriarch of that church both in Ukraine and abroad. The Autocephalous (meaning "self-governing") Church has been in conflict over power and over control of finances and church property with a faction of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church that is headed by a metropolitan in Kiev but is under the jurisdiction of Patriarch Alexei in Moscow and has a pro-Russian orientation.

Another historical event was the return to Lviv of Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky on Palm Sunday, 1991, marking a veritable resurrection of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine.

The return of religious freedom has witnessed a revival of monastic orders and theological seminaries, as well as the formation of religious youth organizations and church-related humanitarian societies. Some elementary and secondary schools have introduced the teaching of catechism. A week-long rally under the banner "Youth for Christ," staged in Lviv in 1991, brought together some forty thousand people to participate in a program of evangelization that culminated in a renewal of baptismal vows.

The newly revived churches face a shortage of qualified priests and teachers of religion, as well as a lack of religious books and periodicals. Nonetheless, the enthusiasm of the people for their new-found freedom of worship is unmistakable, especially during Christmas and other holy days.

Literature

During the 1980s, many leading poets and writers sacrificed their talents and even their lives in the struggle for human and national rights. Poet Vasyl Stus, admired for his unbending idealism and powerful poetic imagery, was tortured and died in a concentration camp in 1985 – during the tenure of the ostensibly liberal Gorbachev. Since the mid-1980s, many prominent literary personalities have been involved in the political process, among them Ivan Drach (head of Rukh until 1992), Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Dmytro Pavlychko, and Volodymyr Yavorivsky – all leading members of the democratic caucus in Parliament.

Widely admired for decades, both for her poetry and her strong stand against the pressures of Soviet censors (she remained silent rather than publish castrated poems), has been the leading poet Lina Kostenko, recipient of numerous awards and prizes. The contemporary cohort of mostly younger poets includes Natalka Bilotserkivets, Vasyl Harasymiuk, Vasyl Holoborodko, Sofia Maidanska, Ivan Malkovych, Oksana Pakhilovska, Ihor Rymaruk, Mykola Vorobiov, and Oksana Zabuzhko.

For many years, Oles Honchar was respected as Ukraine's foremost literary figure; his historical novel *Sobor* (The Cathedral) was censored and taken off the shelves immediately after its publication in 1968. Valerii Shevchuk now stands at the forefront, with his prize-winning trilogy, *Try lystky za viknom* (Three Leaves outside the Window). Other notable writers include Anatolii Dimarov, Volodymyr Drozd (winner of the 1992 Antonovych Prize), Yevhen Hutsalo, and Vasyl Zemliak.

The current cultural atmosphere in independent Ukraine is reflected in the selection of winners of the 1992 Taras Shevchenko State Prizes in the fields of literature, criticism, and journalism, as well as fine arts and music. In the literary categories, the prizes honor Ukrainian writers who were unjustly suppressed by the Soviet regime, as well as those who are currently involved in the national revival. Two awards were bestowed posthumously, on Borys Antonenko-Davydovych and émigré writer Ivan Bahriany. The four winning poets included two members of Parliament, Roman Lubkivsky and Pavlo Movchan, and two poets who survived Soviet incarcerations, Ihor Kalynets and Taras Melnychuk. Writers Volodymyr Drozd and Feodisii Rohosiy were recognized for their novels, while Mykola Zhulynsky won for his literary study of repressed poets and writers in Ukraine.

Among the most respected and most widely circulated Ukrainian literary journals are *Slovo i Chas* (Word and Time), a joint publication of the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences and the Writers Union of Ukraine; *Kyiv*; *Vsesvit* (The Universe), dealing exclusively with foreign and translated literature; *Dzvin* (The Bell); *Berezil* (March); *Vitchyzna* (Native Land); and *Suchasnist* (Contemporary Times), a periodical that was formerly published in the diaspora but is now based in Kiev. Many of these periodicals make an effort to publish the works of authors from Ukraine who had previously been censored, such as Mykola Khvylovy, Bohdan Lepky, Olena Teliha, and Volodymyr Vynnychenko, as well as the works of authors from the diaspora who for decades had been ignored or criticized in the Soviet press, such as poets Vasyl Barka, Bohdan Kravtsiv, Yevhen Malaniuk, Ostap and Marta Tarnavsky, and Vira Vovk and writers Emma Andievska, Bohdan Boichuk, and Yurii Tarnavsky.

The Union of Writers of Ukraine (Yurii Mushketyk, president) is currently independent of its former Moscow center. Today, many of the writers also belong to the Ukrainian chapter of the International PEN Club, which for many years defended Ukrainian writers who were being persecuted in the USSR.

Performing Arts

Musical arts in Ukraine are cultivated within a system of music schools and promoted by a variety of performing companies and ensembles. Among the noted Ukrainian composers of operas, choral works, symphonies, and other classical music are K. Dankevych, A. Kos-Anatolsky, B. Latoshynsky, S. Ludkevych, and A. Shtoharenko. H. Maiboroda's opera *Yaroslav Mudryi* was performed in Washington, DC, and Toronto on the occasion of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine; in 1991, this composer was honored in person at a concert by Philadelphia's Ukrainian National Choir, directed by M. Dlaboha. V. Baley, in the United States, has made efforts to acquaint the West with the so-called Kiev Avantgarde, which includes such innovative composers as V. Bibyk, L. Hrabovsky, O. Krysa, M. Skoryk, E. Stankovych, and V. Zahortsev. The Leontovych String Quartet, from Kiev, has been well received in musical circles in the United States and other countries.

Popular music and songs performed by Hrono, Kobza, Medicus, Veselyi Lviv, and other ensembles have been well received by Ukrainians abroad; such music is generally available on records and tapes. The revered composer of popular songs V. Ivasiuk was murdered by the KGB in 1979, at the age of thirty, for inspiring patriotism among his compatriots, especially the youth. Ivasiuk's songs became instant hits among Ukrainians abroad. Pop music in the late 1980s by such groups as Ne Zhurys (Don't Worry) sent a strong message of protest and a call for national assertiveness. Recently, there has been a lot of experimentation with rock music.

Classical ballet and opera companies are active in several major cities and occasionally tour the West. The concert tour in the United States and Canada in 1990 by the Dudaryk (The Piper) boys' choir, under the direction of M. Katsal, was extremely successful. A children's choir from Kiev called Shchedryk successfully toured the United States and Canada in 1992. The Kiev Opera Company was warmly received in Paris in 1991. Similarly, the splendid New York choir Dumka (The Thought) was acclaimed during its tour in Ukraine in 1992.

In the performing arts, the 1992 Taras Shevchenko State Prizes were awarded to the following individuals and groups, from both Ukraine, and countries abroad: Viktor Hutsal (director of the State Orchestra of Folk Instruments); the Ukainian Bandurist Chorus from Detroit, Michigan (for its accomplishments under the late Hryhorii Kytasty as well as under current director Volodymyr Kolesnyk); and the Oleksander Koshets Choir of Winnipeg, Canada (under the direction of Walter Klymkiw). Oleksander Kostin was awarded a prize for his children's works, including the operetta *The Golden-Horned Deer* and the ballet *The Little Mermaid*. The winners also included artists Mykola Maksymenko and Hryhorii Synytsia.

Theater has a long tradition in Ukraine and is cultivated in many cities. Especially distinguished are the Ivan Franko Theater, in Kiev, and the Maria Zankovetska Theater, in Lviv. Professional opera theaters, theaters for youth, and puppet theaters are active in major cities. The cinema arts industry consists of five studios, of which the Dovzhenko studio and Ukrtelefilm are quite active. Films such as *Tini zabutykh predkiv* (Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors) have received international recognition, and new Ukrainian productions are readily available in the West.

In addition to a variety of major state-sponsored performing companies, numerous amateur groups throughout the country are devoted to theater, choral music, folk dancing, and the bandura and other folk instruments. Contemporary painters, sculptors, woodcarvers, and other artists exhibit their art regularly at a variety of galleries as well as privately.

Recently, contemporary émigré artists such as L. Hutsaliuk, E. Kozak, and A. Olenska-Petryshyn had their works exhibited in Ukraine, and the works of such renowned artists as A. Archipenko, J. Hnizdovsky, and W. Kurelek have also been displayed there. In contrast with the era of socialist realism, excitement and experimentation now pervade the art scene in Ukraine. However, since government support of the arts has been reduced, many artists are experiencing considerable hardship.

The Media

Numerous periodicals deal with current news and diverse aspects of domestic and international life. The weekly *Literaturna Ukraina* (Literary Ukraine) was very influential in the struggle for independence and is influential today in mobilizing the people to help construct a workable democratic society. Many areas of culture, science, social life, and sports are covered by specialized journals, such as *Muzyka* (Music), *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal* (Ukrainian Historical Journal), and *Ekonomika Ukrainy* (The Economy of Ukraine).

Whereas in the past, censorship and state monopoly in the media restricted freedom of speech and the spread of information, in the early 1990s, serious paper shortages and inflation hamper the publishing industry.

Radio and television broadcasts are now asserting their independence from Moscow as they try to serve the interests of local communities and the entire nation. To be sure, Western broadcasts to Ukraine by Radio Liberty, Voice of America, Radio Canada, and Radio Vatican continue to have a large audience. At the same time, the World Service of Radio Ukraine has expanded its worldwide broadcasts in Ukrainian, English, and German.[9]

Sports

Multifarious sports activities in Ukraine are managed by "voluntary sports associations" sponsored by enterprises, labor unions, collectives, and schools. Thus, the Kiev sports association Dynamo promotes not only the famous soccer team, but also light athletics and baseball as well as equestrian and other sports. The most popular sports in Ukraine are light athletics, soccer, volleyball, basketball, ping-pong, and chess. Some one hundred hiking and mountaineering clubs maintain more than two hundred "tourist bases" and cultivate international contacts.

Although Ukrainian athletes accumulated more than 180 individual or team Olympic gold medals under the banner of the USSR, their Ukrainian identity was systematically suppressed by the Soviet Union. Many Olympic heroes nevertheless proudly underscored their Ukrainian nationality, among them V. Borzov (sprinting), S. Bubka (pole-vaulting), V. Holubnychy (marathon), V. Kuts (track), L. Latynina (gymnastics), V. Misevich (equestrian), V. Petrenko (figure skating), and L. Zhabotynsky (weight lifting).

Ever since independence was declared, Ukrainians have been wresting control over organized sports away from Moscow..The International Olympic Committee, after a period of stubborn opposition, agreed to grant provisional recognition to each of the republics' national Olympic committees on the condition that they take part in the 1992 Summer Olympics in Barcelona, Spain, as a joint team. Thus, at the XXV Olympiad in Barcelona, Ukraine's eighty-two athletes competed both individually and, for the last time, as members of the Unified Team of the Commonwealth of Independent States. They won a total of seventeen gold, fourteen silver, and nine bronze medals. Among the individual champions were the gymnasts Tetiana Gutsu, Tetiana Lysenko, Oleksandra Tymoshenko, and Hryhorii Misiutyn, as well as Hryhorii

Pohozov (fencing) and Oleh Kucherenko (wrestling). The President of the National Olympic Committee of Ukraine, Olympic star Valerii Borzov, has been coordinating the preparations for the next Olympiad, in Atlanta, Georgia, USA.[10]

The former republics became free to compete as independent countries as of January 1, 1993. The athletes and sports teams are now expanding their participation in various international competitions under the national banner of Ukraine.

Conclusion

Unfavorable historical circumstances caused Ukraine and its people to be subjugated for many centuries. Not surprisingly, objective information about the country's history and its potential was all too often unavailable or deliberately distorted. Over the course of the past decade, however, and even more so since Ukraine gained its independence, reference materials about the country have greatly improved and are more readily available in many languages, as can be seen from the annotated bibliography that follows. The story of Ukraine that these sources recount is a fascinating one, and the country's future promises to be bright.

Notes

1 Updated demographic and socioeconomic data, supplied by the editor, can be found in Ministerstvo Statystyky Ukrainy [Ministry of Statistics of Ukraine], *Ukraina u tsyfrakh u 1991 rotsi* [Ukraine in figures, 1991] (Kiev: Tekhnika, 1992), and "The Nations of the World – Ukraine," *1993 Britannica Book of the Year*, 737.

2 P.J. Potichnyj and H. Aster, eds. *Ukrainian–Jewish Relations in Historic Perspective* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1988).

3 U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, "Report on Ukraine's Referendum on Independence and Presidential Election," Washington, DC, 20 December 1991.

4 Bohdan A. Futey, "Ukraine's Legal Reform: Moving from a Command System to Rule of Law," *Ukrainian Weekly* (Jersey City, NJ), 23 February 1992.

5 These and other international comparisons of economic and demographic indicators for the former USSR can be found in *The Economist Book of Vital World Statistics* (New York: Random House, 1990).

6 Deutsche Bank, *Die Sowjetunion im Umbruch: Fakten zu den Sowjetrepubliken* [Radical change in the Soviet Union: Facts about the Soviet republics] (Frankfurt: Deutsche Bank, 1991).

7 Lubomyr S. Onyshkevych, *Political Trends and Business Opportunities in the USSR* (Menlo Park, CA: SRI International, 1991).

8 See D. Marples and O. Skrypnyk, "Patriarch Mstyslav and the Revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church," *Ukrainian Weekly*, 6 January 1991, and B.R. Bociurkiw, "The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the Former USSR," *America* (Philadelphia, PA), 2, 9, and 16 April 1992.

9 The World Service of Radio Ukraine broadcasts on short-wave frequencies eight hours daily in Ukrainian, as well as in English (two hours), German, and several other languages. Radio Liberty broadcasts to Ukraine six hours daily. Short-wave programs in Ukrainian are also transmitted by the Voice of America (two hours), Radio Canada (one hour), the British Broadcasting Company (half an hour), Italy, Spain, and Radio Vatican.

10 The glories and tribulations of Ukrainian athletes in international competitions are recounted in O. Zinkevych, *Ukrainians at the Olympic Games* (Kiev: National Olympic Committee of Ukraine, 1992).

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Ukraine: Canada Policy and Trade Monitor. 2275 Georgina Drive, Ottawa, Ontario K2B 7M2. This bimonthly publication reviews current commercial, intergovernmental, and cultural relations between Canada and Ukraine; provides information about Canada's government programs in Ukraine; and chronicles business news and opportunities.

Ukraine: Illustrated Monthly. 10 Rylsky Provulok, 254025 Kiev-25, Ukraine. Published by the Ukraina Society, a group focusing on international cultural relations. Beautifully illustrated, covering a wide spectrum of cultural and social topics. Includes translations of prose and poetry, and cultivates cultural relations with the diaspora. Subscriptions available outside Ukraine.

Ukrainian Business Digest. 24 Roosevelt Rd., Westport, CT 06880 USA. Published monthly by International Information Systems. Emphasizes factual reports and data relating to international trade and finance. Carries news about multinational enterprises and economic policies in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Legal and Economic Bulletin. Project on Economic Reform in Ukraine (PERU), John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138. This monthly periodical is published by the PERU and the American Chamber of Commerce in Ukraine. Surveys legal provisions and offers articles on reforms and government policies that pertain to doing business in Ukraine. Often includes recent economic statistics and translations of commercial laws and regulations.

The Ukrainian Quarterly. Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 203 Second Ave., New York, NY10009 USA. Articles on the political and economic situation in Ukraine. Surveys of American press on Ukrainian topics. Surveys of Ukrainian political action in the United States.

The Ukrainian Review. Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, 49 Linden Gardens, London W2 4HG, England. Critical articles on the political and social situation in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Weekly. Ukrainian National Association, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, NJ 07302 USA. Best source of information and commentary on current developments in Ukraine and on the cultural and political life of Ukrainian communities in the United States and, to some extent, in other countries.

Veselka. Ukrainian National Association, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, NJ 07302 USA. Children's magazine, with some material in English.

4

Historical Background of Emigration from Ukraine

Ann Lencyk Pawliczko

Socioeconomic conditions and political events in Ukraine periodically caused large groups of the population to migrate beyond the borders of the homeland and, often, overseas. In fact, the history of Ukrainian emigration is closely tied to the history of the country itself. The first documented significant political emigration from Ukraine took place after the defeat of Swedish King Charles XII and Hetman Ivan Mazepa at Poltava in 1709. The senior Cossack officers and political leaders who fled the country, receiving asylum and continuing their struggle in Turkey, France, Sweden, and Poland, constituted what came to be known as the "Mazepist émigrés." When the Zaporozhian Sich[1] was destroyed by Catherine II in 1775, some Cossacks migrated to the Turkish lands around Dobrudja,[2] at the mouth of the Danube, where their descendants can still be found today.[3]

In the 1870s, a small group of scholars and public figures emigrated from Central Ukraine for political reasons. In the 1900s, many political figures from Central Ukraine migrated to Western Ukraine and, after 1905, when the tsarist regime became more repressive, another group of political émigrés relocated to Galicia, Austria, Switzerland, and other destinations.

The first documented socioeconomic emigration from Ukraine took place within the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the middle of the eighteenth century. The migrants of this period were classified as internal rather than international because they were relocating within the borders of a single empire (even though they crossed the boundaries of former countries). These migrants were the inhabitants of the southeastern Prešov (Priashiv) region in Czechoslovakia who migrated to Hungarian ethnic territories around Bačka and the Banat, establishing the first Ukrainian settlements in present-day Vojvodina, Yugoslavia.[4] In the mid-nineteenth century, migrants from the northern Prešov region settled in Srem and, at the end of the century, approximately 10,000 Galicians settled in Bosnia (at that time, part of Yugoslavia). In 1892–3, attracted by promises of free land, homes, and equipment, nearly 15,000 peasants from eastern Galicia and Bukovyna emigrated to Russia. Most of them eventually returned, disillusioned.

Mass emigration of Ukrainians began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Ukrainians in Russian-ruled territories migrated east, primarily to Central Asia and the Far East, whereas those living in the Austro-Hungarian Empire migrated west, primarily to America. These migration waves were a consequence of the difficult social and economic conditions that prevailed in Ukraine, including overpopulation, poverty, and industrial underdevelopment. Ukrainians from Central and Eastern Ukraine migrated to the steppes north of the Black and Azov seas, Subcaucasia, and the Don region, thereby expanding the Ukrainian ethnic territory. In the 1870s, when little free land remained in the European part of Russia, Ukrainians began to emigrate to Asia, settling primarily in the Amur region of

the Far East, in northern Turkestan, and in southwestern Siberia. In the twenty years preceding the First World War, two million Ukrainians migrated to Asia.

Ukrainian migrants to the East during the Soviet period settled in Siberia and the Far East, Kazakhstan, and northern Caucasia. In the 1930s, large numbers migrated to escape collectivization and the artificial famine of 1932–3. Ukrainians were also placed in concentration camps in the East. Many were evacuated to the region in 1941–2; others, who had been slave laborers in Germany and Austria, were repatriated in 1945–6 and deported to Siberia. In the 1950s, young people from Ukraine were sent to the East to build new industrial facilities.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a mass emigration was also taking place from Western Ukraine to the Americas. Rural overpopulation, poverty, malnutrition, a high mortality rate, and unemployment were among the factors that precipitated outmigration at that time. Also at work were "pull" factors, including the stories of great economic opportunities in the West, often exaggerated by the shipping agents who recruited immigrants (primarily for work in Pennsylvania's coal mines). Mass emigration to the United States from Transcarpathia and the Lemko region of Ukraine began in 1877. In time, Ukrainians from eastern Galicia and Bukovyna and, later, the Kholm, Volhynia, and Polisia regions joined the movement. The emigrants, predominantly poor peasants and young single people, hoped to earn enough money to pay for the voyage and all their existing debts and to save enough to return to Ukraine, buy land, and establish themselves as farmers. Later, most emigrants expected to settle permanently in the United States; however, a significant number did return to Ukraine. Approximately 350,000 Ukrainians emigrated to the United States between 1870 and 1914.

In the 1890s, Ukrainian peasants, spurred on by stories of a "promised land," began to emigrate to Canada, Brazil, and Argentina. They settled in the Canadian prairies of Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan and in the Brazilian jungle in Paraná. Ukrainians emigrating to Argentina settled primarily in the province of Misiones. Between 1870 and 1914, an estimated 100,000 Ukrainians emigrated to Canada, 45,000 to Brazil, and 10,000 to Argentina.

Although government policies ensured freedom of emigration in Austria, Hungary, and Russia, the Austrian and Hungarian authorities did not encourage outmigration, at times even creating administrative obstacles to it, as they wished to protect their wealthy landowning classes from the loss of cheap labor. Meanwhile, the immigration policies of the host countries at that time were liberal, since labor was in great demand in industry in the United States and on farms in Canada, Brazil, and Argentina.

The first large-scale political emigration from Ukraine began after the First World War and the unsuccessful struggle for independence in Ukraine. Military personnel and leaders of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Western Ukrainian National Republic, along with civilian refugees, settled in Austria, Germany, Romania, and Yugoslavia. The total number of refugees in the years immediately following the war was between eighty thousand and one hundred thousand. Over time, the number and place of settlement of the refugees changed as those for whom it was politically safe to do so returned home, while others emigrated farther west, to France, Belgium, or the New World. Ukrainian political émigrés received asylum in the host countries but, unlike other immigrants, did not enjoy the right of protection by the diplomatic missions of their home countries and were subject to the laws of the countries in which they settled. Treaties signed in 1922, 1924, and 1928 by most of the European nations recognized refugees from eastern Europe as stateless persons and provided them with passports. The 1933 Convention on the International Status of Stateless Persons granted them many of the rights and responsibilities enjoyed by citizens

or most privileged aliens. In the 1930s, a large number of Ukrainian political immigrants, particularly in Czechoslovakia and Poland, became naturalized citizens in their countries of residence.

The migration of Ukrainians during the interwar years, 1920–39, was attributable to economic factors and originated in the Western Ukrainian territories under Polish, Czechoslovak, and Romanian rule, especially in the overpopulated areas of Galicia and western Transcarpathia. Emigration from the Ukrainian SSR was halted, with only a few exceptions in the early Soviet era. This period also saw the passage of new immigration laws in the United States that introduced annual quotas restricting immigration from eastern Europe and favoring immigrants from northern and western Europe. Canada also placed restrictions on immigrants from eastern Europe and limited the admission of non-agricultural labor. Some 15,000 Ukrainians emigrated to the United States between 1919 and 1939, 70,000 migrated to Canada, 50,000 to Argentina, 10,000 to Brazil, 40,000 to France, 1,000 to Belgium, 500 to Great Britain, and approximately 10,000 to Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela combined. Many of those who initially settled in France emigrated to the United States and Canada in the 1950s.

The Second World War and the subsequent Soviet occupation of all Ukrainian territories as well as of the Eastern European countries in which many Ukrainian political émigrés lived produced another wave of Ukrainian emigration. Between two million and three million Ukrainians found themselves in Western Europe after the war. Among them were forcibly deported workers, evacuees, former prisoners of war, members of German military units, refugees from Ukraine, and political émigrés from the 1920s. Although the majority of the deported workers either returned home voluntarily or were forcibly repatriated, the remaining Ukrainians formed the postwar political emigration, which in early 1946 included approximately 178,000 in West Germany, 29,000 in Austria, and 12,000 in Italy. Refusing to return to the Ukrainian SSR on the grounds that they would be subject to national, religious, or political persecution in their homeland, Ukrainians were granted asylum in Western countries. Labeled "displaced persons" at first, the political émigrés eventually obtained refugee status.

The permanent resettlement of refugees began in 1947; Belgium and Great Britain were the first to admit refugees for work in industry, mining, and agriculture. Later, refugees began to emigrate overseas, to the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Australia, and other destinations. From 1947 to 1957, approximately 80,000 Ukrainians emigrated from Germany and Austria to the United States; 30,000, to Canada; 20,000, to Australia and New Zealand; 20,000, to Great Britain; 10,000, to Belgium; 10,000, to France; 7,000, to Brazil; 6,000, to Argentina; 2,000, to Venezuela; and 2,000, to other countries. By 1957, the emigration of Ukrainians from Europe had ceased almost entirely, although small numbers continued to emigrate to the United States and Canada. Many Ukrainians who settled in Belgium, France, and Great Britain migrated to the United States and Canada in the 1950s. The late 1960s and 1970s saw a small number of Ukrainians from Poland, Yugoslavia, and, after 1968, Czechoslovakia emigrate to Western Europe and North America. A very small number of Ukrainians were allowed to leave the USSR in the 1970s and 1980s along with Jewish emigrants.

The present volume documents the numbers of Ukrainians in the world today and describes their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics and their way of life. It is the story of an uprooted people who now inhabit almost every country in the world, and of the hardships they encountered in their struggle to obtain the freedom that so many nations take for granted. It is a story of a people who continue to thrive and preserve the heritage of their forebears thousands of miles away from their native Ukraine.

Notes

1 The Zaporozhian Sich was a Cossack fortified military camp ("Zaporozhian" literally means "beyond the rapids") that served as a refuge for all Cossacks in Ukraine. See Dmytro Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian History*, edited and updated by Oleh Gerus (Winnipeg: Humeniuk Publication Foundation, 1975; reprinted 1984), 134–5.
2 Present-day Romania.
3 Volodymyr Kubijovyc and Vasyl Markus, "Emigration," in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyc (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 818–23. All factual data presented in the chapter are taken from this article.
4 Vojvodina was formerly an autonomous republic of Yugoslavia.

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Kubijovyc, Volodymyr, and Vasyl Markus. "Emigration." In *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 1, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyc. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

5
Ukrainians in the Former USSR and Eastern Europe

UKRAINIANS IN THE FORMER REPUBLICS OF THE USSR OUTSIDE UKRAINE

Serhii Cipko

Country Data

Official Name – Formerly known as the Soiuz Sovietskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik (Sovietskyi Soiuz), or Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the Soviet Union comprised fifteen republics. The USSR ceased to exist in December 1991. Slowly dying since the August 1991 coup staged by hard-liners in the Kremlin, the country was dealt a final blow on December 1, when the second-largest republic, Ukraine, overwhelmingly approved its independence referendum and voted for its first democratically elected president. In the days that followed, the three Slavic republics of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus established a Commonwealth of Independent States and declared the Soviet Union dead. The former Asian republics soon joined the Commonwealth, bringing the total number of members to eleven. Besides the three newly independent Baltic countries, Georgia was the only former republic that did not sign the agreement. In a televised speech on December 25, 1991, President Mikhail Gorbachev formally resigned from office. Various countries around the world immediately began to recognize the independence of the former republics, and the list of formal recognitions continues to grow.[1] Moldova and Azerbaijan have since left the CIS. In addition to the now-independent republics, there are thirty-one autonomous republics, regions, and districts, most of which lie within the boundaries of the former Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

Geographic Location – Stretching across Europe and Asia, the former USSR lay between 35°10′ and 77°45′ north latitude and 19°40′ east and 169°40′ west longitude. It was bordered by the Baltic Sea, Finland, Norway, and the White, Barents, Kara, Laptev, and East Siberian seas on the north; by the Bering Sea, the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Sea of Japan on the east; by China, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Iran, the Caspian Sea, Turkey, and the Black Sea on the south; and by Romania, Hungary, the Slovak Republic, and Poland on the west.

Table 1 presents the country data for the countries that were once part of the Soviet Union. Ukraine, which is treated separately in Chapter 3, is not included in this table.

Table 1 Country data for the former republics of the USSR, excluding Ukraine

Country	Area	Population density 1992	Capital	Form of government	Population 1992	Ethnic composition 1989	Religious affiliation	Literacy	Percent urban	Life expectancy in years, 1990	Per capita GNP (rubles)*
Armenia	11,506 sq. mi.; 29,800 sq km	297.8 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 115.0 inhabitants per sq km	Yerevan	Unitary multi-party republic with a single legislative body, the Supreme Council (260 seats)	3,426,000	93.3% Armenian; 2.6% Azerbaijani; 4.1% other	Predominantly Armenian Apostolic	Not available	69.5% (1991)	Male, 67.9; female, 73.4	3,500 (1991)
Azerbaijan	33,400 sq. mi.; 86,600 sq km	216.4 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 83.6 inhabitants per sq km	Baku	Federal multi-party republic with a single legislative body, Parliament (360 seats)	7,237,000	82.7% Azerbaijani; 5.7% Russian; 5.6% Armenian; 2.4% Lezgin; 0.6% Avar; 0.5% Ukrainian; 0.4% Tatar; 2.1% other	70% Shīī Muslim; 30% Sunnī Muslim (1991)	Not available	53.5% (1990)	Male, 66.9; female, 74.8	2,500 (1991)
Belarus	80,200 sq. mi.; 207,600 sq km	128.8 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 49.7 inhabitants per sq km	Minsk	Unitary multi-party republic with a single legislative body, the Supreme Council (360 seats)	10,321,000	77.9% Belorussian; 13.2% Russian; 4.1% Polish; 2.9% Ukrainian; 1.1% Jewish; 0.8% other	Predominantly Belorussian Orthodox; with a Roman Catholic minority	Not available	67.1% (1991)	Male, 63.9; female, 74.7	2,700 (1990)
Estonia	17,458 sq. mi.; 45,215 sq km	91.3 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 35.2 inhabitants per sq km	Tallinn	Unitary multi-party republic with a single legislative body, Parliament (101 seats)	1,592,000	61.5% Estonian; 30.3% Russian; 3.1% Ukrainian; 1.8% Belorussian; 1.1% Finnish; 2.2% other	Predominantly Evangelical Lutheran, with Orthodox and Baptist minorities	Not available	71.6% (1991)	Male, 64.9; female, 74.9	10,555 (1991)

Georgia	26,900 sq. mi.; 69,700 sq km	203.7 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 78.7 inhabitants per sq km	Tbilisi	Multiparty republic with a single legislative body, Parliament (234 seats)	5,482,000	70.1% Georgian; 8.1% Armenian; 6.3% Russian; 5.7% Azerbaijani; 3.0% Ossetes; 1.9% Greek; 1.8% Abkhazian; 3.1% other	Predominantly Georgian Orthodox (65%); minorities include 11% Muslims; 10% Russian Orthodox; 8% Armenian Orthodox	Not available	56.2% (1991)	Male, 69.0; female, 76.3	2,000 (1990)
Kazakhstan	1,049,200 sq. mi.; 2,717,300 sq km	16.2 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 6.3 inhabitants per sq km	Alma-Ata	Unitary multiparty republic with a single legislative body, Parliament (360 seats)	17,008,000	39.7% Kazakh; 37.8% Russian; 5.8% German; 5.4% Ukrainian; 2.0% Uzbek; 2.0% Tatar; 7.3% other	Predominantly Sunnī Muslim (Hanafīyah), with a Christian minority (mainly Russian Orthodox and Baptist)	Not available	57.6% (1991)	Male, 64.2; female, 73.2	2,100 (1990)
Kyrgyzstan	76,600 sq. mi.; 198,500 sq km	58.9 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 22.8 inhabitants per sq km	Bishkek (Frunze)	Unitary multiparty republic with a single legislative body, Parliament (350 seats)	4,533,000	52.4% Kyrgyz; 21.5% Russian; 12.9% Uzbek, 2.5% Ukrainian; 2.4% German; 1.6% Tatar; 6.7% other	Predominantly Sunnī Muslim (Hanafīyah)	Not available	38.1% (1991)	Male, 64.5; female, 72.8	1,200 (1989)
Latvia	24,946 sq. mi.; 64,610 sq km	107.8 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 41.6 inhabitants per sq km	Riga	Unitary multi-party republic with a single legislative body, the Supreme Council (201 seats)	2,685,000	52.0% Latvian; 34.0% Russian; 4.5% Belorussian; 3.5% Ukrainian; 2.3% Polish; 1.3% Lithuanian; 0.9% Jewish; 1.5% other	Predominantly Evangelical Lutheran, Russian Orthodox, or Roman Catholic	Appr. 98%	71.1% (1991)	Male, 64.2; female, 74.6	7,676 (1990)

Country	Area	Population density 1992	Capital	Form of government	Population 1992	Ethnic composition 1989	Religious affiliation	Literacy	Percent urban	Life expectancy in years, 1990	Per capita GNP (rubles)*
Lithuania	25,213 sq. mi.; 65,301 sq km	150.8 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 58.2 inhabitants per sq km	Vilnius	Unitary multi-party republic with a single legislative body, the Diet (141 seats)	3,802,000	79.6% Lithuanian; 9.4% Russian; 7.0% Polish; 1.7% Belorussian; 2.3% other	Predominantly Roman Catholic (1986)	Not available	68.8% (1992)	Male, 66.6; female, 76.3	15,084 (1991)
Moldova	13,012 sq. mi.; 33,700 sq km	338.0 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 130.4 inhabitants per sq km	Chişinău	Unitary multiparty republic with a single legislative body, Parliament (380 seats)	4,394,000	64.5% Moldovan; 13.8% Ukrainian; 13.0% Russian, 3.5% Gagauz; 2.0% Jewish; 1.5% Bulgarian, 1.7% other	Predominantly Eastern (Moldovan) Orthodox	Not available	47.5% (1991)	Male, 65.2; female, 72.0	2,200 (1990)
Russia	6,592,800 sq. mi.; 17,075,400 sq km	22.7 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 8.8 inhabitants per sq km	Moscow	Federal multi-party republic with a single policy-making body, the Congress of People's Deputies (1,068 seats) and its standing Parliament, the Supreme Soviet (252 seats)	149,469,000	81.5% Russian; 3.8% Tatar; 3.0% Ukrainian; 1.2% Chuvash; 0.9% Bashkir; 0.8% Belorussian; 0.7% Moldovan; 0.6% Chechen; 0.6% German; 6.9% other	Predominantly Russian Orthodox, with Roman Catholic, Protestant, Muslim, Jewish, and Buddhist minorities	Not available	73.9% (1991)	Male, 63.9; female, 74.3	3,000 (1990)
Tajikistan	55,300 sq. mi.; 143,100 sq km	100.8 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 38.9 inhabitants per sq km	Dushanbe	Unitary republic with a transitional Parliament (80 seats)	5,568,000 (not adjusted for some 100,000 Russian refugees who recently emigrated from the predominantly Muslim state)	62.3% Tajik; 23.5% Uzbek; 7.6% Russian; 1.4% Tatar; 1.3% Kyrgyz; 0.8% Ukrainian; 0.6% German;	Predominantly Sunnī Muslim (Hanafiyah) (1990)	Not available	31.4% (1991)	Male, 67.0; female, 72.1	1,800 (1991)

Tajikistan (cont.)						2.5% other (not adjusted for some 100,000 Russian refugees who recently emigrated from the predominantly Muslim state)					
Turkmenistan	188,500 sq. mi.; 488,100 sq km	20.5 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 7.9 inhabitants per sq km	Ashkhabad	Republic with a single legislative body (transitional Majlis), until a permanent representative body, the People's Council, can be constituted (50 seats)	3,859,000	72.0% Turkmen; 9.5% Russian; 9.0% Uzbek; 2.5% Kazakh; 1.1% Tatar; 5.9% other	Predominantly Sunnī Muslim (Sufi)	Not available	45.4% (1991)	Male, 62.9; female, 69.7	3,700 (1991)
Uzbekistan	172,700 sq. mi.; 447,400 sq km	123.7 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 47.7 inhabitants per sq km	Tashkent	Multiparty republic with a single legislative body, the Supreme Soviet (550 seats)	21,363,000	71.4% Uzbek; 8.3% Russian; 4.7% Tajik; 4.1% Kazakh; 2.4% Tatar; 2.1% Kara-Kalpak; 1.0% Crimean Tatar; 0.9% Korean; 0.9% Kyrgyz; 0.8% Ukrainian; 0.6% Turkmen; 2.8% other	Predominantly Sunnī Muslim (Hanafiyah) (1990)	Not available	40.3% (1991)	Male, 66.2; female, 72.6	1,100 (1989)

Source: "1993 Britannica World Data," in *1993 Britannica Book of the Year.*
* Equivalents in U.S. dollars are not given, because the GNP data are very speculative.

Additional Information

Members of the different nationalities of the former Soviet Union can also be found living outside their home republics, in other former republics of the USSR. In theory, Article 35 of the Soviet Constitution of 1977 guaranteed all nationalities certain minority rights, but, in practice, since the mid-1930s, most non-Russian nationality groups living beyond their republics have been without cultural provisions in their native languages.

Following an abortive coup in Moscow on August 19–21, 1991, the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania immediately declared their independence. Other Soviet republics soon initiated similar acts. Ukraine's proclamation of independence, on August 24, 1991, elicited threats by Russian leaders that the political boundaries of Ukraine would be redrawn to Russia's advantage. Amid protests from the Ukrainian Parliament and the general public, Russian leaders reaffirmed the country's commitment to the Ukrainian–Russian Treaty of November 19, 1990, signed by Leonid Kravchuk and Boris Yeltsin in Kiev, which recognizes the current Ukrainian–Russian borders as delineated within the USSR (Article 6). In early September 1991, the Ukrainian Parliament adopted a resolution to create a Ukrainian mission in Russia. MP Volodymyr Kryzhanivsky was appointed Ukraine's first envoy to Russia, and an exchange of official representatives is planned with other former Soviet republics, most notably the Baltic states and Kyrgyzstan, in the near future.

Meanwhile, in the days following the failed coup, the Parliament of Moldova approached the Ukrainian government offering to pass over to its jurisdiction the Ukrainian-populated regions on the border (encompassing the so-called Dniester SSR), in exchange for a portion of southwestern Ukrainian territory that would secure Moldovan access to the Black Sea. The Ukrainian Parliament, however, reasserted its observance of the inviolability of actual political boundaries.

Ukrainian Population in the Former USSR outside Ukraine

Demographic and Social Characteristics

According to the Soviet census of January 12, 1989, some 6,767,000 Ukrainians lived beyond the political boundaries of Ukraine, in other Soviet republics. That number constituted a total of 15.3 percent of all persons in the USSR who declared Ukrainian as their nationality. This group, which has not been studied in any depth, formed the largest dispersal of Ukrainians within a single state in the world. Table 2 provides the distribution of Ukrainians in the Soviet republics according to the most recent census (1989).

However, these figures should be treated with caution. Although the census count of 1989 may have been an improvement over those that preceded it, the results still fall short of the total number of Ukrainians enumerated in the 1926 census (a drop that is only partially explained by the artificial famine of 1932–3, the Second World War, and the postwar emigration). Furthermore, demographic studies by independent researchers such as geographer Volodymyr Kubijovyc have cast considerable doubt on the accuracy of the Soviet census returns, suggesting that the true number of Ukrainians living in the fourteen former Soviet republics is inordinately higher than that given in the official statistical data. The discrepancy is likely to be most apparent in areas with long-standing compact Ukrainian communities, especially in the former Central Asian republics, the former Soviet Far East and Siberia, and the contiguous Ukrainian ethnographic territories in the former Russian SFSR and the former Belorussian SSR.

Table 2 Number of Ukrainians in the countries that constituted the former USSR outside Ukraine, by country, 1989

Country	Number of Ukrainians
Armenia	8,341
Azerbaijan	32,345
Belarus	291,008
Estonia	48,271
Georgia	52,443
Kazakhstan	896,240
Kyrgyzstan	108,027
Latvia	92,101
Lithuania	44,789
Moldova	600,366
Russia	4,362,872
Tajikistan	41,375
Turkmenistan	35,578
Uzbekistan	153,197
Total number of Ukrainians	6,766,953

Source: 1989 Census of the USSR

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

A distinction is made here between Ukrainians inhabiting territories that are contiguous to Ukraine and considered an extension of Ukrainian ethnographic lands and Ukrainians living in settlements distant from such territories.

Ukrainians in Contiguous Territories

The Ukrainian ethnographic territory in the former Soviet Union extends southwest, into border belts in the former Moldavian SSR; north, into southern regions of the former Belorussian SSR; and northeast and east, encompassing border regions on the Russian side of the frontier.

In Moldova, Ukrainians constitute the country's largest minority and are believed to number 800,000. Between 1924 and 1940, the area inhabited by Ukrainians – a long belt along the eastern bank of the Dniester River – comprised the Moldavian Autonomous SSR within the Ukrainian SSR; after the Second World War, it became part of the newly constituted Moldavian SSR. The area is now a subject of dispute: it was recently labeled "the Dniester SSR" by local residents who were unhappy with the new laws drafted by the Moldovian Parliament in Kishinev that strengthened the position of the majority Moldovian group in the country. Ukrainians are also found in enclaves in the Moldovian interior. Approximately 100,000 Ukrainians reside in Kishinev, constituting 15 percent of the city's population. Despite these significant numbers, there has been no official support for the Ukrainian language and culture, as there has been in the case of the smaller Russian population. Ukrainian schools have been closed since the 1960s, and the population was subjected to Russification during the Soviet era. Ukrainians in Moldova were nonetheless able to preserve their language and customs to some degree.

In Belarus, it has been estimated that as many as one million of the inhabitants of the

southern parts of the Brest and Homel oblasts are ethnic Ukrainians, but this has not been confirmed by official Soviet statistics. The latter are suspected of having been deliberately distorted for the purpose of lending some validity to the demarcation of the existing Belarusyn–Ukrainian boundary. The problem is compounded by the fact that most of the ethnic Ukrainian inhabitants have by now been Russified: only a minority appear to have declared themselves Ukrainian in the census. Since the Second World War, there has been a steady influx of Ukrainians, to the point that they are now present in every oblast of the country.

A similar situation to the one in Belarus is apparent in relation to the Ukrainian ethnolinguistic lands in Russia (Ukrainians are also this country's largest minority), which consist of the western Subcaucasus, parts of the Don region, the lower Volga region, the Kursk region (now the Belgorod oblast), and the Voronezh region. All these areas have long-established ethnic Ukrainian settlements, some dating back to the seventeenth century. The 1926 census gave some indication of the substantial concentration of Ukrainians in these regions, where they constituted a decisive plurality in the areas closest to the Ukrainian political border, and a significant minority in the areas beyond, which were colonized mainly by Russians. However, subsequent censuses appear to have radically understated the true number of Ukrainians in these regions, in order to give the impression, as in the case of Belarus, that the present Russian–Ukrainian borders conform to nationality lines.

In some regions, Ukrainians have disappeared from the census altogether, having been arbitrarily identified as Russian. In the Krasnodar Territory of Russia (better known among Ukrainians as the Kuban region), and in some adjoining areas inhabited by the descendants of the Zaporozhian Cossacks and later settlers from Ukraine, Ukrainians were not allowed to register according to their nationality on the grounds that they were "Cossacks," a term that had come to be exploited as a euphemism for "Russians." Only now is some acknowledgment being made of the predominantly ethnic Ukrainian character of this territory. Incidentally, former president of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev was born in Stavropil, a region closely associated with the colonization of the Kuban. His ancestry on his mother's side is traced to Chernihiv, in Ukraine, and on his father's side, to the Voronezh region, in Russia.

Ukrainians beyond the Ethnographic Regions

Before the end of the nineteenth century, Ukrainians were involved in the early exploration and colonization schemes of the tsarist regime in the newly acquired possessions of the Russian Empire.

Since the 1880s, the tsarist government encouraged active emigration from the European parts of its Empire to its eastern reaches. The motivations behind this policy were various: geopolitical, to confirm sovereignty over annexed areas in Central Asia and the Far East; political, to defuse social tensions in the Ukrainian countryside, especially after 1905 (emigration thus came to be viewed as an alternative to agrarian reform); demographic, to relieve population pressures in the European parts of the Empire and to increase the Slavic composition of the population of the Far East; and economic, to extend the wheat frontier eastward and to create new markets and obtain new sources of external revenue.

Reforms in legislation and the development of transportation and other infrastructures in the colonization zones strengthened the emigration movement. Between 1880 and 1914, some two million Ukrainians emigrated to Asiatic parts of the Russian Empire. They founded compact settlements, especially in the Amur region, northern Turkestan, and southwestern Siberia.

The area with the largest concentration of Ukrainians is commonly known as Zelenyi Klyn (the Green Wedge), a belt along the eastern border of China encompassing districts within

the present territorial divisions of Khabarovsk and the Primore and the oblast of the Amur. There are also large compact settlements on the border between Kazakhstan and Siberia, an area known among Ukrainians as Siryi Klyn (the Gray Wedge).

Between 1914 and 1926, emigration eastward from Ukraine decelerated, only to pick up again in 1928–34 as a consequence of Stalin's ruthless collectivization campaign. During this period, approximately one million people were forcibly deported from Ukraine. Deportation resumed during Stalin's purges of 1936–8. In addition, an ongoing process of labor emigration was under way in the 1930s, in accordance with the Soviet regime's policy of developing industrial zones in Russia at the expense of those in Ukraine.

During the Second World War, 3.5 million citizens of Ukraine were evacuated to Russia and Central Asia; after the war, Ukrainians were sent to Central Asia and Siberia as deportees. In many cases, those forced to resettle outside Ukraine after 1928 were not permitted to return. Some for whom this avenue was open remained behind nonetheless.

In the 1950s and early 1960s, a further outmigration from Ukraine took place as part of Nikita Khrushchev's "virgin lands" campaigns. During this period, Kazakhstan received 396,000 Ukrainians for permanent settlement.

Since the mid-1960s, the general pattern of emigration from Ukraine has been less intensive than in earlier decades and more focused on urban centers, particularly in Russia, the Baltic states, and the former Belorussia. However, the rural-labor emigrations of earlier times have by no means abated and continue to be directed to the traditional distant zones. Thus, between 1980 and 1988, some 8,902 families were moved from Ukraine to the Primore Territory of the Far East. In 1989, more than 2,000 families and 9,000 individuals left Ukraine for the Far East; in the first six months of 1990 alone, another 1,000-odd families and nearly 9,000 more individuals followed. These recent population transfers are causing great consternation among the public in Ukraine, given that the country's own rural sector is experiencing labor shortages. The fact that the rural emigrants are being drawn heavily from the more nationality-conscious regions of Central and Western Ukraine has also put the practice into question.

Thus, one can discern four major trends in the course of the centuries-long resettlement of Ukrainians outside their home territory:

1 The progressive colonization of contiguous territories to the northeast and east, already evident in the seventeenth century and culminating in the late nineteenth century. By the turn of the twentieth century, the inhabitants of these regions were themselves being encouraged to join the mass movement of people even farther east, to lands beyond the Urals.
2 The labor and rural-settler migration, beginning at the turn of the century and persisting to this day. Although this emigration was initially composed of people from rural areas, it was soon expanded to include more varied social strata – blue- and white-collar workers, civil servants, and some professionals, as well as university professors and students.
3 The movement of deportees and exiles, a phenomenon first seen after 1654, when the Treaty of Pereiaslav brought Ukraine under Russian influence. The ranks of deportees and exiles swelled over the centuries; from the period when such hetmans as P. Doroshenko, D. Mnohohrishny, and I. Samoilovych were banished to the exile of artists such as T. Shevchenko in the nineteenth century, to the more recent deportations of political dissidents in the 1960s and 1970s.

Exile, especially after 1933, often involved forced labor, and became systematized in the form of various types of concentration camps. Over the centuries, such facilities interned

prisoners of conscience, prisoners of war, common prisoners, clergymen, social groups (for example, the kulaks), and repatriates from the West. Penal colonies and internment camps were set up in inhospitable regions throughout the Soviet Union, especially across the north and on islands off the northern and eastern coasts (the Solovets Islands, Sakhalin, and others).

4 The resettlement of evacuees, mainly associated with the mass evacuations from Ukraine during the Second World War. Some of the evacuees eventually settled in already existing Ukrainian communities in Central Asia and the Far East.

Community Organizations and Identity Retention

In the Contiguous Territories

Before the First World War, there was little evidence of separate, distinctively Ukrainian, community organizations in the contiguous Ukrainian ethnographic territories, if only because their formation was discouraged by official tsarist policy. The population's sense of "Ukrainianness" was expressed in various manifestations of oral and material culture, rather than through organized community or political action. Nevertheless, when the opportunity arose, community leaders did put forth demands for (or organized activities in defense of) Ukrainian cultural rights in their regions. In 1905, for example, public meetings in the Tahanrih district, in the Don region, called for official recognition of the Ukrainian language. In the same year, the Ukrainian community in the city of Tahanrih established an Ukrainska Hromada (Ukrainian Community) and organized a drama troupe that performed Ukrainian plays there until the outbreak of the First World War. The Tahanrih district had been part of Ukraine from 1919 until 1925, when it was annexed by the Russian SFSR.

During the struggle for Ukrainian independence in the years 1917–21, links were developed by the Central Rada, the Hetmanate (under Pavlo Skoropadsky), and the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic with Ukrainian communities in adjacent territories as well as with those farther afield. Under the Skoropadsky administration, the Homel region of Belorussia, with its sizable Ukrainian community, was annexed to Ukraine. Political and cultural ties, intended to stimulate local Ukrainian community development, were extended to the Berestia and Pynske regions, in Belorussia; the Don region; and the Voronezh, Kursk, and Kuban (Katerynodar/Krasnodar) regions, in Russia.

In the 1920s, the policy of Ukrainization in Ukraine was extended to some of the adjacent regions in the Don area and to Kursk and Voronezh, where a number of Ukrainian schools were eventually opened (in the early 1930s). In Voronezh, there were Ukrainian departments in the local Pedagogical Institute and at the Institute of Agronomy. In Kursk, the Ukrainian-language periodical *Leninskyi Shliakh* (Lenin's Way) was published.

In the Kuban region, a small Ukrainian intelligentsia existed prior to the Revolution, and a Ukrainian library was established in Katerynodar (Krasnodar). In addition, the Kuban Army Chorus promoted Ukrainian culture through its repertoire. During the Revolution, the loyalties of the populace of the Kuban were divided, but one faction favored union with Ukraine and was active in promoting that goal. The Kubanske-Ukrainske Osvitne Tovarystvo (Kuban Ukrainian Association for Education) was founded during this period; it Ukrainianized a number of elementary schools in the region as well as two secondary schools and the teachers' college in Stanytsia Poltava. In addition, there were approximately forty Prosvita (Enlightenment) Societies, and two periodicals were being published, *Chornomorets* (The Black Sea Sailor) and *Kubanska Zoria* (The Kuban Star). In the early 1920s, calls by deputies

in Ukraine to have the Kuban region united with the Ukrainian Republic or, at least, to have the question settled by a referendum, were unsuccessful. However, Ukrainization was extended to the region, leading to the conversion of more than seven hundred elementary schools to the Ukrainian language, the opening of a Ukrainian department at the Kuban Pedagogical Institute, and the founding of several Ukrainian-language newspapers. In 1932–3, the Kuban region, like Ukraine, suffered an artificial famine. In 1934, the process of Ukrainization there was ended.

In the Far East

Ukrainian activity in the Far East closely paralleled developments in Ukraine in scope, essence, and even timing. The first Ukrainian Club in the Russian Empire in this century was founded in 1907 in the city of Harbin, which, although technically on Chinese soil, was nevertheless at that time administered de facto by tsarist officials. The Ukrainian Clubs of St. Petersburg and Kiev were founded a little later. Also in 1907, an Ukrainske Studentske Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Students' Union) was formed at the Oriental Institute in Vladivostok and, a year later, another was established at the university in Tomsk. A number of Ukrainian amateur drama troupes emerged at the same time, and, in 1909, another Ukrainian Club was established in Blagoveshchensk. Also in 1909, a Ukrainian daily called *Duma* (The Thought), to be published in Ukrainian, Mongolian, and Russian, is said to have been attempted in the city of Chita. Prior to the First World War, there were also secret Ukrainian political organizations operating in Iman, Nikolaevsk, and Vladivostok.

During the First World War, Harbin, where conditions were more liberal, became the main center of Ukrainian organized life in the Far East, and remained so until the restrictions that had prevailed elsewhere were generally eased with the onset of the Russian Revolution, in 1917.

The period 1917–21 witnessed a flurry of new activities in the Far East. A number of recently formed Ukrainian organizations convened an Ukrainskyi Daleko-Skhidnyi Zizd (Ukrainian Far Eastern Congress) in Nikolsk-Ussuriiskii on June 11–14, 1917. A resolution was passed by the fifty-seven delegates demanding that Ukrainian autonomy in the Far East be recognized by the Provisional Government in St. Petersburg; that the Russian army in the Far East create separate Ukrainian units made up of its Ukrainian soldiers; and that the Ukrainska Daleko-Skhidna Terytoriialna Rada (Far Eastern Ukrainian Territorial Council) be accepted as the official umbrella group for Ukrainians in the region.

Following the Congress, some ten district councils representing local communities were established in Blagoveshchensk, Vladivostok, the Trans-Baikal, Iman, Kamchatka (in Petropavlovsk), Harbin, Nikolsk-Ussuriiskii, Sakhalin (in Nikolaevsk), Svobodnensk, and Khabarovsk. Umbrella bodies were established for Ukrainian cooperatives, publishing houses, teachers' associations, Prosvita Societies, and performing arts groups whose activities spanned the territory. In addition, a number of specialized Ukrainian trade unions were formed.

Some seven Ukrainian newspapers were being published in the Far East (excluding Manchuria) during this period: *Ukrainets na Zelenomu Klyni* (The Ukrainian in the Green Wedge), *Ukrainska Dumka* (The Ukrainian Thought), and *Shchyre Slovo* (The Sincere Word), in Vladivostok; *Ranok* (Morning) and *Khvylia Ukrainy* (The Wave of Ukraine), in Khabarovsk; *Amurskyi Ukrainets* (The Amur Ukrainian), in Blagoveshchensk; and *Ukrainskyi Holos* (The Ukrainian Voice), in Olesk.

During the Revolution, the Ukrainian communities in the Far East developed ties with the governments of the Central Rada, the Hetmanate, and the Ukrainian National Republic.

A consulate of the Ukrainian National Republic was opened in Harbin in 1918. The Far Eastern Ukrainians were even able to raise a small army in 1917 to assist in the defense of Ukraine, but plans for a much larger corps of forty thousand were rejected by the Command of the Allied intervention forces in the Far East.

Ukrainians in the Far East also participated actively in the Far Eastern Republic, a democratic state set up in April 1920 as a buffer between Soviet Russia and Japan. Ukrainians were granted cultural autonomy by the Republic. By this time, however, the Far Eastern Ukrainian Regional Council, created as a central coordinating committee for Ukrainians in the Far East following the Third Far Eastern Ukrainian Congress (April 7, 1918; there were four congresses in all), was already moving toward a policy favoring the creation of an independent Ukrainian state in the Far East, to be known as "Zelena Ukraina" (Green Ukraine). A fifth Congress had been planned to proclaim the new independent state, but it could not be convened, since, by 1922, the Bolsheviks had effectively overrun the region. The key leaders in the Far Eastern Ukrainian independence movement were arrested and tried in the city of Chita in the winter of 1923–4.

After the Revolution, Ukraine's cultural leaders were able to implement a policy of Ukrainization in the Far East. Some seventeen Ukrainian districts were delineated by the mid-1930s, most of them in the Primore oblast. A number of Ukrainian schools, publishing houses, and libraries were established. During Mykola Skrypnyk's tenure as Minister of Education for the Ukrainian SSR, more than five hundred teachers from Ukraine were dispatched to the Far East to assist in the staffing of Ukrainian schools. From 1926 to 1932, an Ukrainskyi Pedahohichnyi Instytut (Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute) functioned in Blagoveshchensk. A number of Ukrainian-language newspapers were also initiated, including *Sotsiialistychna Perebudova* (The Socialist Reconstruction), in Khabarovsk, and *Prykhanskiaska Pravda*, in Spassk.

In 1935, the Ukrainization drive was brought to a halt. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian community in the city of Harbin (now under Japanese occupation) was reaching the peak of its organizational development. The community was strong despite having been reduced in number to fifteen thousand. In the early 1920s, there may have been as many as one hundred thousand Ukrainians in China, mostly concentrated in Manchuria. The Harbin community transmitted Ukrainian radio programs to the Ukrainian settlements across the border in the Soviet Far East. The activities of Ukrainians in Harbin may have heightened Soviet concern over the Ukrainian settlements on the sensitive border with China (the Soviet Far East was of interest to Japan). It may have been for this reason that a limited degree of Ukrainization, in the form of introducing Ukrainian themes into the content of local radio programs and periodicals, was reinstated during the Second World War. The same concern may also explain why Ukrainians in the Far East were drafted in disproportionate numbers for service in the Red Army during this period. Although further investigation is needed to corroborate this claim, a recent article in a Soviet weekly certainly suggests that it may not be without substance: In Zenkivska, a village close to the theater of operations against the Japanese (it was named after a village in the Poltava region of Ukraine, but later renamed Chkalovskoye), 507 persons, or nearly all the adult males in the village, were mobilized into the Red Army and sent to the distant Soviet–German front, where 173 were lost in action.

After the Second World War, with the threat of Japan removed and the Ukrainian community in China all but gone (many former Ukrainian residents in China were "repatriated" to the USSR, but it is not clear to which destinations), Ukrainian settlers in the Soviet Far East were once more subjected to assimilatory pressures.

In Other Regions

There is a dearth of data pertaining to Ukrainian community activity in other Ukrainian settlements. However, what little information is at hand attests to the fact that the region to which Ukrainian settlers referred as the Gray Wedge (loosely defined as the area encompassing the northern and northeastern former Kazakh SSR, as well as the northern part of the former Kirghiz SSR, adjacent western Siberia, and part of the Urals region in Russia) also witnessed a Ukrainian revival. In Turkestan (which, before the Soviet period, included part of what is now Kazakhstan), organizations bearing the name "Hromada" (Community) were already in existence by 1918. Before the Bolshevik takeover of Central Asia, numerous Ukrainian organizations, often affiliated with Ukrainian district councils, had emerged in several localities, but were liquidated under Soviet rule, regardless of their ideological character. The history of the Ukrainian revival in the Gray Wedge, as well as the extent of the Ukrainization process there in the 1920s and early 1930s, requires further examination.

Recent Links with Ukraine

Following the cessation of the Ukrainization programs and the end of formal direct ties between Ukraine and its "diaspora" within the USSR, the subject of resuming cultural facilities for the Ukrainian communities of the Soviet Far East came to be taboo and efforts in that direction proved fruitless. Consequently, linguistic assimilation has advanced quite far since the mid-1930s. This is true of the whole of the former Russian SFSR, where, of the 4,362,872 persons declaring their nationality as Ukrainian in 1989, only 1,868,867 gave Ukrainian as their mother tongue. Table 3 illustrates the extent of language assimilation in selected former Soviet republics.

Table 3 Declared mother tongue of Ukrainians in selected former republics of the USSR, 1989

Armenia	8,341	Ukrainians
	5,678	Ukrainian mother tongue
	2,483	Russian mother tongue
Estonia	48,271	Ukrainians
	21,320	Ukrainian mother tongue
	26,301	Russian mother tongue
	594	Estonian mother tongue
Kazakhstan	896,240	Ukrainians
	328,243	Ukrainian mother tongue
	566,969	Russian mother tongue
	189	Kazakh mother tongue
Tajikistan	41,375	Ukrainians
	20,807	Ukrainian mother tongue
	20,458	Russian mother tongue
Turkmenistan	35,578	Ukrainians
	18,779	Ukrainian mother tongue
	16,724	Russian mother tongue
	31	Turkmen mother tongue
Uzbekistan	153,197	Ukrainians
	75,396	Ukrainian mother tongue
	77,269	Russian mother tongue
	215	Uzbek mother tongue

Source: 1989 Census of the USSR

During the thaw of the Khrushchev period, a number of leading Ukrainian cultural figures and dissidents campaigned on behalf of cultural rights for Ukrainians living outside the political boundaries of their ancestral homeland. Among them was Leonid Pliushch, who was born and raised in Naryn, in the Kirghiz SSR. Pliushch expressed a common sentiment when he said that, "at a time when their own land is being Russified, Ukrainians are forced to Russify Central Asia."

The lobbying on behalf of Ukrainians deprived of their native cultural infrastructures may have influenced Petro Shelest, secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine during the years 1963–72. During his tenure, plans were laid to strengthen cultural ties between the Ukrainian SSR and Ukrainians living in the other Soviet republics. It was envisioned that Ukrainian institutions (universities, schools, factories) would act as patrons of Ukrainian groups in the other republics and implement a cultural exchange. The plans were never allowed to materialize, and Shelest himself was eventually removed from his post on charges of nationalism. Nevertheless, a number of institutions in Ukraine bypassed official sanction and established an unofficial cultural service for Ukrainians living in Kazakhstan.

In the 1970s, even such sporadic efforts came to an end as the regime of Leonid Brezhnev and the administration of Volodymyr Shcherbitsky, who replaced Shelest as Ukrainian Communist Party secretary, turned more oppressive. Contacts with Ukraine became even more limited and more rigidly tied to "All-Union" channels that dictated intra-Soviet cultural exchanges. Thus, such events as tours of the republics connected with the program "Weeks (or Days) of Ukrainian Culture" were coordinated by planners in Moscow rather than Kiev, a situation that remained largely unchanged until the political upheavals of the early 1990s. Outside the official channels, contact with Ukraine has been in the form of letters or visits from relatives and friends, subscriptions to Ukrainian journals and other publications (when available in sufficient numbers), and the minimal Ukrainian content that was programmed into the Russian-language All-Union cultural medium.

The rare data that can be gleaned from official sources of the 1970s have confirmed the need for and interest in Ukrainian cultural infrastructures in the distant Ukrainian settlements. In a survey of ethnic groups in Western Siberia, for example, where only 38 percent of the Ukrainians questioned regarded Ukrainian as their mother tongue, two-thirds of the sample replied positively to the sensitive question of whether they would like their children to be taught Ukrainian in local schools.

Nonetheless, the issue had not been given any serious consideration until recently, when community pressure forced the pace of the implementation of glasnost in the Soviet Union. In Ukraine, a number of leading cultural figures once again brought up the subject of cultural rights for Ukrainians in the other republics and, according to the *New York Times*,[2] called for the revival of the Ukrainian districts in the Far East as separate autonomous entities. After the founding of Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine for *Perebudova* (Reconstruction), in the summer of 1989, the issue of the predicament of Ukrainians scattered across the USSR gained more attention in the country's unofficial and official press alike. In May 1990, Democratic Bloc candidates for the position of president of the Ukrainian SSR (most notably, Ivan Drach and Volodymyr Yavorivsky) raised concerns about the status of the USSR's Ukrainian diaspora in presentations in Parliament that were broadcast by the republic's electronic media.

Since then, the Democratic Bloc of Ukrainian deputies has made it a policy to help protect Ukrainian minority interests by entering into bilateral agreements with democratic deputies of the other republics. Since Ukraine itself has minorities with roots in the other republics,

these are issues of mutual concern. The Ukrainian community has grown especially rapidly in recent times in the Baltic and Transcaucasus republics, whose influential democratic deputies have displayed sympathy toward the Ukrainian movement.

Rebirth of Ukrainian National Consciousness in the Eastern Diaspora

Ukrainians in the eastern diaspora, those who reside beyond the Ukrainian ethnographic territory in the former USSR, experienced a renewed sense of national consciousness as a result of the political events that swept the Soviet Union in the late 1980s. Although these national initiatives are still in their infancy, the prospects for their success in the long run have appeared bright since the collapse of Communism and the gaining of independence by the Soviet republics. There is no doubt that events in Ukraine have inspired Ukrainians in the other former republics to take the initiative themselves and to form local cultural associations.

The late 1980s and the early 1990s saw the establishment of various Ukrainian societies, including the following: in Russia – the Taras Shevchenko Society in Saint Petersburg, the Slavutych Society in Moscow and Norilsk, the Kobzar Society in Ufa, the Druzhba (Friendship) Society in Vorkuta, the Ukrainska Rodyna (Ukrainian Family) Society in Surgut, the Klekit (Clamor) Society in Irkutsk, the Zelenyi Klyn (Green Wedge) Society in the Primore territory; and the Kyivska Rus' (Kievan Rus') Society in the southern Sakhalin province; in other countries – the Chervona Kalyna (Red Viburnum) Society in Tiraspol, Moldova, and in Yerevan, Armenia; the Zapovit (Testament) Society in Minsk, Belarus; and the Zoloti Vorota (Golden Gates) Society in Riga, Latvia. Ukrainians have also formed organizations in Nizhnevartovsk, Barnaul, Yakutsk, and the Amur oblast, Russia; in Dushanbe, Tajikistan; and in Tallinn, Estonia.

Ukrainians have established cultural centers and societies, as well as other associations that aim to unite Ukrainians and instill ethnic awareness. Sunday schools for both children and adults have been organized through the efforts of Ukrainian communities in Moscow, as well as in Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan; Yerevan, Armenia; Vilnius, Jonava, and Mazeikiai, Lithuania; Riga, Latvia; Tallinn, Estonia; and Kobryn and Dorohychyn, Belarus. The larger Ukrainian centers have choral and dance ensembles, radio and television programs, and libraries.

The work of Ukrainian organizations in the eastern diaspora is directed toward establishing contact with Ukrainians in Ukraine and other countries; exchanging delegations; organizing meetings; commemorating Ukrainian national and religious holidays, significant dates in history, and anniversaries of renowned Ukrainian community leaders; and organizing Ukrainian festivals. In some organizations, branches have developed that focus on special interests (for example, literature, language and culture, or history) or special groups (youth, children), seeking to embrace as many Ukrainians, children and adults alike, as possible.

The majority of these revitalized Ukrainian communities, however, suffer from a lack of financial support from both their local governments and Ukraine. In many areas, including Central Asia, Latvia, and Estonia, the question of citizenship remains unresolved. The lack of teachers, community leaders, and suitable premises for community use also remains a problem, as does the fact that the authorities in some areas ignore Ukrainians entirely or, in others (for example, the Primore territory and the Belgorod oblast), actively oppose their efforts to organize, to make themselves heard, and to help one another.

Nearly forty Ukrainian organizations are active in Russia today; their main goal is to

revitalize Ukrainian culture in areas where Ukrainians reside. One notable example is the Slavutych Society in Moscow, which was founded on April 3, 1988, and has been headed by the well-known and much-decorated pilot-cosmonaut Pavlo Popovych.

The Slavutych Society has already conducted a wide range of activities throughout Russia (but mainly, of course, at its home base of Moscow). Its members are also members of organizations in Ukraine, such as the Tovarystvo Ukrainskoi Movy imeny Tarasa Shevchenka (Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society). Among its recent projects in Moscow, a city that has had a Ukrainian community since the turn of the seventeenth century,[3] has been the acknowledgment and preservation of the city's Ukrainian heritage, the initiation of a Ukrainian Sunday elementary school at Moscow's Central Children's Library, and the promotion of Ukrainian-language instruction in the curriculum of regular schools in the Moscow district. As a result of the Slavutych Society's efforts, the Ukrainian radio program "Promin" (The Ray), was introduced in 1989 and now broadcasts every morning, reaching far-flung Ukrainian communities across Russia. According to one source, the organizers of this service have been receiving queries from listeners in the Far East, Siberia, the Urals region, the Kuban region, and Stavropil Territory on how to set up local Ukrainian radio programming in their areas.

Other Ukrainian organizations in Moscow include the Tovarystvo Prykhylnykiv Rukhu v Moskvi (Moscow Society of Friends of Rukh) and the Ukrainskyi Molodizhnyi Kliub (Ukrainian Youth Club). There are also signs of emerging Ukrainian cultural activity elsewhere in Russia. Ukrainians in Ust-Kamenohorsk, for example, are reported to have established their own school in 1988. In May 1992, an umbrella organization of Ukrainian associations, the Obiednannia Ukraintsiv Rosii (Union of Ukrainians in Russia), was founded. Regional meetings of Ukrainian associations in Siberia, the Primore Territory, the Komi Republic, and the Tyuman oblast are planned for the near future.

Ukrainian organizations have reemerged in the newly independent Baltic states, where there had already been organized Ukrainian communities during the previous period of independence, between the two world wars. In Estonia, a group of approximately five hundred Ukrainians founded the Hromada Ukraintsiv Estonii (Association of Ukrainians in Estonia), which promotes cultural-educational work and supports the democratization process in Estonia and Ukraine. The Association maintains a folklore ensemble called "Vidlunnia" (The Echo) and has organized a Ukrainian radio program. In April 1989, Ukrainians in Estonia formed a Ukrainian Hromada (Community) in Tartu, under the leadership of Borys Mykhailevych. The organization comprises approximately one hundred members and has links with Ukraine.

In Latvia, the Ukrainske Tovarystvo Dnipro (Ukrainian Cultural Society Dnipro) was established on September 25, 1988, headed by Yurii Zavhorodny. By mid-1989, it was reported to have had four hundred members, organized in several chapters across the country. Volodymyr Stroi currently heads the Society, which has an instrumental role in the rebirth of Ukrainian culture in the country. A Ukrainian Sunday school, attended by both children and adults, plays a very important part in this regard as well, for it gives students the opportunity to learn not only the Ukrainian language and literature, but Ukrainian history and arts as well. Thanks to the efforts of instructor Lidia Kulinchenko, an agreement has been reached with local authorities with regard to the opening of an all-day Ukrainian school in that city.

In an effort to provide a financial base for its activities, the leadership of the Dnipro Society established the Ukrainskyi Ekonomichnyi Tsentr (Ukrainian Economic Center), under the direction of Kostiantyn Hupalo. The Center plans to assist in the expansion of

trade with Ukraine and the creation of agreements for the establishment of Ukrainian business in Latvia.

In Lithuania, the turbulent political events that characterized the former republic at the end of 1988 gave rise to the establishment of organized Ukrainian centers, first in Vilnius and then in the larger cities, including Kaunas, Klaipeda, Mazeikiai, and Joniskis. In October 1989, these centers founded the Hromada Ukraintsiv Lytvy (Ukrainian Lithuanian Society), which now has links with the Svitovyi Kongres Vilnykh Ukraintsiv (World Congress of Free Ukrainians) and firm cultural ties with Ukraine. The Society maintains a group in support of Rukh, runs a monthly Ukrainian radio program, publishes information bulletins, and maintains two choirs (in Vilnius and Klaipeda) and a *bandura* trio outside the capital. A library is housed in the Society's headquarters. In Vilnius, there is a Ukrainian Sunday school and a chapter of the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society. Plast, Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization) has been established in the country. On June 12, 1991, the local Ukrainian Catholic community in Vilnius was granted the sixteenth-century Church of the Holy Trinity for worship. The Reverend Petro Yakymets, OSBM, serves as pastor. It is estimated that nearly ten thousand Ukrainians live in Vilnius alone.

Moldova was expected to have a number of Ukrainian-language schools, five Ukrainian kindergartens, and a Ukrainian–Russian secondary school in time for the 1993 school year.

In June 1992, the Vladivostok television station Novyny (The News) announced that a new organization of Ukrainians called Hromada (The Community) had been founded in the Primore Territory in the Far East. The goal of the organization, which is headed by Andrii Popov, is to assist the two hundred thousand Ukrainians of Primore to organize themselves, create national schools, and arrange trips to Ukraine. Members of the community plan to demand deputy mandates and protect the interests of the Ukrainian-speaking population at the local level. An All-Ukrainian Far Eastern Congress is planned for the near future.

There are several Ukrainian cultural-educational organizations in the Zelenyi Klyn region today. However, their work does not receive the support of the government. Among the most active is the Tovarystvo Ukrainskoi Kultury u Vladivostoku (Association of Ukrainian Culture in Vladivostok). The Association organized a Days of Ukrainian Culture event, which was held in the city in May 1992, the first such event in sixty years. Local Ukrainian community leaders are advocating the opening of a Ukrainian consulate in the city.

A conference of Ukrainians in Siberia and the Far East was held in March 1992 in Irkutsk to discuss the concerns of Ukrainians in these regions. The participants sent letters to the presidents of Ukraine and Russia, urging them to address their needs. They asked President Leonid Kravchuk, of Ukraine, for a channel of information between Ukraine and the Ukrainian diaspora in Russia, including Ukrainian radio and television broadcasts, newspapers, and journals; the return to Ukraine from Russia of Ukrainian Cossack and other historical and cultural artifacts of the Ukrainian people that had been confiscated by the Bolsheviks; and the establishment of consulates in Siberian and Far Eastern cities with large concentrations of Ukrainians. They reminded President Boris Yeltsin, of Russia, that Ukrainians in Russia do not have their own community centers, libraries, schools, or cultural organizations; radio and television broadcasts in their own language; or their own press. They asked that Ukrainians in Russia be granted the same rights that Russians enjoy in Ukraine.

The status of Ukrainians living in other former Soviet republics drew notice from the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. In a brief submitted to the Conference on the Human Dimension, in association with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (part of the Helsinki Accords process), held in Moscow on July 1–19, 1991, this umbrella organi-

zation called attention to the limited cultural and national rights of Ukrainians living in the Russian Federation. Some of the republics that declared their independence – for example, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan – have affirmed their intention to respect minority rights.

The failure of the August 1991 coup strengthened existing secessionist tendencies within the Russian Federation itself. In Siberia, where such sentiment had already found expression in 1990 in *Narodnaia Tribuna* (The National Tribune), a newspaper published in Tomsk, proposals have now been set forth in a better-defined and more formal manner to create a Siberian Federal Republic comprising nineteen *krais*, oblasts, and national-state units. The capital of the proposed federation would be Novosibirsk.

In Murmansk, Russia, the Ukrainske Kulturne Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Cultural Association), established in 1990, began to publish the newspaper *Ukrainske Slovo* (The Ukrainian Word) in June of that year. Approximately ninety-five thousand Ukrainians reside in this northern oblast.

It should be noted that a number of Russian-speaking Ukrainians in the former Soviet republics have also joined the conservative Inter-front organizations. These organizations, and others like them, have appeared in Ukraine as well, and in such places as the Kuban region. Their purpose is to obstruct the spread of the influence of Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine, among the populace.

The Ukrainian movement in the Kuban region has in particular been forced to deal with obstacles. The nationalistic, pro-Kuban conservative forces there are encouraging a pro-Cossack orientation to counter the Ukrainophile influence. In spite of "old guard" opposition, however, the Ukrainian movement in the region has made gains. In April 1990, the popular historical association Memorial staged a meeting in Krasnodar at which the Ukrainian national blue and yellow flags were displayed. Village representatives in the Kuban region have recently been making appeals to local authorities for the restoration of Ukrainian schools in their districts. The famed State Choir of the Kuban Cossacks, a 1989 recipient of the Ukrainian Taras Shevchenko award for the performing arts, toured Ukraine in 1990 and sang the Ukrainian national anthem in Kiev (March) and Lviv (April).

It is clear that the greatest difficulty experienced by Ukrainian settlements in the territories adjacent to Ukraine as well as those in the Far East (Zelenyi Klyn) and Central Asia (Siryi Klyn) is in the natural development of their cultures. Ethnographers in the past as well as recent visitors to these settlements have noted the survival of traces of Ukrainian culture in places such as the Belgorod oblast and the Far East, and aspects of the Ukrainian heritage have also been retained in the Kuban region and Moldova. Observers have also pointed to the heavy Ukrainian influence evident in the vernacular spoken in the Tahanrih region, which was once briefly part of the Ukrainian SSR. Thus, even though many of the inhabitants of the regions under discussion may not identify themselves as Ukrainian and have been absorbed into the Russian fold to the extent of declaring their nationality as Russian and Russifying their surnames, there are nonetheless certain criteria by which they may be identified as bearing an affinity with the Ukrainian national group. But although natural bases may exist from which a renascent Ukrainian culture could grow and mature, conditions have thus far precluded such a development.

A problem that had persisted until recently stemmed from the monopoly of power that was vested in undemocratic councils in certain localities and in the Soviet system of centralization in general. Thus, for example, when Vitalii Yeremenko, deputy director of the Primore Philharmonic in Vladivostok, approached Kiev with a proposal to organize a Ukrainian arts festival in the Far East in 1987, he was turned down and told to address his proposal to the appropriate authority in Moscow instead. Similarly, whereas a branch of the Taras

Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society was free to be established in Vilnius, the authorities in Krasnodar in the Kuban region refused to allow Ukrainians there the same right.

To bypass excessive bureaucracy, Ukrainian groups in Ukraine have now developed unofficial contacts with their co-nationals in the other former republics. An enhancement of such ties in the future may result in a major shift in the balance of ethnic identification in many regions. The last census found few Ukrainians in the Kuban region, but it is believed that as many as 70 percent of the region's nearly six million inhabitants may have some ethnic Ukrainian background. Soviet statistics for 1989 reported close to one million Ukrainians in the Kazakh SSR and another hundred thousand (approximately) in the Kirghiz SSR, but calculations based on much earlier data suggest that, today, there may be as many as four million and three hundred thousand Ukrainians in the two regions, respectively. Similar discrepancies between official statistics and unofficial projections apply in the case of the maritime provinces in the Far East, where, before the First World War, Ukrainians were the largest single immigrant group. Today, Ukrainians are believed to constitute a far higher percentage of the population than the official statistics suggest – that is, one-third as opposed to the official one-tenth of the more than six million inhabitants of the Khabarovsk and Primore territories and the Amur, Sakhalin, Kamchatka, and Magadan oblasts.

Now that the Soviet Union has dissolved into independent states and the process of raising national consciousness is under way in the large Ukrainian-bloc settlements in the regions beyond Ukraine, the "Ukrainian diaspora" in the former republics may well be a factor affecting any bilateral or international accord in which a democratic Ukraine might engage.

Relations with Ukrainians in the West

In the past, some regions of the USSR inhabited by large numbers of Ukrainians were inaccessible to foreigners. This in itself prevented contacts between Ukrainians there and Ukrainians in the West. The city of Vladivostok, for example, was for many decades closed to foreigners and even to some Soviet citizens (who were required to obtain passes in order to enter the city for purposes of business, vacation, or visiting relatives). Only recently was Vladivostok reported by the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* (September 25, 1990) to be an "open city."

It is difficult to determine how wide an audience the Ukrainian-language broadcasting services of Radio Liberty, Radio Canada, Radio Vatican, and the Voice of America have cultivated among the Ukrainian settlers in the other former republics; it is known only that an audience does exist.

Recent contacts between Ukrainians in the West and those in the former Soviet Union outside Ukraine have been negligible and sporadic, though ties have begun to develop with such groups as the Slavutych Society in Moscow.

After the Russian Revolution and again after the Second World War, Ukrainians formerly living in the Zelenyi Klyn area moved to China and eventually to countries in the West (primarily to the Americas). In Harbin and Shanghai, they published a number of periodicals that featured news of developments in the Ukrainian communities in the Far East. A large number of Ukrainians from the Kuban region also emigrated to the West during the same periods; they, too, published periodicals, in such centers as Prague and (later) New York, allocating much space, naturally, to issues relating to the home territory. Farming colonies in Paraguay bearing names such as "Zelenyi Klyn" and "Kavkaz" betray the regional origins of their members; Ukrainians who emigrated from the Far East have become unexpected

neighbors of those drawn from more traditional areas of Ukrainian emigration (Eastern Europe), reflecting the wider context of the Ukrainian diaspora and the interweaving that is characteristic of it.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

1990 July 4 – August 23: The Ukrainian Cultural Society Slavutych and the Ukrainian Youth Club of Moscow organized "Dzvin '90," a walk across Ukraine that drew participants from among Ukrainians in the USSR and abroad.

- *August 19–21:* Delegates from Ukraine, Moscow, and Vilnius took part in the First World Forum of the Ukrainian Diaspora, held in Biały Bor, Poland.
- *August 29:* A Declaration on Interstate Relations between Ukraine and the Russian SFSR was signed by democratic deputies in both republics. Among the principles adopted were:
  1 the inviolability of existing state boundaries between the Ukrainian SSR and the RSFSR, and the renunciation of previous territorial claims;
  2 the promotion of guarantees of political, ethnic, and cultural rights to all the representatives of various nations and ethnic groups who reside in the territories of Ukraine and the Russian Federation.
- *October:* In Kiev, leaders of Rukh and the Moldavian Popular Front agreed to promote native language education and the culture of each other's minorities in the two republics, to set up a joint commission for the defense of the rights of minorities, and to consult on a regular basis on issues of bilateral concern.

1992 January 22–23: A Congress of Ukrainians from the former Soviet Union was convened in Kiev. Attended by some four thousand delegates from Ukraine and the former republics as well as the Far East, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, France, Germany, Great Britain, Canada, the United States, and other countries, the Congress urged the governments of the former republics to protect the rights of minorities and turned to Ukrainians in the homeland and abroad to work together to develop and strengthen Ukrainian statehood; promote the rebirth of the native language, culture, and spiritual heritage; and work to re-create the past agricultural achievements of the Ukrainian nation.

- *February*: Ukrainian Anatolii Voznenko became deputy prime minister of Uzbekistan.
  Russia's ambassador to Ukraine, Leonid Smoliakov, presented his credentials to President Leonid Kravchuk.
- *March 14–15:* A Conference of Ukrainians in Siberia and the Far East was held in Irkutsk to address the concerns of Ukrainians in the region.

Addresses

Slavutych Society, PO Box 492, Moscow D-96, Russia 121096

Ukrainske Zemliatstvo Estonii, Biysmiae 77–14, Tallinn 35, Estonia 200035

Notes

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2 Celestine Bohlen, "The Soviets and the Enmities Within," *New York Times*, 16 April 1989, 3.
3 The Ukrainian district, located on what is now called Bohdan Khmelnytsky Street, was formerly known as "Malorossiyskaia Sloboda," in reference to the significant Ukrainian presence in the area.

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UKRAINIANS IN BULGARIA

Vasyl Markus and Viktoria Pavlenko[1]

Country Data

Official Name – Republika Bŭlgaria (Republic of Bulgaria)

Geographic Location – Located in Eastern Europe, Bulgaria is bordered by Romania on the north; the Black Sea on the east; Turkey and Greece on the south; and Macedonia and Serbia on the west. It lies between 41°15′ and 44°10′ north latitude and 22°20′ and 28°25′ east longitude.

Area – 42,855 sq. mi., or 110,994 sq km

Population Denisty – 209.7 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 81.0 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Sofia

Form of Government – Unitary multiparty republic with one legislative body, Parliament (240 seats)

Official Language – Bulgarian

Population – 8,985,000 (1992). Excludes adjustment for immigration to Turkey of some 300,000 Bulgarian Turks in 1989 and subsequent return of about 50,000.

Ethnic Composition – 85.3% Bulgarian; 8.5% Turkish; 2.6% Gypsy; 2.5% Macedonian; 0.3% Armenian; 0.2% Russian; 0.6% other (1989). (See note under Population, above.)

Religious Affiliation – 64.5% atheist; 26.7% Eastern Orthodox; 7.5% Muslim; 0.7% Protestant; 0.5% Roman Catholic; 0.1% other (1982)

Literacy – 95.5% (1980)

Percent Urban – 68.2% (1992)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 68.0 years; female, 74.7 years (1989–91)

Per Capita GNP – US$4,124 (1991). External estimates vary; some are almost half this number.

Ukrainian Population in Bulgaria

The Ukrainian minority in Bulgaria is not currently organized into a community, although individual Ukrainians have lived in the country as immigrants at various points in history. Today, their number does not exceed one thousand.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

The Kievan State established ties with Bulgaria at a very early date. These included both wars against each other and unions against common enemies. Prince Ihor fought with the Bulgarians, and his son, Sviatoslav the Conqueror, captured the city of Pereiaslavets and considered making it the capital of his state. Prince Sviatoslav went to war against Byzantium and conducted his chief campaign in Bulgaria. Some historians believe that Princess Olha was of Bulgarian origin; it is certain, however, that her chief adviser, the learned monk Gregory, was Bulgarian. One of the wives of Volodymyr the Great was also Bulgarian; she was the mother of Princes Borys and Hlib (Bulgarian names).

When the Mongols invaded Kiev in 1240, Prince Yakiv Sviatoslav fled to Bulgaria and received a share of the northern part of the kingdom. Before that, during the years 1208–18, the Bulgarian Prince Ivan Asen II had found refuge at the court of Galician princes, and had regained his throne with their aid.

Bulgaria played a very important role in the acceptance and spread of Christianity in Ukraine. Even though the Christian faith came to Ukraine from Byzantium, it was the Bulgarians (who were already Christians) who gave it a Slavic flavor. Cyril and Methodius, of Macedonia, known as the Apostles of the Slavs, chose one of the ancient Bulgarian dialects as the liturgical language of Slavic Byzantine Christendom, thereby influencing the development of Ukrainian Christianity throughout the entire millennium.

Liturgical and lay literature came to Ukraine from Bulgaria, in translation from the original Greek and Bulgarian works. Religious mysticism also came from Bulgaria; the apocrypha brought to Ukraine were influenced by the medieval Bulgarian sect Bogomilen. Two prominent church men in Ukraine, Kievan Metropolitans Cyprian (1389–1406) and Gregory Tsamblak (1415–19), were Bulgarian.

As church ties with Bulgaria were strengthened, an important role came to be played by the Bulgarian spiritual center in Trnovo. Later, when Bulgaria found itself oppressed by Turkey, Ukraine, particularly Kiev, played a part in supporting the religious and cultural life of Bulgaria. Over the years, many Bulgarians studied at the Kievan Mohyla Academy. In modern times, ideas of the rebirth and liberation of the Bulgarian nation originated and developed on Ukrainian lands, primarily among the Bulgarian colonies in Odessa. Historian and philologist Yurii Hutsa-Venelin (1802–39), a Ukrainian from Transcarpathia, became interested in the Bulgarian national renaissance while still residing in Russia, and later adopted the subject as the focus of his studies in Bulgaria. He contributed to the awakening of a national-political consciousness in the Bulgarian nation with his book *Drevnye y nineshnye Bolhari* (Ancient and Contemporary Bulgarians), published in 1829. A monument was erected to Hutsa-Venelin in Sofia.

Ukrainians served in the ranks of the tsarist army during the Bulgarian war of liberation with Turkey (1877–8); some remained in the country after the war. Perhaps because they knew the hardship of oppression, and despite their traditional Russophilism, the Bulgarians, led by progressive intellectuals, were sympathetic toward the Ukrainian movement and culture, and even published translations of Ukrainian literary works (by Shevchenko and others).

Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Drahomanov, who lived in Bulgaria for six years (1889–95) and was a professor at the University of Sofia (the city where he is buried), contributed most to the deepening of Bulgarian–Ukrainian ties. Drahomanov gathered a group of Bulgarians who were sympathetic toward Ukraine and his own democratic program and who paved the way for the future activity of the Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine) and for Ukrainian–Bulgarian relations.

As a partner of the Central Powers during the First World War, Bulgaria signed a peace treaty with Ukraine in Brest-Litovsk in 1918. The two countries exchanged diplomatic representatives: in Sofia, the Ukrainian envoy in 1918 was Oleksander Shulhyn (he was later replaced by Fedir Shulha); in Kiev, the Bulgarian envoy was I. Shishmanov. At that time, the first small Ukrainian colony appeared in Sofia. A Bolharsko-Ukrainske Tovarystvo (Bulgarian–Ukrainian Society) was established in the city, and newsletters began to be published in the Bulgarian language.

Ukrainian Immigration, 1920–1945

Although Bulgaria was not the main refuge of the Ukrainian political emigration of the 1920s, many Ukrainian refugees did migrate there after the failure of their struggle for liberation and the victory of the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution. In addition to a group of nationally conscious members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the army, there were also some Ukrainians among the White Russian emigration after the Revolution. Because of very harsh economic and living conditions in Bulgaria, Ukrainian rank-and-file soldiers from the White Russian Army and even those from the army of the Ukrainian National Republic were repatriated to Soviet Ukraine during the 1920s. Some left the Russian camp and joined the Ukrainian independence movement. But the Bulgarian government was

favorably disposed to the Russian immigration, exhibiting the old Bulgarian Russophilism; as a result, Ukrainians were counted in Bulgarian statistics as Russian immigrants.

The first Ukrainian organization in Bulgaria was the Ukrainska Hromada v Bulharii (Ukrainian Community in Bulgaria), established in 1920; its statute, ratified in 1929, defined it as a Ukrainian "cultural-enlightenment society." Borys Tsybulsky was chosen to head the organization; sculptor Mykhailo Parashchuk became secretary. Later, Hryhorii Krupytsky was elected president. The Ukrainian Community had centers in the larger cities of Bulgaria, including Plovdiv, Varna, Vidin, Burgas, and Ruse. Other Ukrainian organizations also existed in Bulgaria, including a veterans' organization – Ukrainske Natsionalne Kozatske Tovarystvo (Ukrainian National Cossack Association), headed in 1925–6 by Dmytro Hulai; youth organizations – Ukrainska Studentska Spilka (Ukrainian Student Union), organized in Sofia in 1922, and another group, which was made up of secondary school students; and women's associations. At the initiative of the Ukrainian Community in Bulgaria, a congress of Ukrainians in the country was convened in 1933, during which the Soiuz Ukrainskykh Orhanizatsiy Bulharii (Union of Ukrainian Organizations in Bulgaria) was established, uniting ten organizations. Businessman Dmytro Maistrenko was chosen to head the Union. It should be pointed out, for the sake of comparison, that at this time, ninety-three Russian immigrant organizations (including local chapters) were active in Bulgaria. The Union of Ukrainian Organizations and, earlier, the Ukrainian Community, were members of the Holovna Emigratsiyna Rada (Supreme Emigration Council), which operated under the authority of the Ukrainian National Council in exile.

In 1933, a battle arose over the leadership of the Ukrainian Community, which was the largest of the Ukrainian organizations, with branches in the smaller cities. This resulted in the split of the organization in 1935: one faction was headed by M. Parashchuk; the other by Yakiv Malynovsky. The internal dispute ended in a lawsuit in the state court, which acknowledged Malynovsky as having the legal right to represent the Ukrainian Community. Subsequently, a group of Parashchuk's adherents established another organization, the Ukrainske Kulturne Obiednannia (Ukrainian Cultural Union), the activities of which were in competition with the activities of the Ukrainian Community. Among those prominent in the Union were Volodymyr Kolisnychenko, Dmytro Sheludko, and Ivan Lytvynenko.

Ukrainian community life in Bulgaria disintegrated further in 1938. Ivan Orlov left the Ukrainian Cultural Union and, together with his adherents, created the Ukrainskyi Tsentralnyi Natsionalno-Kulturnyi Komitet (Ukrainian Central National–Cultural Committee), which was officially registered with the Bulgarian government. The Committee did not last long, however, because Orlov himself (who had become president of the group) returned to the Ukrainian Cultural Union.

Ukrainians from other countries rarely visited Bulgaria: among the few who did were Prof. V. Shcherbakivsky and Prof. V. Kubijovyc, who attended the international convention of geographers and ethnographers held in Sofia in 1936, and some members of Plast (Ukrainian scouts), who took part in the Slavic Jamboree in Varna in 1934.

In 1941, after Germany attacked the Soviet Union, hopes were raised that the former would agree to the formation of an independent Ukrainian state. The Ukrainian Cultural Union in Bulgaria shared in such hopes. When Germany's true plans for Ukraine were revealed, however, a group of members disassociated themselves from the position taken by the Union and created another organization, the Ukrainske Prosvitne Tovarystvo "Sich" (Ukrainian Enlightenment Society "Sich"), headed by M. Parashchuk.

The chief activity of these associations was the organization of various concerts, com-

memorations of religious and national holidays, social gatherings, and other events, to which Bulgarians were also invited. Among the Bulgarians who actively participated were writers and scholars, particularly Ukrainists and friends of Ukrainian culture, including Ivan Shishmanov, Emanuil Dmitrov, Stepan Mladenov, Stiliian Chilingirov, and Dmytro Strashimirov.

The Bulgarian–Ukrainian Society, which devoted itself to the subject of Bulgarian–Ukrainian relations, included members of the Bulgarian and Ukrainian intelligentsia. The Society was established in 1920 by University of Sofia professor I. Shishmanov, who chaired it until his death in 1928. He was succeeded by Mykhailo Arnaudov. The organization published the collections *Ukraynske Slovo* (The Ukrainian Word) and *Ukraynsko-Blharsky Prehled* (The Ukrainian–Bulgarian Review) in Bulgarian, and one issue of *Ukrainsko-Bolharski Visti* (Ukrainian–Bulgarian News) in both languages in 1935.

The Ukrainian immigration made a contribution to the development of Bulgarian scholarship and arts. Several Ukrainians taught and conducted scholarly work at the University of Sofia. They included historian Mykhailo Popruzhenko, formerly a professor at the University of Odessa; research physicians Volodymyr Vorobiov and Oleksander Mankovsky; and chemist Oleksander Cherevkov, professor at Kharkiv University.

Since 1945

National-democratic Bulgaria became a satellite of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics after 1945. Only an insignificant percentage of the immigration that had originated in the former Russian Empire was able to flee to the West. The new regime did not tolerate non-Communist organizations of ethnic minorities (including the Russian group); all activity had to be conducted under the cover of the Soviet label. Immigrants who did not wish to cooperate with the Communist regime preferred to integrate quickly into Bulgarian society. In practice, immigrant organizations ceased their activities, and, in 1950, the Bulgarian Communist court judged them to be fascist and legally dissolved them. In the absence of Ukrainian centers of learning and culture, the process of assimilation of the small Ukrainian community in Bulgaria accelerated.

There was, however, some progress in official programs of cultural ties between Ukraine and Bulgaria. In particular, Ukrainian works, largely those of Soviet poets and writers, continued to be translated into Bulgarian. A total of 1,105 works of Ukrainian literature appeared in translation between 1917 and 1974, and, over a period of almost seventy years (1894–1962), 173 translated works of Bulgarian literature were published in Ukraine. Exchanges of musical ensembles and theatrical groups continue to take place, as do "Weeks of Culture" events – Bulgarian in Ukraine and Ukrainian in Bulgaria.

Until recently, economic relations between Bulgaria and Ukraine occurred under the aegis of the centralized system of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid, which ceased to exist in 1990. Bulgaria received almost all its import of coal and iron ore from Ukraine, and 50 percent of its other metal imports were also from Ukraine. Ten percent of Ukraine's foreign trade was with Bulgaria.

Ukrainian Community Life in Bulgaria Today

For decades, the political situation in Bulgaria was not conducive to the development of Ukrainian community life. As a result, the Ukrainian minority in Bulgaria is not organized into a community, and one cannot speak of a distinct Ukrainian religious, cultural, educational, professional, political, and social life. However, political events in 1990–1 brought

changes that affected the lives of national minorities, such as the Russians, Armenians, and Ukrainians, including the possibility of establishing national organizations and truly free cultural exchanges. According to Van Vysotsky, a Ukrainian actor in the Bulgarian theater, a Tovarystvo Ukraintsiv Bolharii (Association of Ukrainians in Bulgaria) was established in 1991. A similar organization of students was founded at the University of Sofia. The present Bulgarian government is not opposed to national organizations, because it, in turn, is interested in the development of the national life of Bulgarians in the diaspora, especially in Ukraine, home to 238,000 Bulgarians in 1980. The establishment of such organizations may signal the beginning of Ukrainian community life in Bulgaria.

Note

1 Translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.

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UKRAINIANS IN THE CZECH AND SLOVAK REPUBLICS

Vasyl Markus[1]

Country Data

Official Name – Formerly the Česká a Slovenská Federativní Republika (Czech), or the Česká a Slovenská Federatívna Republika (Slovak) (Czech and Slovak Federal Republic). Czechoslovakia split in two on January 1, 1993, creating two independent republics, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. The following statistics refer to the former Czechoslovakia.

Geographic Location – Located in Eastern Europe, the former Czechoslovakia was bordered by Germany and Poland on the north; Poland and Ukraine on the east; Hungary and Austria on the south; and Germany on the west. It was situated between 47°43′ and 51°03′ north latitude and 12°05′ and 22°34′ east longitude.

Area – 49,382 sq. mi., or 127,899 sq km

Population Density – 316.0 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 122.0 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Prague

Form of Government – Federal republic with one legislative house, the Federal Assembly (300 seats), normally meeting in two separate bodies, the Chamber of Nations (150 seats) and the Chamber of the People (150 seats)

Official Languages – Czech and Slovak

Population – 15,605,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 54.1% Czech; 31.0% Slovak; 8.7% Moravian; 6.2% other (1991)

Religious Affiliation – 46.4% Roman Catholic; 29.5% nonreligious and atheist; 2.1% Slovak Evangelical; 1.2% Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren; 1.2% Greek Catholic; 19.6% other (1991)

Literacy – 100% (1990)

Percent Urban – 77.5% (1990)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 68.9 years; female, 75.1 years (1989)

Per Capita GNP – US$8,000 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in the Former Czechoslovakia

The northeastern part of former Czechoslovakia, like neighboring Poland, is settled by ethnic Ukrainians, and has strong historical and cultural ties to the population of Transcarpathia in Ukraine. Throughout the course of history, the territorial proximity to Ukraine served to foster close relations between the Czech and Slovak peoples and the Ukrainian nation; ties were especially strong during the interwar period, when a large Ukrainian political immigration settled in Czechoslovakia and developed an intense community life of its own, and when Ukrainian Transcarpathia became part of the Czechoslovak state.

This article surveys the distribution of Ukrainians in the former Czechoslovakia in two parts:

1 In the Czech lands (Czechia, Moravia and Silesia), where Ukrainians did not settle permanently until after 1919 and where, during the interwar period and after the Second World War, their communities grew as a result of migration from Ukrainian ethnic lands in Transcarpathia.
2 In Slovakia, where Ukrainians are found primarily within a narrow strip along the northern border, which is the westernmost part of Ukrainian ethnic territory.

Ukrainians are also found in separate villages or enclaves and in cities in the former Czechoslovakia, where they constitute a true diaspora.

UKRAINIANS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

The Czech Republic (officially, the three administrative and historic states of Czechia, Moravia, and Silesia), popularly known as Czechia, is one of the most industrialized and culturally advanced of all the Slavic nations.

In 1991, official statistics counted approximately 8,500 Ukrainians on Czech territory; considering, however, that many people of Ukrainian ancestry became assimilated during the last fifty years and that others simply do not declare their Ukrainian nationality in the census, the actual number of ethnic Ukrainians is likely to be at least twice that figure. There was almost no organized community life among Ukrainians in this country during the postwar period. The situation has changed somewhat since 1990.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

Ukrainians settled in Czechia individually or in small groups in the nineteenth century. At that time, Ukrainian Galicia and Czechoslovakia both found themselves within the boundaries of the same country, the Austrian Empire. Among the Ukrainian settlers in Czechia were seasonal and skilled workers, civil servants, students, and military personnel. The majority of the Ukrainian students who "seceded" from Lviv University in 1902,[2] found themselves in postsecondary schools in Czechia, where they established the first Ukrainian organization, the Ukrainska Hromada v Prazi (Ukrainian Community in Prague). Local communities and clubs existed in some areas – for example, the Prosvita (Enlightenment Society) established in 1912 in Moravská Ostrava. At the beginning of the First World War, several thousand refugees from the Russian Army lived in Czechia. A Ukrainian school was established in Nusle, near Prague. The largest refugee center was the refugee camp in Svatobozice, where approximately 1,200 Ukrainians resided in 1917–18.

After 1919, there were Ukrainian diplomatic personnel living in Prague. The government of the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic was represented de facto by Ambassador Maksym Slavynsky; the government of the Western Ukrainian National Republic was represented by a separate mission, headed at first by Stepan Smal-Stotsky and later by Evhen Levytsky. These missions acted unofficially until 1922–3. The Kharkiv government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic sent its official representation, headed by Mykhailo Levytsky, to Prague in 1920.

In May 1919, the retreating soldiers of the Ukrainian Galician Army crossed the border into Czechoslovakia, and the majority were interned in camps in Czechia. The largest camps were in Deutsch-Gabel (present-day Jablonné v Podještědí), with more than five thousand Ukrainian soldiers (under Commander Antin Kravs), and in Liberec, with more than one thousand. Afterward, those who did not settle as civilians or return home to Galicia lived in Josefov, where four thousand soldiers remained in 1923, under General A. Wolf and later Captain Ivan Kozak. This camp was closed in 1926.

An intensive cultural and social life developed in the internment camps, complete with trade schools, secondary schools, supplementary courses, a theater, a choir, reading rooms, and religious organizations. Publications appeared, including *Ukrainskyi Strilets* (Ukrainian Rifleman) and *Ukrainskyi Skytalets* (Ukrainian Refugee). Military drills were held in the camps; the soldiers created a semi-official Ukrainian brigade in the hope of serving the government-in-exile of the Western Ukrainian National Republic in its struggle with Poland. The effort was unofficially supported by the Czechoslovak government. The soldiers who

remained in Czechia became part of the Ukrainian interwar political immigration, along with new refugees arriving from Ukraine.

Political Immigration, 1920–1939

The ranks of the Ukrainian political immigration grew with the arrival of immigrants from Eastern Ukraine, including officers and soldiers from the army of the Ukrainian National Republic, government employees, political and cultural activists, youth, and entire families fleeing the Bolsheviks. In addition, immigrants who had first settled in Poland and Austria, where political and social conditions were not favorable to Ukrainians, later migrated to Czechia and, in smaller numbers, to Slovakia. The Czechoslovak government and society were favorably disposed to Ukrainian political immigrants. The president of the Czechoslovak Republic, Tomas Masaryk, in a gesture of appreciation to the Ukrainian Central Council for its favorable treatment of the Czechoslovak legions in Ukraine in 1917–18, gave legal and financial aid to the Ukrainian immigration, especially in the areas of education and culture. Besides the president, others who were friendly toward Ukrainians included such leading Czech political activists as Vaclav Girsa, Antonin Nečas, and Jaroslav Němec.

In the 1920s, after some Ukrainians emigrated to Galicia and the Ukrainian SSR and others immigrated from Austria, Germany, and Poland, the total number of Ukrainians in Czechia was believed to have been between 15,000 and 20,000. Some found employment in Slovakia and Transcarpathia; others emigrated farther west. Only an insignificant number became citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic; 95 percent were political immigrants whose status was that of resident aliens. Transcarpathian Ukrainians, whose region became part of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1919, increasingly settled in Czechia; they numbered approximately 4,000 to 5,000 by the end of the 1930s. Official statistics place the total number of Ukrainians on Czech territory in 1930 at 23,500.

From the social, educational, and professional perspectives, Ukrainians in Czechia were a rather diverse group. With respect to age, there was a majority of young people (from the army), whose goal was to obtain a good education and a profession. There was also a strong representation from the ranks of the intelligentsia, including scholars in various fields and political activists who wished to pursue their occupations in exile. After the return of some of the soldiers of the Ukrainian Galician Army to Galicia, the composition of the immigrants was approximately 60 percent from Galicia and Bukovyna and 40 percent from Eastern Ukraine. Some immigrants migrated to Transcarpathia, which had come under Czechoslovak rule, for permanent settlement and employment.

The first Ukrainian organizations in Czechia were community, aid, cultural, professional, and, especially, educational institutions. Initially, all community life was led and coordinated by the Ukrainskyi Hromadskyi Komitet u Chekho-Slovachchyni (Ukrainian Community Committee in Czechoslovakia), founded and headed by Mykyta Shapoval; active members included Mykola Halahan and Nykyfor Hryhoriiv. The work of the Committee, especially its charitable, publishing, educational, and pedagogical research activity, was subsidized by the Czechoslovak government. A central organization, the Soiuz Ukrainskykh Emigrantskykh Orhanizatsiy v ChSR (Association of Ukrainian Immigrant Organizations in the Czechoslovak Republic), was active in the 1930s, but did not encompass all organized community life, as did the Ukrainian Community Committee, or have as much influence in general as the latter.

The Ukrainian Free University moved to Prague from Vienna in 1921; in the 1920s, it was the source of higher education for hundreds of young immigrants. In addition to the University, the following organizations were established and became active in Prague:

Ukrainskyi Vysokyi Pedahohichnyi Instytut Imeny M. Drahomanova (M. Drahomanov Ukrainian Higher Pedagogical Institute), founded in 1923; Ukrainska Studiia Plastychnoho Mystetstva (Ukrainian Studio of Plastic Arts), founded in 1922; Ukrainskyi Instytut Hromadoznavstva (Ukrainian Institute of Community Studies), founded in 1925 and based on the Viennese Sociological Institute; Ukrainske Istorychno-Filolohichne Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Historical-Philological Association), founded in 1923; and the Muzei Vyzvolnoi Borotby Ukrainy (Museum of the Freedom Struggle of Ukraine), founded in 1925.

Several matriculation courses were available in Prague and some were even offered at the internment camps, for young soldiers who had not completed their secondary education. The Ukrainska Himnaziia v Chekho-Slovachchyni (Ukrainian Secondary School in Czechoslovakia) was established in the city of Řevnice in 1925 for the children of immigrants; it was moved to Modřany, near Prague, in 1937.

A notable institution of higher learning was the Ukrainska Hospodarska Akademiia (Ukrainian Agricultural Academy), in the city of Poděbrady. Established in 1922, the Academy comprised three departments, agronomy/forestry, economics/cooperatives, and engineering. The largest number of students, more than 600, were registered in 1925–6. A total of 550 students received their engineering degrees during the Academy's existence.

The aforementioned educational and academic institutions graduated thousands of skilled workers and professionals, while other young immigrants received their education in Czech schools of higher learning. Some students who attended immigrant institutions were Transcarpathian Ukrainians. The Ukrainian Free University and the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy were also engaged in publishing and scholarly activity. Among their faculty and students were many specialists, some of whom achieved recognition in Czechoslovak and other foreign institutions.

Among the many Ukrainian scholars who were active in Czechia during the interwar period, the most prominent included biochemist Ivan Horbachevsky and philologist Oleksander Kolessa, both of whom were professors at Prague's Charles University and rectors of the Ukrainian Free University; geographer Stepan Rudnytsky; historians Dmytro Doroshenko and Andrii Yakovliv; philologists Vasyl Simovych and S. Smal-Stotsky; literary scholars Fedir Biletsky and Dmytro Chyzhevsky; church historian Vasyl Bidnov; pedagogical historian Stepan Siropolko; jurists Lev Bych, Stanyslav Dnistriansky, and Otto Eikhelman; art scholar Dmytro Antonovych; archeologist Vadym Shcherbakivsky; economists Oleksander Mytsiuk, Valentyn Sadovsky, and Volodymyr Tymoshenko; statistician Fedir Shcherbyna; cooperative-systems experts Serhii Borodaievsky and Borys Martos (head of the Ukrainian government in 1919); agronomists Viktor Domanytsky and Kost Matsiievych; chemist-technologist Vasyl Ivanys; metallurgist Serhii Tymoshenko; hydrotechnician Ivan Shovheniv; dendrologist Borys Ivanytsky; and geodesist Leonid Hrabyna. Ukrainian scholarly conventions took place in Prague in 1926 and 1932; among those who attended were scholars from Ukraine.

There were several thousand Ukrainian students in Czechia; in 1925, two thousand received state scholarships. The Chesko-Ukrainskyi Komitet (Czech-Ukrainian Committee) aided Ukrainian students and some Belorussian students as well. A large Ukrainska Akademichna Hromada (Ukrainian Academic Community) was active in Prague; similar "communities" existed at other Czech schools of higher learning and in centers such as Brno, Mělník, Poděbrady, and Příbram. Prague became a center of organized student life not only for the immigration in Czechoslovakia, but for the population of the Western Ukrainian lands as well. The Tsentralnyi Soiuz Ukrainskoho Studentstva (Central Union of Ukrainian Students) was active in Prague in the years 1922–34.

Active professional organizations of engineers (Czechia was home of the Soiuz Orhanizatsiy

Inzheneriv Ukraintsiv na Emigratsii [Union of Ukrainian Engineers' Organizations in Exile]), physicians, lawyers, economists, and cooperative-systems experts, as well as a scholarly association and a pedagogical society, existed in Czechia. Women were organized in the Ukrainskyi Zhinochyi Soiuz v Chekhii (Ukrainian Women's League in Czechia), and youth belonged to such groups as the Soiuz Ukrainskykh Plastuniv-Emigrantiv (Union of Ukrainian Scouts in Exile), Soiuz Ukrainskoho Sokolstva (Union of Ukrainian Sokil Societies), "Sich" organizations, and various sports groups.

Cultural-educational work, choirs, and libraries were usually found in all Ukrainian immigrant settlements in Czechia. Part of the Ukrainska Respublikanska Kapelia (Ukrainian Republican Kapelle) was in Czechia, but the majority of choir members migrated to Transcarpathia with other theater activists, where they became the core of the Ukrainian theater in Uzhhorod.

The Ukrainian immigration in Czechia was strongly differentiated in its political views. The majority of immigrants were adherents of socialist parties, with some liberals and democrats, who supported the government-in-exile (which had its centers in Warsaw and Paris). Some were supporters of the hetman movement. Nationalistic influences spread among youth in the mid-1920s, resulting in the establishment of such organizations as the Hrupa Ukrainskoi Natsionalistychnoi Molodi v Prazi (Group of Ukrainian Nationalistic Youth in Prague), the Legiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv v Podebradakh (League of Ukrainian Nationalists in Poděbrady), and, later, the Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (OUN, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). The nationalist journal *Rozbudova Natsii* (Development of a Nation) was published in Czechia, and underground ties were established with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Galicia. A small Sovietophile group, the Dilove Obiednannia Ukrainskoho Studentstva (Union of Ukrainian Students for Action), existed for a short time in Czechia.

Several Ukrainian publishing houses were active in Prague, including Siiach (The Sower), 1924–33; Kolos (The Spike of Wheat); H. Omelchenko's Chesko-Ukrainska Knyha (The Czech–Ukrainian Book); and the publishing house of Yu. Tyshchenko. Several periodicals were published, including *Nova Ukraina* (New Ukraine), 1922–8; *Studentskyi Visnyk* (The Student Newsletter), 1923–31; *Proboiem* (Struggle), 1934; and *Ukrainskyi Tyzhden* (Ukrainian Week), a newspaper published in Prague from 1933 to 1938.

Many Ukrainian poets and writers lived and worked in Czechia during the interwar period. Among the more notable were Oles Babii, Mykola Chyrsky, Yurii Darahan, Natalena Koroleva, Evhen Malaniuk, Leonid Mosendz, Oleksander Oles, Oleh Olzhych, Ulas Samchuk, Oleksa Stefanovych, and Olena Teliha.

Among the artists who worked in the Studiia Plastychnoho Mystetstva (Studio of Plastic Arts) and elsewhere were Mykhailo Brynsky, Mykola Butovych, Vasyl Kasiian, Ivan Kulets, Robert Lisovsky, Halyna Mazepa, and Volodymyr Sichynsky.

Religious life was least developed among the Ukrainian immigrants in Czechia. The Ukrainian Orthodox faithful did not establish their own church organizations, but either attended Russian Orthodox churches or exhibited little interest in organized religion altogether. Ukrainian Catholics (also called Greek Catholics)[3] were slow to organize: it was not until 1932 that a Ukrainian Catholic parish was canonically founded in Prague. That church – the Church of Saint Clement – was originally established for Transcarpathians, but it came to be attended by other Ukrainians as well. The founder and pastor of the church was the Reverend Vasyl Hopko.

The organized community life of the Transcarpathian Ukrainians in Czechia was centered around the church. Many students belonged to the Soiuz Pidkarpatskykh Ruskykh

(Ukrainskykh) Studentiv (Union of Subcarpathian Ruthenian [Ukrainian] Students), which cooperated with the Central Union of Ukrainian Students; another group created a separate Russophile student organization, called Vozrozhdenie (Rebirth). Ivan Parkanii, a top government official in the office of the president of the Czechoslovak Republic, was active in the Transcarpathian community.

Ukrainian community life was to be found not only in Prague, but in other cities of Czechia as well. Many Ukrainians were employed as factory workers in Plzeň, where the cultural·organization "Sich" was active. Many interned Ukrainian soldiers (who later became immigrants) spent time in the tuberculosis hospital in the small town of Zasmuky, near Kolin; some are buried there. The second-largest and most important Ukrainian center in Czechia was in the city of Poděbrady, home of the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy. In addition to the faculty and students at the Academy, a large percentage of the Ukrainians in Poděbrady were members of the intelligentsia. There was also a large number of school-aged youth; Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization, was active there, organizing a camp in 1926. A parish of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church existed for a short time in Czechia. The remains of several notable Ukrainians are kept in a common urn-chamber at the local cemetery in Poděbrady, including those of sculptor Mykhailo Brynsky, renowned benefactor Evhen Chykalenko, community leader Oleksander Mykhailovsky, and writer Valeria O'Connor-Villinska and her husband, statesman Oleksander Villynsky.

Other Ukrainian centers in Czechia include Pardubice, České Budějovice, and Hradec Kralové. In 1935, an authentic wooden Transcarpathian church was moved to a park near Hradec Kralové; it has become an architectural monument of museum quality. The cemetery in Pardubice houses a monument honoring Ukrainian freedom fighters, designed by O. Laturynska. In the cemeteries of Liberec, Deutsch-Gabel, Josefov, and Brno, in Moravia, there are monuments to the Ukrainian soldiers who lived in those cities in the early 1920s. (In Deutsch-Gabel, there is a large monument designed by M. Brynsky.)

Brno was the site of the third-largest Ukrainian settlement, where working divisions of the former Ukrainian Galician Army lived in the early 1920s. Afterward, a large student group, composed mainly of medical and veterinary students, was active in the city. There was also a Prosvita (Enlightenment Society) in Brno.

The city of Příbram was another large Ukrainian center: it was home of a mining academy, the academic society Kameniari (Stonecutters), and a good student choir. In Olomouc, in Moravia, Ukrainian Catholic students studied theology in the late 1930s.

A small number of Ukrainians lived in Moravská Ostrava, Terezín (also home of a working division of the former Ukrainian Galician Army), and Litoměřice, where the organization Selo-Spilka (Village-Union) existed for a short time.

The Ukrainian Community in Czechia, 1939–1945

Czechoslovakia experienced difficult times in the spring of 1938. Under pressure from Nazi Germany, Prague relinquished a part of its territory that was settled primarily by ethnic Germans. The country also agreed to the widespread autonomy of Slovakia and Transcarpathian Ukraine. Some intellectual forces and administration specialists moved to Transcarpathia; the Ukrainian Free University prepared to resettle in Khust; and a diplomatic representation of the Carpatho-Ukrainian government, headed by Vinkentii Shandor, was established at the central government in Prague. However, these developments during the brief existence of the Carpatho-Ukrainian state did not significantly affect the situation of the Ukrainian community in Czechia. The Germans occupied Czech territory in March 1939, creating a Czech and Moravian protectorate. In conjunction with the simultaneous

Hungarian occupation of Carpatho-Ukraine, Transcarpathian activists, participants in the anti-Hungarian struggle, a number of students, and many government officials, including President Avhustyn Voloshyn, migrated to Czechia. Numbering between seven hundred and eight hundred, they did not find it difficult to integrate into the existing Ukrainian immigration. Many of them were former Czechoslovak citizens, and were consequently able to find employment.

The situation of Ukrainians in the protectorate improved progressively. The government tolerated some cultural activity, but political work that could be deemed contrary to German goals was restricted. Among the groups that continued their work were the Ukrainian Free University, the Ukrainian secondary school, the Museum of the Freedom Struggle of Ukraine, and the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy (which was now known as the Ukrainian Technical Institute and provided education by correspondence). The Ukrainske Natsionalne Obiednannia (Ukrainian National Union), unifying Ukrainian groups in all of Greater Germany, took the place of the various former community, cultural, and professional organizations in Czechia. The pro-Hetman organization Ukrainska Hromada (Ukrainian Community) was also legalized on Czech territory. The Ukrainska Dramatychna Studiia (Ukrainian Drama Studio) was active in 1941, under the directorship of Yurii A. Sheregii. The nationalistic journal *Proboiem* and the newspaper *Nastup* (The Attack) continued to appear in Prague until 1943. Some Ukrainians, however, were repressed during this period, and some collaborated with the Czech underground.

In 1944, new refugees from Ukraine, who were fleeing the Soviet invasion, began to arrive in the country. For the majority, however, their stay in Czechia was only temporary: With the occupation of the country by the Soviet army in 1945, there was a large exodus of Ukrainians to the western zones of neighboring Germany. The total number of immigrants and their children who remained in Czechia in the end was between two thousand and three thousand.

After 1945

The Ukrainian population in Czechia grew with the addition of new refugees from Transcarpathia, among whom were those who had served in the Czechoslovak army during the war (in the brigade of General Ludvik Svoboda) and had a right to remain as citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic. Joining them were Ukrainians from Eastern Slovakia, who were able to find better jobs and residences in former German cities and villages. The majority settled not in ethnic enclaves, but as individual families in Czech neighborhoods. Many of the youth entered into mixed marriages. In the years 1945–50, there were approximately five thousand Ukrainians in Prague, and some twenty thousand on all Czech lands. Several thousand Volhynian Czechs from the Ukrainian SSR and a small group of Ukrainian peasants from Romania (numbering some five hundred) migrated to Czechia. They created more compact settlements in the areas of Tichov and Znojmo and in the city of Chomutov, where a colony of Transcarpathian immigrants from the Romanian Banat exists to this day. The official censuses reported the following numbers of Ukrainians in Czechia over the years: 19,500 in 1950; 21,500 in 1961; 16,500 in 1970; 15,000 in 1980; 8,500 in 1990.

The postwar, Soviet-influenced Czechoslovak government halted the activity of practically all Ukrainian organizations. Only the Ukrainian Catholic parish continued to exist (in 1950 it was forcibly converted to Orthodoxy), and the Ukrainskyi Muzei (Ukrainian Museum, formerly the Muzei Vyzvolnoi Borotby Ukrainy (Museum of the Freedom Struggle of Ukraine), was active until 1948. The Russophile student organization Vozrozhdenie was able to develop for a short period; in 1946–8, it published the journal *Koster* (Woodpile). Ukrain-

ian activists were persecuted under the pretext of "bourgeois nationalism;" among those arrested were Volodymyr Birchak, Mykola Halahan, and Valentyn Sadovsky. The authorities were especially interested in Carpatho-Ukrainian political activists; they arrested, among others, Mykola Dolynai, Stepan Klochurak, and Avhustyn Voloshyn (the last rector of the Ukrainian Free University).

Although there was no organized Ukrainian life in postwar Czechia, some activities did continue. There was a choir at the church in Prague – the Choir of Saint Volodymyr – and some events continued to be held in Karlovy Vary. Commemorations of the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko took place annually, as did Ukrainian balls; concerts were held infrequently. The network of cultural organizations in Priashiv (Prešov)[4] was not allowed to spread to Czechia. Oleksander Prykhodko and Platonida Rossinevych-Shchurovska directed a well-known Ukrainian choir.

In the area of scholarly activity, Ivan Borkovsky was engaged in archeological research in Prague. In linguistics, Ivan Zilynsky and later Ivan Pankevych were conducting research at the department of Slavistics and Rusystics at the university and at the Czech Academy of Sciences, in Prague. The two scholars produced a group of Ukrainists, including Konstantyn and Zenaida Genyk-Berezovsky, Mykola Zatovkaniuk, and Orest Zilynsky. Translations of the works of Soviet Ukrainian authors appeared in the Czech language. A wealth of archival materials can be found in the Prague "Klymentinum."

Ukrainians who were suspected of, among other things, ties with the underground in Ukraine and in exile (as was Reverend Pavlo Huchko's group in 1947) were arrested. Ukrainians lived in isolation, and their assimilation was taken for granted. The process of assimilation was accelerated by the Orthodox Church, which was Ukrainian only by virtue of the nationality of its faithful. While the church received autocephaly from Moscow, it remained under Russian influence. The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Prague, which served all Czechia, was reestablished in 1968 after the Dubcek "revolution." The Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia consisted of two eparchies in Czechia (the metropolitan seat in Prague and a diocese in Olomouc) and more than ten parishes. In addition to Ukrainians, the membership of the church includes Czechs and Russians. The Primate of the Church, Metropolitan Dorotei Fylyp, from Transcarpathia, has his headquarters in Prague.

Ukrainians from Priashiv and Transcarpathia became absorbed in Czech economic and political life. Some served in the army, and a few achieved high posts. Vasyl Biliak was among the most ideologically conservative of the members of Czechoslovakia's Communist Party Politburo. Vasyl Mohoryta, from Transcarpathia, headed the Czechoslovak Communist Party during the critical months of the "velvet revolution," when authority was handed over to the democrats. Some Ukrainians belonged to the "Khartia 77" movement.

Ukrainian Community Life on Czech Territory Today

One cannot speak of a distinct religious, cultural, educational, professional, political, and social life among Ukrainians in Czechia today. However, the Hromadianskyi Forum Ukraintsiv u Chekhii (Citizens' Forum of Ukrainians in Czechia), which had been established in late 1989, served as the foundation for the formation in 1990 in Prague of several Ukrainian organizations. They include the Obiednannia Ukraintsiv u Chekhii (Union of Ukrainians in Czechia), headed by Bohdan Zilynsky; the Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Likariv Chekho-Slovachchyny (Association of Ukrainian Physicians of Czechoslovakia), headed by Yaroslav Babiuk; and the Spilka Studentiv Ukrainistyky (Union of Students of Ukrainistics). Czechs with Transcarpathian ties, together with several Transcarpathians, founded the Společnost

Pratelu Podkarpatske Rusi (Spilka Pryiateliv Pidkarpatskoi Rusi; Union of Friends of Subcarpathian Ruthenia), which led a quiet propaganda campaign to return the Transcarpathian oblast to the Czechoslovak Republic. The Czechoslovak Republican Party, headed by Miroslav Sladek, was especially active in this regard.

Notes

1 Translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.
2 As a sign of protest against Polish chauvinism at Lviv University, six hundred Ukrainian students announced their withdrawal from that school and enrolled in universities in Vienna, Kraków, and Prague. *Ed.*
3 Ukrainian Catholics were also known as Greek Catholics, a term introduced by the Austrian Empire in 1774 to distinguish Ukrainians from Roman Catholics who belonged to the Western, or Latin, rite. Ukrainians were called "Greek" Catholics because they accepted Christianity from the Greeks as opposed to the Romans and belonged to the Byzantine, or Eastern, rite. See Rev. George Fedoriw, *History of the Church in Ukraine*, trans. Petro Krawchuck (Toronto: Saint Sophia Religious Association of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada, 1983), 178. *Ed.*
4 The Ukrainian ethnic territory of Prešov in eastern Slovakia is known, in Ukrainian, as Priashiv, Priashivshchyna, or the Priashiv region. The Ukrainian name *Priashiv* is used throughout this article. *Ed.*

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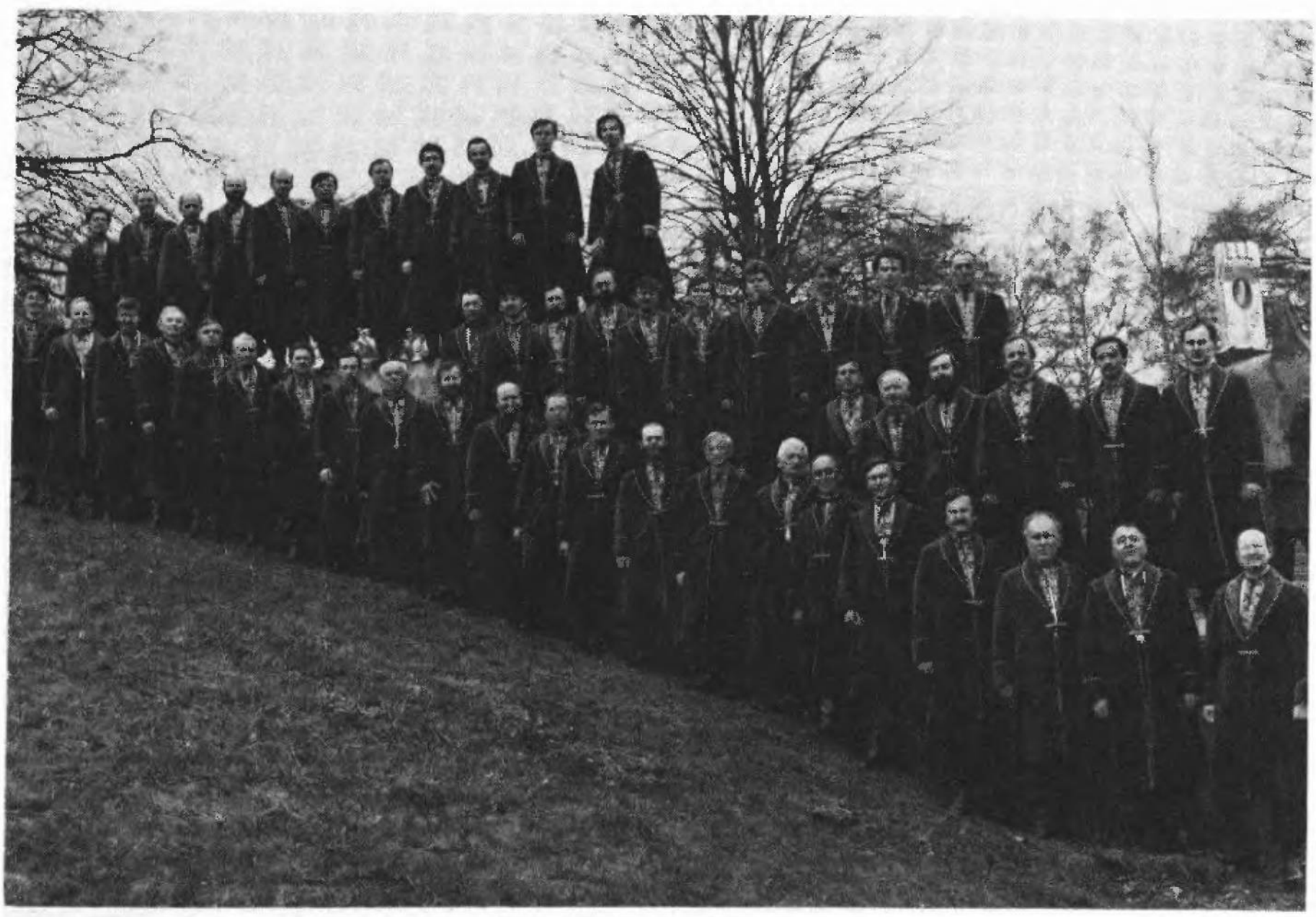
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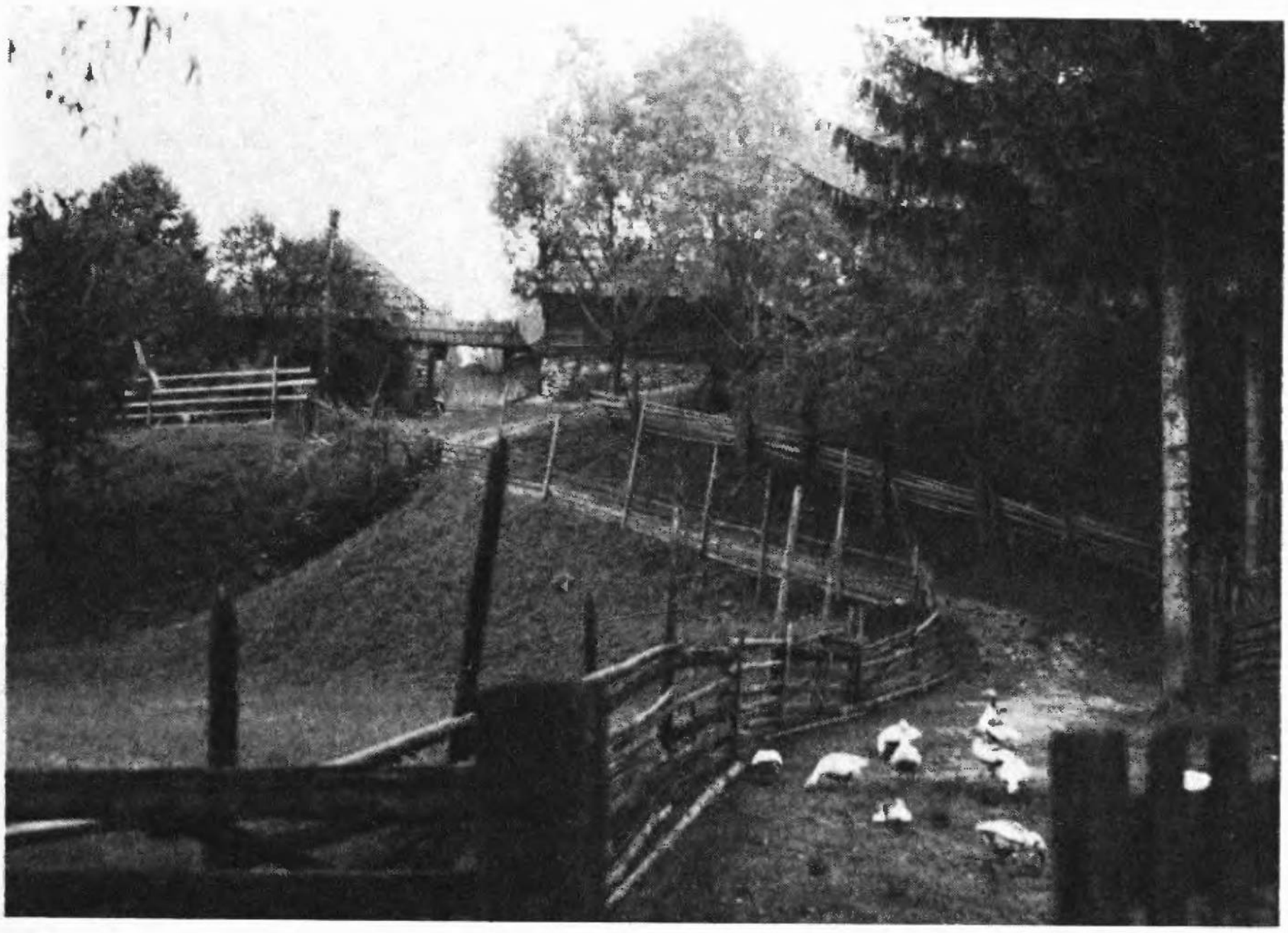
Holiday of Ukrainian Culture in Svidník, Czechoslovakia. Photo by Yu. Vashko, *Svoboda* archives.



The Ukrainian male choir Zhuravli, from Poland. Courtesy of Myroslav Truchan.



Ukrainian graduates of the lyceum (secondary school) in Legnica, Poland, with their instructors, 1988. Photo by Stefan Juszczak, Technik Fotograf. Courtesy of Myroslav Truchan.



A Hutsul farmstead in Suceava County, Romania. Courtesy of John Luchechko.



The iconostasis of the Ukrainian Church in the village of Ruscova, Maramures County, Romania. Courtesy of John Luchechko.



Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky (center, with cane) visits Ukrainians in Vienna, Austria, shortly after his release from exile in Russia, 1917. Courtesy of Wasyl Lencyk.



The iconostasis of Saint Barbara's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Vienna, Austria. Fotohaus Westmüller, Inh. H. Kunasz. Courtesy of Serhij Naklowicz.



Participants of the first Congress of Ukrainians in Belgium, members of Ukrainian youth organizations Plast and SUM, 1948. Phot' Artis. Courtesy of Mykola Kohut.



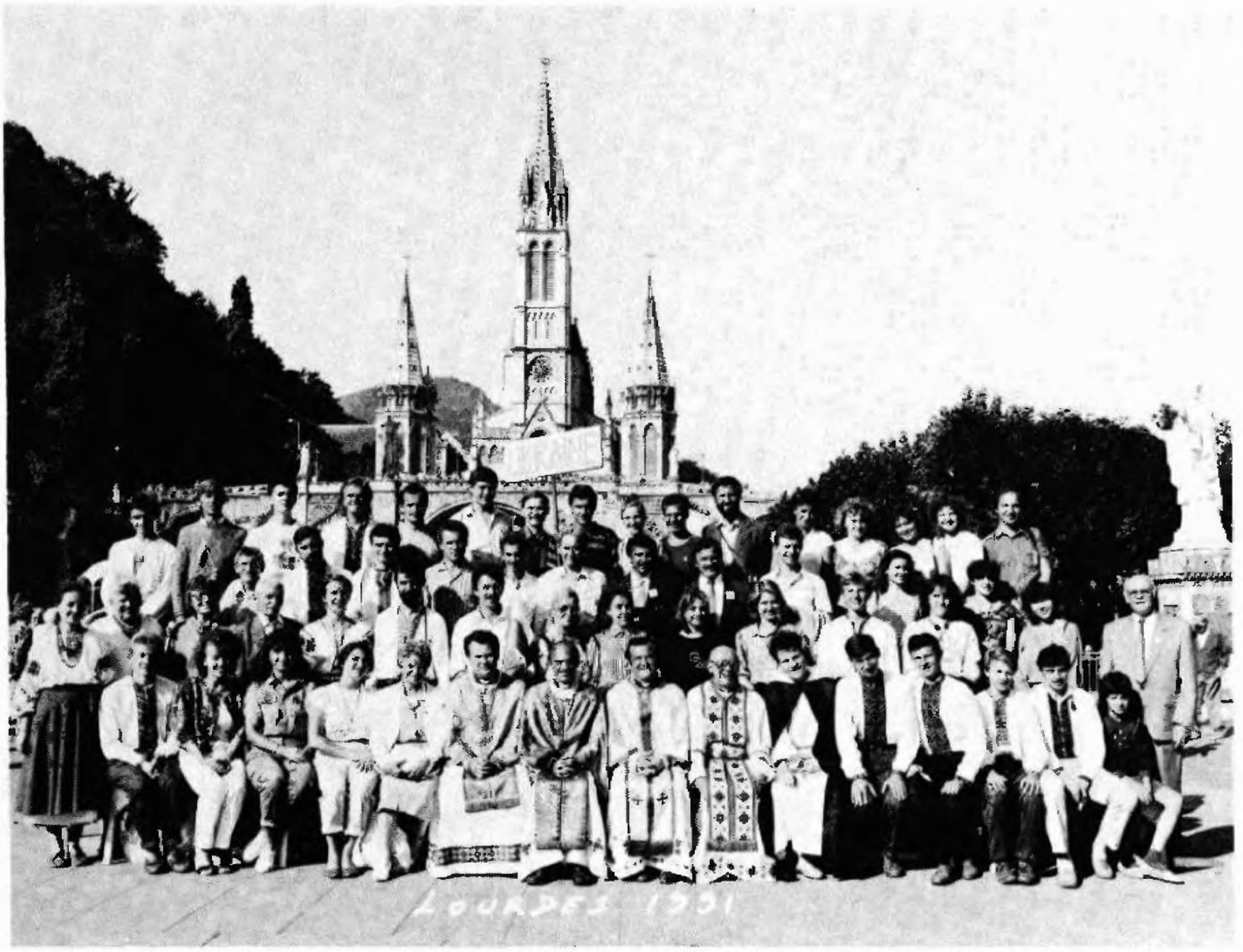
Early Ukrainian immigrants employed in the coal mines in Belgium. Foto Bibissioh. Courtesy of Mykola Kohut.



Ukrainian school at the Orthodox Church in Paris, 1930s. Courtesy of Arkadii Zhukovsky.



Dedication of "Ukraine Street" in Toulouse, France. Courtesy of Arkadii Zhukovsky.



Ukrainian pilgrims from an independent Ukraine pose in front of the Basilica of the Rosary in Lourdes, France, 1991. *Svoboda* archives.



Ukrainian mixed choir performing at the German conservatory in honor of the visit to Germany of His Eminence Yosyf Cardinal Slipy, 1965. Courtesy of Wolodymyr Maruniak.



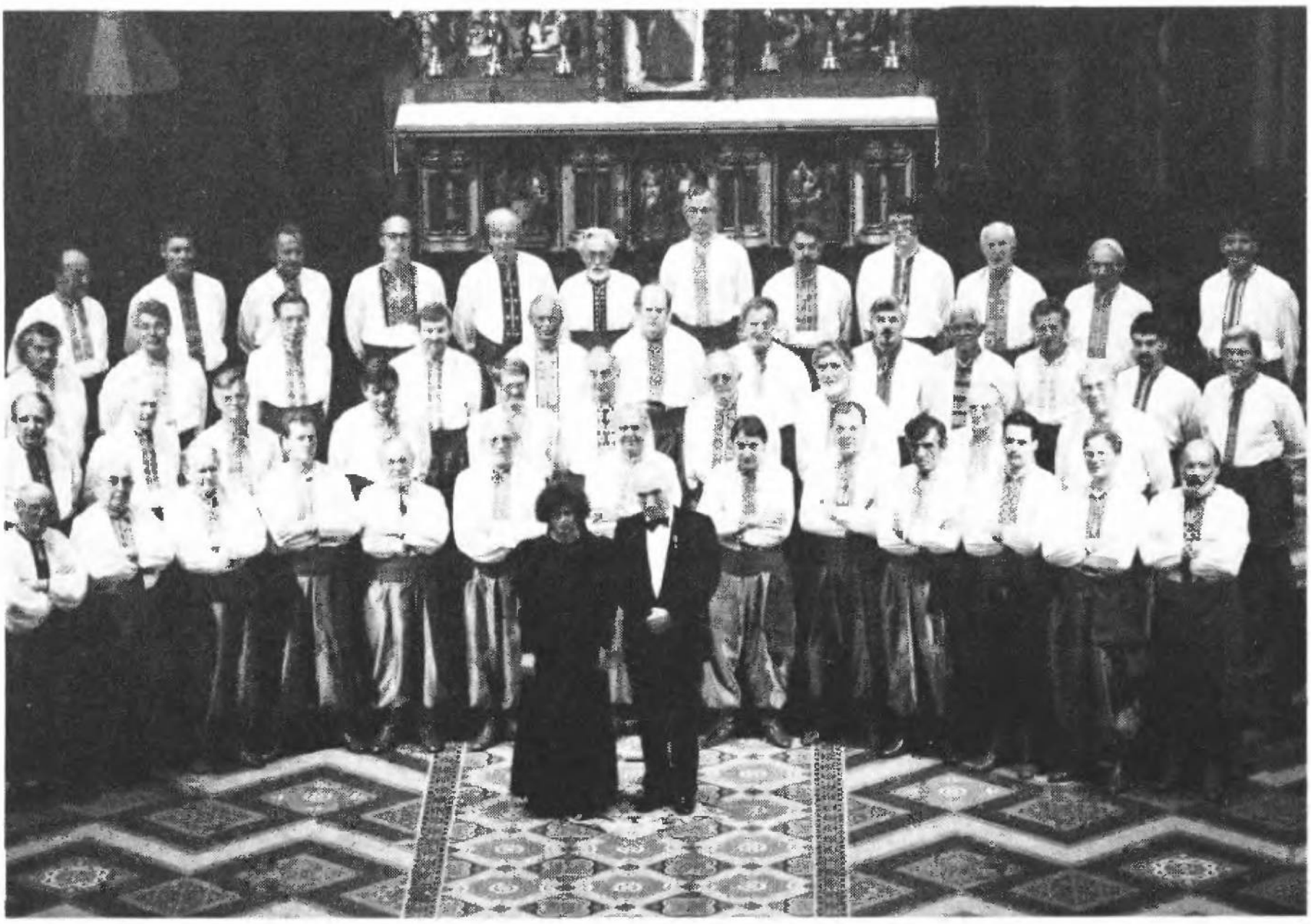
Conferral of Honorary Degrees at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, Germany. Courtesy of Wolodymyr Maruniak.



Ukrainians at an audience with Pope John Paul II, 1987. Servizio Fotografico, *L'Osservatore Romano*, Cittá del Vaticano, *Svoboda* archives.



His Holiness Pope John Paul II greets Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky, Rome, 1988.



Byzantine Choir of Utrecht, Holland, composed of Dutch men singing in Ukrainian. Dr. Myroslav Antonovych, conductor. *Svoboda* archives.



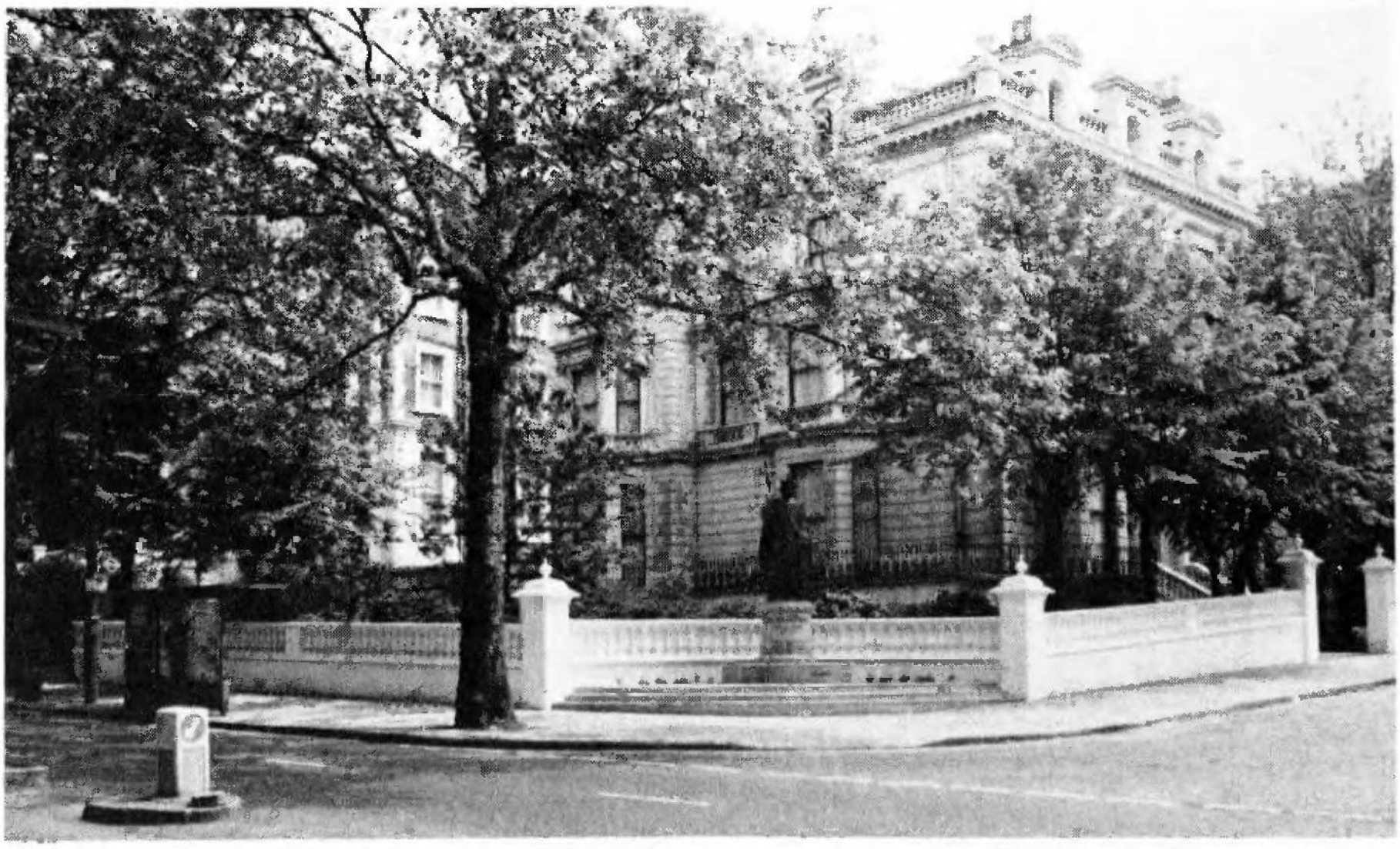
Ukrainians in Spain demonstrate in support of freedom for Ukraine, Madrid, 1980. *Ya*, Madrid, November 12, 1980. Courtesy of Nestor Romanyk.



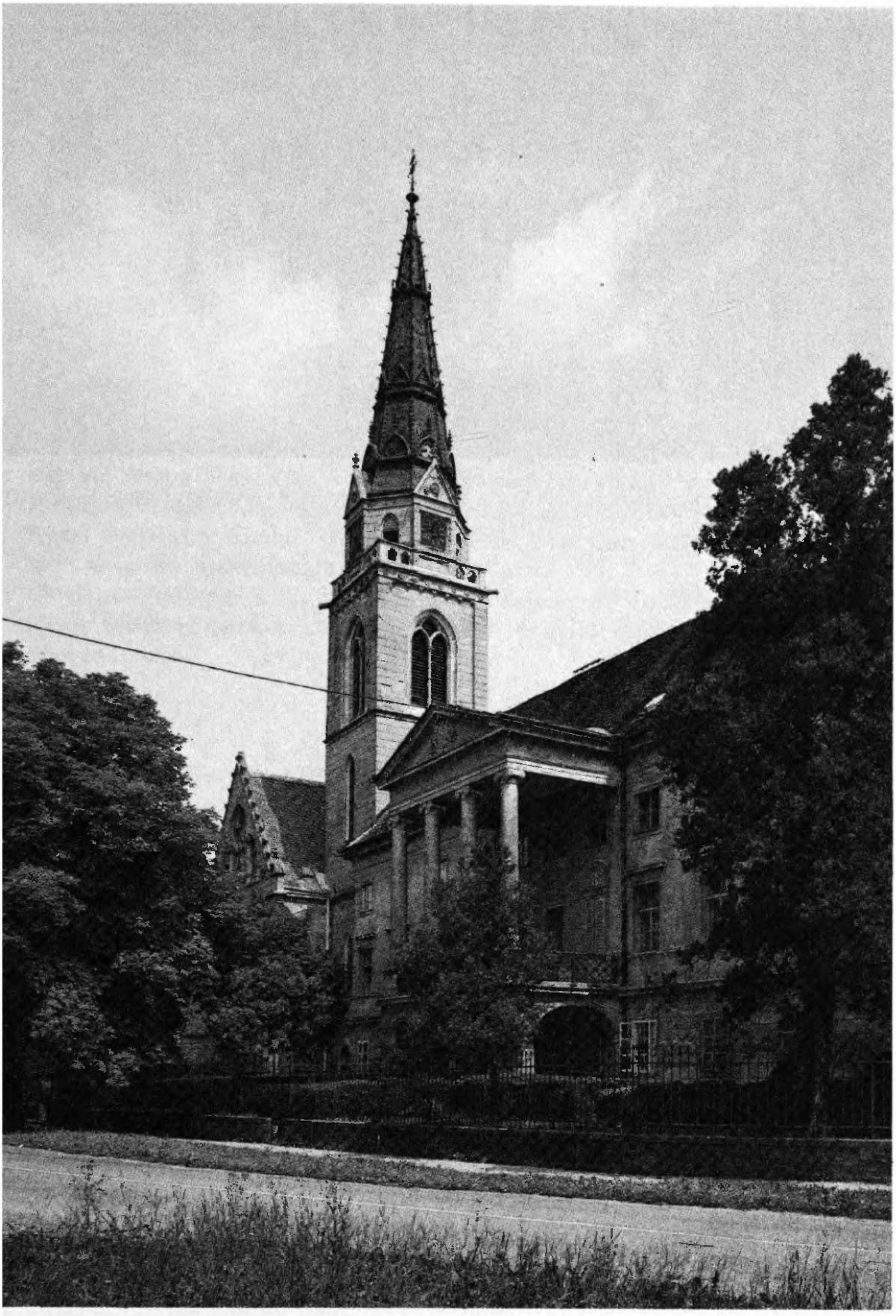
Christmas Eve Supper in the Ukrainian community in Stockholm, Sweden, 1949. Courtesy of Bohdan Skobowytsh-Okolot.



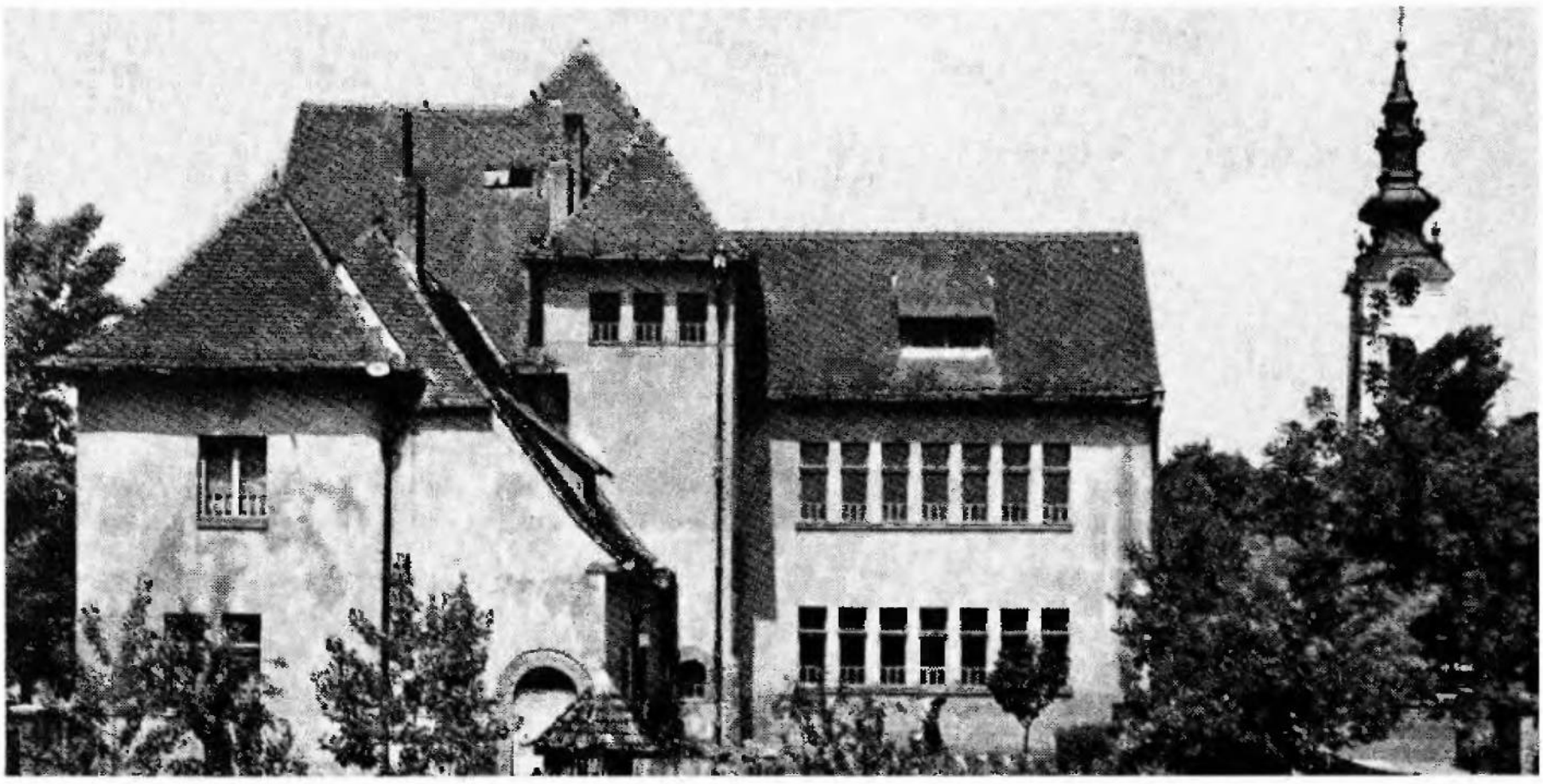
Ukrainian performers at the Llangollen International Eisteddfod, Wales, United Kingdom, 1983.
Svoboda archives.



The Saint Volodymyr Monument, consecrated in May 1988 by the heads of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches, and the building of the Ukrainian Religious Society of Saint Sophia, in London, England.
Courtesy of Marta Jenkala.



Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, in Kryževci, Yugoslavia. Courtesy of Wolodymyr Nota.



Elementary school in Ruski Krstur, Yugoslavia. Courtesy of Wolodymyr Nota.

UKRAINIANS–RUTHENIANS IN THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Currently, there are three categories of Ukrainians in the Slovak Republic (popularly known as Slovakia):

1 Ukrainians scattered throughout Slovak territories, mainly in the cities, who settled in the country at various points in time and from various regions of Ukraine. Because of their small number and the fact that they are dispersed throughout Slovakia, they have not created a typical immigrant community. Nevertheless, a minimal organized community life did exist between the two world wars in the larger cities of Slovakia, notably Bratislava and Košice, as a result of the work of political immigrants. Eventually, organized life gravitated toward the larger Ukrainian centers in Czechia, such as Prague, Brno, and Poděbrady, and toward nearby Carpatho-Ukraine.
2 Transcarpathian Ukrainians, especially those living in Priashiv, who settled in Slovakia as workers and civil servants between the two world wars and, in even greater numbers, after the Second World War. A significant portion of the ethnic Ukrainian population of Priashiv thus became an integral part of the Slovak environment, while others from that region migrated to Czechia. The Transcarpathian Ukrainians in Slovakia are the group most susceptible to denationalization.
3 Ukrainians–Ruthenians,[1] the original settlers in the area of Priashiv proper, who live primarily in villages that were all-Ukrainian at first, as well as in adjacent, ethnically mixed, cities and towns.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

Individual Ukrainians have lived in Slovakia outside the Ukrainian ethnic territory for centuries. Students from Transcarpathia came to Slovakia to study philosophy and theology, especially in the city of Trnava. Liturgical and religious books for Transcarpathian Ukrainians were published in that city. The Slovaks and Ukrainians, living together under the Hungarian crown, maintained close cultural ties and fraternal relations as Slavs. The cultural rebirths experienced by the two nationalities in the mid-nineteenth century were mutually complementary. Some Slovak activists were favorably disposed toward the literary movement among Ruthenians; the well-known Transcarpathian political figure Adolf Dobriansky was an active leader of the Slovak center in Turčiansky Svätý Martin and protected Slovak interests in the Hungarian Parliament. Many Ukrainians served in the army or were employed as civil servants or ordinary laborers on Slovak lands. The famous *drotari* (wiremakers) from the territory of present-day Slovakia were known for their wandering trade throughout Transcarpathia and beyond. Ukrainian and Slovak folklore and culture in Eastern Slovakia had a considerable reciprocal influence on each other. The Slovak influence left its mark on the Ukrainian dialect spoken in the area.

In 1919, some soldiers of the Ukrainian Galician Army, after passing through Slovakia en route to the internment camps in Czechia, reorganized themselves into working divisions of the Ukrainian Brigade and became employed in many of the country's cities, including the Slovak cities of Bratislava, Žilina, Trencanske Teplice, Nitra, Komárno, and Košice. After the dissolution of the working camps, some of the former soldiers returned to Galicia, but many went to study or to settle in localities with larger concentrations of

immigrants in Czechia and Transcarpathia. Col. Hnat Stefaniv was the commander of the working camps in 1920–3.

A small number of Ukrainian immigrants, some of whom studied in the country, settled in Slovakia in the 1920s. Bratislava was the home of a Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society as well as of associations of Ukrainian physicians and engineers, among whose members was the well-known activist-physician Viktor Pisniachevsky. Evhen Perfetsky, from the Kholm region, taught Slavic history, and the Galician Muscophile Yosyf Markov taught the history of Slavic law at the university in Bratislava. Immigrant students belonged to the Spilka Studentiv Ukraintsiv i Bilorusiv (Union of Ukrainian and Belorussian Students), and Transcarpathians had their branch of the Soiuz Pidkarpatskykh Ukrainskykh Studentiv (Union of Subcarpathian Ukrainian Students). The number of immigrants – those who were not citizens of Slovakia – did not exceed one thousand.

In 1939, in conjunction with the Hungarian occupation, many political refugees from Transcarpathia migrated to Slovakia. Among them was Juliian Revai, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the autonomous Carpatho-Ukrainian state, which existed within Czechoslovakia in 1938–9. The Mukachivska Torhovelna Akademiia (Mukachiv Trade Academy) was evacuated to Bratislava, where it continued its work in 1939–40; its director was Avhustyn Shtefan, former Minister of Education of Carpatho-Ukraine.

Because of its proximity to Ukrainian Transcarpathia, the city of Košice played a major role for Ukrainians: in 1787–92, it was the seat of the Ukrainian Catholic Vicariate before the creation of the Priashiv Eparchy; in 1849–52, it was the administrative center of the autonomous "Ruthenian district"; in 1919–38, it was the seat of the High Tribunal of the judicial district (Transcarpathia also fell under its jurisdiction); it was home of the Ukrainian–Ruthenian radio-editorial office and the Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society. In 1938–9, when Košice was part of Hungary, Ukrainian radio programs were broadcast from a station in Banská Bystrica.

Ukrainians in Slovakia since 1939

In the years of the "autonomous Slovak state" (1938–48), the Ukrainian population living in Slovakia was composed of the indigenous Ukrainian population of Priashiv, along with Ukrainian political immigrants from Galicia, Bukovyna, Eastern Ukraine, and Hungarian-occupied Transcarpathia. The total number of all Ukrainians in Slovakia at this time was smaller than it had been in 1930 because of the incorporation in March 1939 of the eastern part of the former Slovak territory into Hungary (including approximately thirty-five thousand Ukrainians). In 1945, the political boundary between Slovakia and Ukraine was restored, with minor changes, to what it had been before 1938.

The number of Ukrainians in the Priashiv region and in the rest of Slovakia declined because, in 1947, approximately 12,000 Ukrainians migrated to Ukraine, and there was also a significant migration to Czechia and Moravia, especially to the former German lands in the Sudetenland. Internal migration occurred as well – many Ukrainians moved from the Priashiv region to Slovak cities. Official postwar statistics give the following numbers of Ukrainians in Slovakia over the years: 48,200 in 1950; 35,400 in 1961; 42,150 in 1970; 39,800 in 1980; 30,800 in 1991 (includes both Ukrainians and Ruthenians).

The progressive and significant decline in the size of the Ukrainian-Ruthenian ethnic minority in Slovakia, as documented in the census figures, cannot be attributed solely to migration processes. It can also be explained by the denationalization of the population or a calculated manipulation of the state census, or, more probably, both. It should be noted that the overall numbers did not change with the creation of two separate official categories of

national identification – Ukrainian and Ruthenian – a move that had been demanded by proponents of neo-Ruthenianism.[2]

Historians, sociologists, and scholars of ethnic relations in the Priashiv region claim that entire all-Ukrainian villages were listed in the censuses as Slovak. In addition, Ukrainians who migrated from the villages to the cities in search of employment, as well as newly arrived immigrants, experienced mass denationalization in the schools and were under social-psychological pressure to distance themselves from anything Ukrainian, which had a Soviet connotation. Slovak chauvinists threatened to deport "disloyal" Ukrainians beyond the Uzh River if they did not "like" Slovakia. Such psychological pressure achieved its desired affect. Another negative influence involved the so-called reoptants, Ukrainians who had migrated to Ukraine in 1947 and, disillusioned with economic and living conditions under the Soviets, returned to Czechoslovakia in the mid-1950s under the pretext of being Slovak nationals who wished to reaffirm their Slovak ethnicity. They deliberately reported themselves as Slovak.

According to the census of 1930, the following administrative districts included a significant percentage of Ukrainians-Ruthenians in proportion to the total population: Bardejov, 34 percent; Medzilaborce, 73 percent; Sabinov, 18 percent; Snina, 60 percent; and Stropkov, 55 percent. (Since 1930, administrative districts have been redefined, with the result that no district contains more than 50 percent Ukrainians-Ruthenians.) In 1930, many communities still had more than five hundred Ukrainians-Ruthenians, constituting the majority of the population in those villages: Bardejov district, five communities; Levoča district, one community; Medzilaborce district, five communities; Sabinov district, seven communities; Snina district, twelve communities; Spišská Nová Ves district, two communities; Spišská Stará Ves district, one community; Stará Lubovňa district, five communities; Stropkov district, one community.

The majority of the communities where Ukrainians-Ruthenians reside are small villages with populations of less than five hundred. In the last thirty to forty years, the number of inhabitants in such villages has declined, in large part because of the mass migration of youth to the cities. In some areas, elementary schools and youth clubs have been closed, and collective agricultural holdings have been consolidated.

In addition to the census, population data are also collected by sociologists, ethnologists, and community activists working among Ukrainians. Unofficial research on the Ukrainian population of Eastern Slovakia conducted by the Slovak National Council toward the end of the 1960s found that 98,000 Ukrainians resided in 206 out of a total of 250 villages. The official figure of 33,000 Ukrainians in the Priashiv area in 1961 represents less than one-third of the actual number. There is evidence to show that, even today, there are roughly 110,000–120,000 Ukrainians-Ruthenians in the Priashiv area, some 80,000 of whom are officially listed as Slovak in the census.

According to M. Tomashivsky, who researched ethnic relations in Eastern Slovakia, Ukrainians-Ruthenians were present in a larger territory in the 1900s than in 1960 or in the 1990s. That territory extended to a width of 31.1 miles (50 kilometers) on the east (the present-day boundary between Slovakia and Ukraine), where there was a large concentration of Ukrainians, then narrowed in the west to 15.5–18.6 miles (25–30 kilometers); it reached 37.3 miles (60 kilometers) in the valleys of the Toplá and Ondava rivers, and narrowed to 24.8 miles (40 kilometers) west of Bardejov. There were separate settlements farther to the west, in the Dunajec valley, while the most distant ethnic island was the village of Osturnia, near the Tatra Mountains, where Ukrainian settlements were located close to German and Polish communities. The Ukrainian ethnic boundary passed nearby cities that had a Slovak-

Hungarian-German population mix – Humenné, Bardejov, Sabinov, Stará Lubovňa, Kežmarok. At that time, Priashiv was farther from the Ukrainian ethnic territory, even though it was always the religious and cultural center of Ukrainians-Ruthenians. Later, cities such as Stropkov, Snina, Medzilaborce, and Svidník were found on Ukrainian ethnic territory. Slovakianized Ukrainian Catholics, sometimes called "Sotaks," who constituted a transitional Slovak–Ukrainian group from an ethno-linguistic standpoint, lived in the vicinity of such Slovak cities as Sobrance and Michalovce. In addition, Ukrainians lived in separate enclaves to the west and south of Gibraltovce, southwest and northwest of Sabinov, and in still smaller ethnic islands in the vicinity of Sobrance.

This ethnic map changed significantly in the last fifty years. The Sotaks merged with a Slovak ethnos and adopted a Slovak national consciousness while preserving the Ukrainian Catholic religion; many of their enclaves disappeared or were noticeably diminished. A similar fate befell the compact Ukrainian territory along the present-day border with Poland, where a solid Ukrainian ethnos prevailed until 1945, but changed as a result of forceful government intervention.

Ukrainian ethnic lands and settlements in the Priashiv area are now almost all located in the mountains and narrow river valleys; the lowlands, where Ukrainians-Ruthenians probably lived in the past, are currently populated almost exclusively by Slovaks or Slovakianized Ukrainians and a few Hungarians.

Agriculture, including non-intensive cultivation and animal husbandry, was the mainstay of the Priashiv region. The population continually endured the lowest standard of living; agricultural landholdings were very small, and the rural inhabitants were impoverished. As a result, toward the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, this region experienced the highest emigration rates to North America. In fact, the nucleus of the Transcarpathian immigration in America (roughly 60 percent) comprises emigrants from the Priashiv region and their descendants.

Religious Life

The Priashiv area was traditionally Ukrainian Catholic (also called Greek Catholic) since the seventeenth century. It was here that a union with Rome (albeit an unsuccessful one) was introduced thirty years before the Uzhhorod Union of 1646. In 1816, a separate Ukrainian Catholic eparchy, with a seat in Priashiv, was created from the western parishes of the Mukachiv Eparchy. In the 1920s, under the influence of Russian immigrants and, in part, of returning expatriates who had joined the Orthodox Church while in the United States, several thousand Ukrainian Catholics converted to Orthodoxy. The center of their religious life was the monastery in the village of Ladymyrova. In 1940, there were nearly twelve thousand Ukrainian Orthodox in Priashiv, organized into nineteen parishes.

Toward the end of the 1940s, the Czechoslovak government was in favor of Ukrainian Catholics' converting to the Orthodox faith, and, in an improvised sobor-convention of priests and faithful in Priashiv in April 1950, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was liquidated and converted to Orthodoxy. Both of the Catholic bishops – Pavlo Hoidych and Vasyl Hopko – were arrested. Ukrainian Catholics either continued their activities underground or quietly merged with the Roman Catholic Church. It was only in 1968 that the Ukrainian Catholic Church was revived; since then, it has been openly active. Today, the official head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia is Bishop Yan Hirka, who follows a policy of Slovakianization among his faithful. In 1992, the Reverend Milan Khavtur, a local Ruthenian, was named Auxiliary Bishop.

According to the 1991 census, there are roughly 188,000 Ukrainian Catholics in Czechoslovakia; of these, approximately fifteen thousand to twenty thousand live outside the Priashiv region. The majority consider themselves Slovak and use the Slovak language in their church services. Ukrainian Catholics have their own seminary and several monasteries, and they publish the monthlies *Slovo* (The Word) and *Blahovisnyk* (The Herald), in Slovak and Ukrainian.

There are approximately 40,000 members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the Priashiv region, half of whom consider themselves Slovak, and the other half, Ukrainian-Ruthenian. The remainder of the Orthodox in Czechoslovakia reside in the Czech territory. The total number of Orthodox faithful in the Czech and Slovak republics together, according to the 1991 census, is 53,500. There are two eparchies in Eastern Slovakia: in Priashiv, which is primarily Ukrainian-Ruthenian, and in Michalovce, which is Slovak. The Most Reverend Nykolai Kotsvar is Bishop in Priashiv; the Most Reverend Yoan is Bishop in Michalovce. The Orthodox faithful have had a theological department in Priashiv since 1950. They publish the monthlies *Zapovit sv. Kyryla i Metodiia* and *Odkaz sv. Cyryla a Metodeja* (The Testament of Saints Cyril and Methodius) in the Ukrainian and Slovak languages, respectively, with some Russian articles. In 1992, the two monthlies were merged into a single publication. In 1990–1, a struggle between Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox over the ownership of church objects resulted in the majority of the churches being returned to the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Education and Professional Life

The greatest achievement of the cultural rebirth of Priashiv's Ukrainians-Ruthenians after 1945 was in the area of education. Native-language education has traditionally been a top priority in this region, particularly because previous regimes, which strove toward denationalization, had prohibited formal all-Ukrainian/Ruthenian schools. After 1945, the efforts of the entire intelligentsia, both clerical and lay, were consequently focused on education.

Within a few years, elementary, secondary, and technical education had become widely developed. In 1947, there were 11 Ukrainian–Russian kindergartens, 272 basic elementary schools, 25 junior (so-called citizens') secondary schools, and 5 senior secondary schools, with a total enrollment of close to twenty-two thousand students.

The language of instruction in the majority of the secondary schools was Russian, whereas in the elementary schools it was mixed, with instruction given in the local dialects as well as Russian. In some places, the Ukrainian literary language was used. The Slovak national authorities had a separate division for Ukrainian schools.

In the mid-1950s, the number of Ukrainian schools was still quite impressive (254), but by the end of the decade and especially in the 1960s and 1970s, the majority of schools began to use the Slovak language, sometimes under the pretext that they were Slovak-Ukrainian. In 1980, only twenty-five all-Ukrainian schools remained; in ninety-two of the basic schools, the Ukrainian language remained optional. Of the ten Ukrainian secondary schools in existence in 1955, only the Priashiv secondary school remained in 1980; other schools continued their so-called Ukrainian classes with optional instruction in the Ukrainian language. This situation did not improve even after democratization, and Ukrainian education in the Priashiv region continues to decline.

Institutions such as the former Kulturna Spilka Ukrainskykh Trudiashchykh Chekhoslovachchyny (Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers in Czechoslovakia), now the Soiuz

Ukraintsiv-Rusyniv (Union of Ukrainians-Ruthenians), along with their regional and central organizations, sponsor educational programs.

Cultural Life

The Arts

The center of Ukrainian cultural life in Slovakia is the Union of Ukrainians-Ruthenians, known prior to the 1989 "velvet revolution" as the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers in Czechoslovakia. In 1970, the Cultural Union had approximately eleven thousand members; in 1992, the membership of the Union of Ukrainians-Ruthenians stood at eight thousand.

A large number of amateur groups, including choirs and folk ensembles, are active within this organization. They are all fairly popular and have the opportunity of performing at regional and national festivals, among the more important of which are the Sviato Kultury Rusyniv-Ukraintsiv ChSFR (The Festival of Ruthenian-Ukrainian Culture in Czechoslovakia), in Svidník, which draws more than a thousand performers and well over ten thousand spectators both from within Czechoslovakia and from abroad, and the annual festivals in Kamjonka, Bardejov, Medzilaborce, and Stashchyn.

The O. Dukhnovych Theater in Priashiv, which was known as the Ukrainskyi Natsionalnyi Teatr (Ukrainian National Theater) until 1990 and was the only professional theater in the world outside Ukraine, was for a long time the leading cultural achievement of the Ukrainian minority in Czechoslovakia. Founded in 1946 and housed in its own premises since 1961, the theater attracted talented youth and a number of experienced theater people and became known for its performances of both classical and modern works in Czechoslovakia as well as abroad. A former operetta group established the Piddukliankyi Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Ansambl (The Duklia Area Ukrainian National Ensemble) at the theater. An influx of new artists was drawn from the graduates of the Kyivskyi Teatralnyi Instytut imeny Karpenka Karoho (The Karpenko Karyi Kiev Theatrical Institute). Unfortunately, in 1990–1, the theater became de-Ukrainianized and was renamed the O. Dukhnovych Theater, while the Duklia Area Ukrainian National Ensemble became known as the Puls (The Pulse).

Ukrainian literature in the Priashiv region developed significantly after 1945. Although some literary figures wrote in Russian at first, the majority used the Ukrainian language from the start. Vasyl Grendzha-Donsky, Fedir Lazoryk, and Iryna Nevytska were among the latter. In the 1960s, there arose an entire school of young writers who wrote in Ukrainian, including Ivan Matsynsky, Mykhailo Shmaida, and Vasyl Zozuliak. A number of local Shestydesiatnyky (Sixtiers)[3] emerged in the field of poetry, literary studies, and literary criticism. Orest Zilynsky served as their intellectual catalyst.

Education in Ukrainian studies, especially folklore, ethnography, dialectology, history, and other areas of regional ethnography, also developed during the postwar period. Researchers published their writings in the *Naukovi Zbirnyky Muzeiu Ukrainskoi Kultury* (Scholarly Collections of the Museum of Ukrainian Culture), in Svidník, and in the *Naukovi Zapysky* (Scholarly Notes) of the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers in Czechoslovakia. Works of the older generation, including Mykola Molnar, Evhen Nedzilsky, Mykola Nervli, and Ivan Pankevych, appeared in these publications, as did those of younger scholars who received most of their education in the higher schools of learning in Ukraine.

A number of linguists, folklorists, and ethnographers researched the rich material of dialectology (V. Latta), tales (M. Hyriak), folk songs, and proverbs.

Considerable attention was focused on material culture, folk art, church architecture, and folk customs. The works of Transcarpathian authors of the past century were republished, as

were a series of historical sources. Historical research was conducted on the Priashiv region and Transcarpathia. Of special significance are the seminal works that appeared as a result of original research on Ukrainian–Czech–Slovak relations.

The research, collection, and exhibition activity of the Svidník Museum has made this establishment one of the finest Ukrainian museums of regional ethnography.

The Priashiv region is a unique Ukrainian land with a small ethnic minority that deserves not only thorough study but also the preservation and development of its regional culture. It is in an exceptional position to cultivate multi-Slavic cultural relations, and to promote the spiritual enrichment of neighboring peoples, the Slovak and Ukrainian nations.

The Media

Since the 1950s, the Ukrainian press in Slovakia has developed exclusively in the Ukrainian language. Publications have included the weekly *Nove Zhyttia* (The New Life); the popular illustrated monthly *Druzhno Vpered* (Forward in Friendship); and the literary and publicist bimonthly journal *Duklia*, which was among the leading progressive Ukrainian journals in the world. There were also religious publications, the children's magazine *Veselka* (The Rainbow), the nonperiodical *Repertuarni Zbirnyky* (Repertoire Collections), and a pedagogical supplement to *Druzhno Vpered* entitled *Shkola i Zhyttia* (School and Life). The Ukrainian division of the Slovak pedagogical publishing firm produced the annual *Narodnyi Kalendar* (National Calendar). The firm published about fifteen to twenty literary books and school textbooks in Ukrainian annually.

A high-quality Ukrainian radio program, active in Priashiv for many years, currently broadcasts twelve hours a week. A television program has appeared recently as well.

Social and Political Life

In 1945, Ukrainian villages in the Priashiv region were the first in the territory of Czechoslovakia to be freed from the Nazis. The Ukrainian-Ruthenian people viewed the arrival of the Soviet and Czechoslovak armies and their struggle with the Germans as their liberation. The majority of the local Ukrainian population were not loyal to the independent Slovak government in 1939–45 for several complex reasons, the most important of which was the blatant anti-Ukrainian policy of Slovak president Josyf Tiso in the Priashiv region. With the approach of the Soviet–German front, Ukrainians preferred to support the Slovak insurrection in the summer of 1944, and afterward, the Soviet partisans. A group of activists founded KRASNO, the Karpato-Ruskyi Soiuz Natsionalnoho Osvobozhdeniia (Carpatho-Ruthenian Union of National Liberation), in Priashiv in 1944 on a coalition basis. After the withdrawal of the Germans in March 1945, the Ukrainska Narodna Rada Priashivshchyny (Ukrainian National Council of the Priashiv Region) was founded, with Vasyl Karaman as president. The Council supported the unification of Transcarpathia, including Uzhhorod, with Soviet Ukraine, and, after some initial hesitation, demanded an autonomous status for itself within the framework of the Czechoslovak state.

Although Ukrainians-Ruthenians in the Priashiv region did not gain territorial autonomy, a process of cultural rebirth (in the areas of education, the press, culture, and the political organization of the population) did take place in the immediate postwar years. Ukrainians-Ruthenians were active in several non-Communist parties (there were Ukrainian sections in the Slovak Democratic Party and the Labor Party), but the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was also influential. Ukrainians were represented in the Parliament in Prague and in the Czech National Council.

After 1948, Ukrainian community life in the Priashiv region was subordinated to the Communist Party and its ideology, and the activity of the Ukrainian National Council of the Priashiv region was restricted (the organization was disbanded in 1952). Displays of local patriotism and positive orientation toward Ukraine were labeled "bourgeois nationalism." However, in the early 1950s, the Communist government of Czechoslovakia introduced a program of Ukrainization in an effort to do away with Russophilism (which was still prevalent among the region's intelligentsia) and the use of the Russian language by many institutions. Thus, the Party decided to do away with the linguistic confusion by promoting the Ukrainian literary language and national orientation: it recognized the population as Ukrainian and introduced the Ukrainian language into the local schools, the press and radio, and the theater. The process of Ukrainization, along with that of "Orthodoxation" and of collectivization of agriculture, was not popular. However, it was accepted by the majority of the intelligentsia, especially the new generation of students.

The process of "Ukrainization," which was ill-prepared and implemented through the use of radical methods, did more harm than good. At the same time, Ukrainian cultural activists who did not cooperate with the party system and dogma were persecuted. Nevertheless, some local Ukrainians were active in the Party and achieved high positions both within the country and abroad. (One example was that of Vasyl Biliak, who became a member of the Politburo of the Czechoslovak Party.)

Attempts to democratize Ukrainian life in the Priashiv region surfaced in 1968. The National Council of Priashiv was revived and the Ukrainian Catholic Church restored. However, these efforts were short-lived. After the Soviet invasion, a regime of repression continued, especially against the "bourgeois nationalists." Particular attention was paid to the special role that the Priashiv intelligentsia, especially members of the Shestydesiatnyky ("Sixtiers") movement, played as a bridge between the diaspora and the mainland. Ukrainian community life suffered further repressions for more than twenty years, and subtle Slovakianization policies were conducted in all areas, but especially in the realm of culture.

The situation changed with the "velvet revolution" in 1989. The processes under way in Prague and Bratislava echoed throughout Priashiv's Ukrainian community. There was a reaction against the official structures of community and cultural life. The Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers in Czechoslovakia was reorganized into the Soiuz Ukraintsiv-Rusyniv (Union of Ukrainians-Ruthenians), and its leadership was democratized. The structures of the press and radio were similarly transformed. Mykola Hyriak, who became a delegate to the Slovak National Council, was named President of the Union; he was succeeded by Viktor Koval in 1992. Ukrainians continued to bring the problems of the Ukrainian culture into the forefront, demanding a constitutional guarantee of minority rights. New organizations were founded, including educational, cultural, women's, professional and youth organizations (examples of the latter include Plast, Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi [Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization] and Soiuz Molodi Karpat [Union of Carpathian Youth]).

At the same time, a phenomenon developed that had a negative effect on the small Ukrainian national group in Slovakia – namely, a political "Rusynstvo," or "Ruthenianism." As opposed to cultural Ruthenianism, which treasures its local culture, folklore, ethnographic values, local dialects, and the preservation of the historic ethnic designation "Ruthenian," political Ruthenianism underscores the difference between the Ruthenian culture and nation and that which is mutually shared with the Ukrainian people. Taking advantage of the circumstances, a small, demogogically inclined group, which until then had not made itself heard in the cultural process, began to create its own organizations, take over existing

groups, and issue separate publications. The Rusynska Obroda (Ruthenian Renaissance), in Medzilaborce, and the Ukrainian National Theater, which became the O. Dukhnovych Theater, in Priashiv (whose repertoire is performed in Priashiv dialects or some mixture of the Ukrainian, Ruthenian, and Slovak languages) were among such groups.

The exponents of political Ruthenianism are Vasyl Turok and Mykhailo Bytsko. Having received a portion of the government funds designated for Ukrainian-Ruthenian cultural affairs, the Narodna Obroda (National Renaissance) began to publish a biweekly newspaper, *Narodni Novynky* (National News), and the monthly *Rusyn* (The Ruthenian). The movement has represented a denial of all the positive accomplishments of the Ukrainian minority in the cultural realm. Its activities are also influenced by outside anti-Ukrainian forces.

Notes

1 Some Ukrainians continue to refer to themselves as "Rusyny," or "Ruthenians," a word derived from the ancient name of Ukraine, "Rus'" (Ruthenia). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, nationally conscious Ukrainians in Western Ukraine began to call themselves "Ukrainians," a national name that the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the east had adopted because they considered the traditional name "Rusyn" too reminiscent of "Ruskyi" (Russian). Many Ukrainians who lived under foreign domination (both in the homeland and abroad) were called "Rusyny" or Ruthenians; some continued to use the name themselves, either because they preferred it or because they were not nationally conscious when the modern term "Ukraine" came into existence. See Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 307. *Ed.*

2 Proponents of the "Ruthenian" orientation maintained that, because there was no official "Ruthenian nationality" category in the censuses of 1953–69, many people who felt that they were Ruthenians could not declare themselves as such, and were instead identifying themselves as Slovaks. The result of the addition of the category "Ruthenian" was that approximately 17,000 people referred to themselves as Ruthenian and 14,000 as Ukrainian. To date, this was the lowest number of Ukrainians and Ruthenians ever recorded in Slovakia.

3 The Shestydesiatnyky were a new generation of writers, critics, and poets who emerged during the post-Stalin thaw and demanded, among other things, an end to the Party's meddling in art and literature. *Ed.*

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UKRAINIANS IN HUNGARY

Vasyl Markus[1]

Country Data

Official Name – Magyar Köztársaság (Republic of Hungary)

Geographic Location – Located in Eastern Europe, Hungary is bordered by Slovakia on the north; Ukraine and Romania on the east; Romania, Vojvodina, and Croatia on the south; and Slovenia and Austria on the west. It lies between 45°48′ and 48°40′ north latitude and 16°05′ and 22°55′ east longitude.

Area – 35,920 sq. mi., or 93,033 sq km

Population Density – 286.8 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 110.7 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Budapest

Form of Government – Unitary multiparty republic with one legislative house, the National Assembly (394 seats)

Official Language – Hungarian

Population – 10,303,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition– 96.6% Magyar; 1.6% German; 1.1% Slovak; 0.7% other (1987)

Religious Affiliation – 87.9% Christian (64.1% Roman Catholic, 23.3% Protestant, and 0.5% Orthodox); 0.9% Jewish; 11.2% atheist and nonreligious (1989)

Literacy – 98.9% (1984)

Percent Urban – 61.9% (1990)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 65.1 years; female, 73.7 years (1990)

Per Capita GNP – US$2,780 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Hungary

In 1990, there were approximately eleven thousand Ukrainians living in Hungary. Although the largest concentration (2,500) resided in the greater Budapest area, Ukrainians-Ruthenians[2] were also found in other large cities and in almost all oblasts (*komitats*) or provinces of the country. In some villages in the northeastern part of the country where Ruthenians once constituted a majority, some still declare themselves Ruthenian in the census, and their villages betray a Ukrainian ethnic character (for example, Komloska, with

approximately 700 Ukrainians; Mogyóroska; Ruda-Bányácska; Rákaca; Irota; and Penyeslek). The large village of Mucsony, although assimilated in language, nevertheless has many Ukrainian-Ruthenian ethnographic characteristics. Ukrainian dialects were still used in these villages in the 1920s.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

The forebears of the Hungarians came into contact with Kievan Rus' during their westward migration to the country in which they would eventually settle, crossing the Ukrainian steppes from their ancestral homeland between the Volga River and the Ural Mountains. They found an Eastern-Slavic *ethnos* in the Carpathians, that of the forebears of the Transcarpathian Ukrainians. After the death of Grand Prince Volodymyr Velykyi (Volodymyr the Great) of Kiev, in 1015, King Stephen I of Hungary extended his rule to include Transcarpathia. The newly created Hungarian state in the Pannonia plain maintained alliances and dynastic contacts with the Kievan Princely court: Premyslava, daughter of Volodymyr the Great, married Duke Vászoly, Stephen's cousin and rival. Two of Vászoly's sons lived in exile in Kiev from 1034 to 1046; the one who later became King Andrew I married Anastasia-Agmunda, the daughter of Grand Prince Yaroslav Mudryi (Yaroslav the Wise). The influence of Rus' at the Hungarian royal court and in Hungarian cultural and religious life grew during the reigns of Andrew (1046–60) and his son Salomon (1063–74). Predslava, daughter of Grand Prince Sviatopolk Iziaslavych, married Duke Almos, and Yevfimia, daughter of Grand Prince Volodymyr Monomakh, married King Kálmán I. Yevfimia's son Borys was the pretender to the Hungarian throne in the middle of the twelfth century. Yevfrosynia, daughter of Grand Prince Mstyslav I Volodymyrovych, married King Géza II.

Soldiers, clergy, and lay persons accompanied the Kievan princesses as part of their entourage, thus giving root to the earliest cultural and religious relations between the two countries, particularly by virtue of establishing a Ukrainian-Rus' presence in Hungary. Some of their servants settled in villages in western and northern Hungary, where the adjective "Ruskyi" (Ruthenian, or *orosz* in the local dialect) has survived to this day.

Ties between the Hungarian court and the Galician-Volhynian state were far more intense and more adversarial: not only did many marriages take place between members of the Arpád dynasty and those of the Galician branch of the Ruriks, but there were also dynastic wars and attempts on the part of Hungarians to conquer Galicia. In 1188, King Béla III seized Halych and proclaimed himself "King of Galicia," but was defeated in the conflict that followed. Similarly, in 1215, Hungarian King Andrew II proclaimed himself "King of Galicia and Lodomeria"; his son Kálmán II secured the same title. Further struggles between Hungarian kings and Galician-Volhynian princes for control of Galicia continued through the thirteenth century, especially during the regime of Prince Danylo, who became king of Rus' in 1253. Danylo defeated the Hungarians at Halych in 1230 and 1233, and in the Battle of Yaroslav, in 1245. Two years later, King Béla IV made peace with Danylo, and arranged for his daughter Constance to marry Danylo's son Lev I, who extended his realm into Transcarpathia. Ukrainian rule in the Mukachiv region lasted for fifty years. After the death of the last member of the Hungarian Arpád dynasty, the candidates for the Hungarian throne included, among others, Lev's grandsons, the Galician princes Lev II and Andrii Yuriiovych. When Louis the Great became Polish king in 1370, he placed Galicia under

Władysław Opolczyk and Hungarian viceroys; that arrangement lasted until 1387, when the region was taken over entirely by the Poles.

Hungarian–Ukrainian relations were negligible after the Galician-Volhynian state collapsed in the late fourteenth century and particularly after most of Hungary came under Ottoman rule in the sixteenth century. Relations were revived in the seventeenth century, when Ukrainian Cossacks established military and diplomatic ties with the Hungarian principality of Transylvania, which ruled eastern Transcarpathia. Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky sent diplomatic missions to the Transylvanian princes George Rakóczy I and George Rakóczy II, and Hetman-in-exile Pylyp Orlyk maintained ties with Francis Rakóczy.

During the first partition of Poland; Austria (which ruled most of Hungary from 1699) made legal arguments for claiming Galicia based on Hungary's earlier contention for the region, its occasional rule by Hungarian kings, and the dynastic links with its Ukrainian rulers. The Austrian emperor, later as king of Hungary, reclaimed the old title "King of Galicia and Lodomeria."

Because of Hungary's pro-Polish contacts and anti-Ukrainian policies with respect to the Ukrainian Transcarpathian population, Ukrainians did not sympathize with Hungary during its national movement in the nineteenth century and during the Revolution of 1848–9, when the country sought its freedom from Austria. Rather, their sympathies lay with Austria and Russia, which helped stifle the Hungarian uprising. Hungarian–Ukrainian relations remained unchanged until the end of the First World War. There were, however, some efforts at mutual understanding, notably through cultural and literary ties, particularly through translations of each other's literary works. Transcarpathian Ukrainians helped to popularize Ukrainian culture in Hungary at the beginning of the twentieth century.

A Hungarian-language newspaper, *Ukránia*, was published in Budapest in the years 1916–17, and active members of the Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine), an organization that cooperated with the Central Powers, led the propaganda and political work among Ukrainian prisoners of war in Hungary. A Bolshevik newspaper, *Chervona Ukraina* (Red Ukraine), was published for prisoners of war in Hungary under the Hungarian Soviet government of Bela Kun. In 1919, the governments of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Western Ukrainian National Republic opened diplomatic and consulate missions in Budapest, headed by Mykola Halahan and Yaroslav Biberovych respectively. Because of the hostile attitude of the Hungarian government, negative public opinion toward Ukraine, and pro-Polish sympathies, only a small number of Ukrainian immigrants found refuge in Hungary between the two world wars. Ukrainians had their own cultural organization for a short time in the country's capital.

Hungary and Transcarpathia

The relationship of Hungary to Ukrainians in Transcarpathia deserves separate mention. Transcarpathians found themselves under Hungarian rule almost continuously until the end of the First World War. As long as Hungary remained a dynastic-feudal state, uninterested in the creation of a homogeneous, single-nationality community, the Transcarpathian Ukrainian population was able to preserve its own national identity, despite social oppression, religious persecution, and the lack of political autonomy. Ukrainians lived a separate, conservative life, preserving the Eastern religious rite and their own language and cultural traditions, in the Ukrainian ethnographic territory in the Carpathian Mountains as well as in ethnic islands on the Potyski plains. In the eighteenth century, however, a modern Hungarian nationalism began to develop, taking on a dynamic character supported by the nobility, wealthy townsfolk, and the Roman Catholic and Reformed Calvinist churches. Neither the

socially exploited Ukrainian agricultural population nor the Ukrainians who had settled in the cities and ethnically mixed territories were able to withstand the Magyar pressure exerted by the more-educated Hungarian population and government officials who were endeavoring to create a Hungarian national state. That mission manifested itself at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century in an open denationalization policy toward Ukrainians and, to a lesser degree, toward other minorities. The Uniate (Catholic) Church was the first to succumb to this pressure, and subsequently became a tool of Magyarization.

There was, however, some resistance to the politics of Magyarization, even among the ranks of the Catholic Church (priests dedicated to the Ukrainian national cause were called *budyteli*, or "awakeners"). Cultural life and efforts to bring about a national rebirth of Transcarpathian Ukrainians took place not only in cities in the Transcarpathian territory that were primarily Hungarian-Jewish, but also in largely Hungarian centers such as Budapest, and in localities where other ethnic groups predominated, such as Trnava and Košice (in present-day Slovakia) and Velykyi Varadyn (Nagyvarad in present-day Romania). It was in such cities that Ukrainian books, periodicals, and newspapers were published and that Ukrainian students attended schools and, in some cases, remained and found employment.

Carpathian Ukrainians sustained great population and cultural losses in Hungary in the hundred-year period from 1820 to 1920. According to the population census of 1787, during the reign of Emperor Joseph II, 290 thousand Ukrainians resided in the eleven Hungarian *komitat*s that had a Carpatho-Ukrainian population, which accounted for 3.18 percent of the total population of Hungary. Almost twenty years later, in 1806, the census reported a large number of Ukrainians – 443 thousand. This number remained stable for the next hundred years (according to official data, there were 436 thousand Ukrainians residing in the territory given to Czechoslovakia in 1910), a trend apparently contradicted by the fact that the natural population increase of Transcarpathians during the same period was the highest in that part of Europe. Although it is true that emigration abroad might have included more than a hundred thousand people before the First World War, denationalization must also have taken its toll, as the Ukrainian population count dropped by about the same number that the Hungarian count increased during the same period.

In the years 1836–40, there were between thirty-five thousand and forty thousand Ukrainians in the territory of present-day Hungary (that is, exclusive of the territory of the present-day Czech and Slovak republics and the Transcarpathian oblast of Ukraine). The ethnic composition of the villages they inhabited was as follows: twenty-one villages were all-Ukrainian; twenty-eight were Ukrainian and Hungarian; one was Ukrainian, Hungarian, and German; two were Ukrainian and Slovak; and two were Ukrainian, Slovak, and Hungarian. The Ukrainian character of some of the villages persisted into the twentieth century (as noted by Transcarpathian community activists in the early 1900s), but the majority, including those which had Ruthenian schools and Church Slavonic liturgical services in Ukrainian Catholic churches, were Magyarized. In the second part of the eighteenth century, the Ukrainian-Ruthenian agricultural population emigrated from some *komitat*s of northern Hungary to the barren lands of present-day Vojvodina, in Yugoslavia. There, far from their native land, they preserved their ethnic identity, while their compatriots in Hungary were Magyarized. An entire series of villages – home of the Bačka and Srem Ruthenians-Ukrainians before 1750 – are completely Magyarized today, despite having remained Ukrainian Catholic.

The chief role in the Magyarization process was played by the church, which had been, and in some circumstances continued to be, a major force for the preservation of ethnicity.

Strong pressure to conform was applied by the Hungarian Roman Catholic Church as well as the Hungarian government and community officials on the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the ethnically mixed areas of the Mukachiv Eparchy. Arising in the midst of the Ukrainian Catholic community itself was a pro-Hungarian group that took advantage of the official pressures and demanded that Rome create a separate Hungarian Uniate (Catholic) Eparchy with its seat in Hájdu Dorog. This action marked the beginning of further Magyarization of Ukrainian Catholics. At the end of the nineteenth century, Hungarians began to Magyarize schools; on the eve of the First World War, there were effectively no schools in Transcarpathia conducted in the Ukrainian language. This situation could well have ended in assimilation within a single generation, as was the case in the ethnically mixed southern regions. But the unfolding of events after the First World War – the larger part of Transcarpathia was united with Czechoslovakia – impeded the process, as did the influence of the Transcarpathian immigration in America.

Only four thousand to five thousand Transcarpathians remained in Hungary between the two world wars, some because of pro-Hungarian political convictions, others because of family ties and favorable living conditions. In the absence of Ukrainian community life, the latter group was eventually Magyarized; the former created political organizations in the early 1920s with the goal of demanding the return of Transcarpathia to Hungary. This group, which evolved into a separate Hungarian–Ruthenian political party headed by Dr. Mykola Kytka-Kutafalvi, was manipulated by Hungarian revisionist policies. The group issued various memorials, wrote protests against Czechoslovak policies in Transcarpathia, and led a rather strong propaganda campaign in an effort to restore Transcarpathia to Hungary. The English-language revisionist journal *The Danubian Review*, published in Budapest, aided in the effort.

Among this group of Transcarpathian intellectual "immigrants" in Hungary were scholars such as historian Antin Hodynka, Slavic linguist Oleksander Bonkalo, jurist and professor Yosyf Illeish-Iliashevych, and the least politically oriented of the group, philologist and ethnographer Hiiador Strypsky-Bilenky. They strove to strengthen Hungary's theoretical claims to Transcarpathia. Bonkalo headed the Ukrainian-language chair at Budapest University from 1919 to 1924. Orest Sabov was one of the leaders of the pro-Hungarian party campaigning to "repatriate" Transcarpathia and, for a short time, was the "minister" of the so-called Ruthenian Land in the Hungarian government. These activists did not organize ethnic Ruthenian cultural or religious life. Archbishop Antonii Pap came to Hungary from Uzhhorod because he refused to swear allegiance to the Czechoslovak state. He was assigned as administrator (with a seat in Miskolc) of almost twenty-five parishes in Hungary that still belonged to the Mukachiv Eparchy, which had its seat in Czechoslovakia. Under the Magyarophile Archbishop's influence, these parishes soon adopted the Hungarian language in church services.

When Hungary received part of Transcarpathia (including the major cities of the region) in the Viennese arbitration of 1938, and later, in March 1939, gained control of the entire central and eastern part of Transcarpathia (Carpathian Ukraine) by military means, some of these "immigrants" either returned to Transcarpathia or became involved in the local cultural life, for example, through the Pidkarpatske Obshchestvo Nauk (Subcarpathian Association of Sciences).

Thus, a larger number of Transcarpathian Ukrainians lived in present-day Hungary during the Second World War. Many were employed as teachers, railroad workers, and policemen, because they were forbidden to work in their own profession. Many students from Transcarpathia studied in the large cities, including Budapest, Debrecen, and Szeged,

since, with the exception of a seminary, there were no postsecondary schools in Transcarpathia. A theological seminary for Transcarpathian Orthodox was opened in Budapest, but attempts were soon made to Magyarize it. Ukrainians who lived in Hungary proper had neither their own organizations nor a Ukrainian press (other than publications received from Transcarpathia). The only exception was the organization of Subcarpathian Ruthenian students in Debrecen. Hungarian Greek Catholic priests refused to serve the Divine Liturgy in Church Slavonic for Transcarpathians. Hungary interned Ukrainians in jails and concentration camps; among the known places where Ukrainians were imprisoned were Varjulapos, Mátészalka, Sátoraljaújhely, and Vácz. Ukrainians from Transcarpathia also performed military service in Hungary. The Hungarian census of 1941 placed the number of Ukrainians-Ruthenians residing on the territory of present-day Hungary at 4,580.

After the war, there was an influx of Transcarpathians into Hungary. However, integration into Hungarian society did not come easily for Ukrainians; the majority denied their Ukrainian or Ruthenian origins, and some – especially those who were legally employed in Hungary – kept their Soviet passports in order to hide their Ukrainian identity. Official population statistics and estimates showed that fewer people were identifying themselves as Ukrainian. The *Ukrainska radianska entsyklopediia* (Soviet Ukrainian Encyclopedia) placed the number of Ukrainians in Hungary in 1960 at 3,000. Although this is without doubt an extremely deflated figure, it is nevertheless quite possible that, at that time and in those political circumstances, many Ukrainians did not report their true nationality.

There was no concept of Hungarian Ukrainians in the national-democratic Hungary; Ukrainians were simply viewed as either Soviet citizens or Maygyarized Ukrainians. First and foremost, Soviet authorities did not allow Ukrainians to organize. The situation changed somewhat after the peaceful democratic revolution and the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1990.

In the last ten years, there has been a migration of Ukrainians, Hungarians, and Jews from Transcarpathia to Hungary in search of better living conditions or, in some cases, to unite families of mixed marriages. According to the Hungarian census of 1990, the total number of Ukrainians living in the country was 10,500, which, according to some, is still an underestimate.

Religious Life

Thus far, Ukrainian and Ruthenian Catholics have displayed no initiative towards self-organization. Some Orthodox, especially older-generation Transcarpathians, belong to Orthodox parishes of the Moscow Patriarchate under Hungarian administration. At one time, the head of this administratorship was the Transcarpathian priest Ivan Kopolovych, who later became Archbishop of the Russian Orthodox Church in the USSR. The Orthodox Church in Hungary is small and is believed to have a Russian character. A Serbian Orthodox Eparchy exists separately, under the jurisdiction of the Serbian Patriarchate.

Education and Professional Life

There are no Ukrainian elementary or secondary schools in Hungary. Ukrainian education has fared better at the postsecondary level, where Ukrainian studies have been part of the curriculum of several Hungarian universities. A separate chair of Ukrainian language and literature existed at Budapest University for some time after the war; later, the Ukrainian

language was taught at the universities in Budapest, Debrecen (where the university is affiliated with the Kievan university), and Pécz, as well as at the Nyiregyháza Pedagogical Institute. The Ukrainian language is currently taught in the seminary at the Basilian monastery in Mária Pócz, which has traditionally been a popular pilgrimage site for Transcarpathian Ukrainian Catholics.

Both Hungarians and Ukrainians are involved in Ukrainian studies in Hungary. István Udvari, Mária Mayer, and István Pirigyi study the history of Transcarpathia, which had earlier been historian J. Perényi's subject. The linguist Omelian Baletsky had been a student of the renowned Hungarian Slavist István Kniezsa, who taught a whole cadre of Transcarpathian linguists. Professor László Dezső and Budapest University instructors András Zoltán and Sándor Mokány also work in this field.

Hungary offers great opportunities for research in the area of Ukrainian studies. Many sources for the study of Hungarian–Ukrainian ties are found in Hungarian archives and libraries, especially those specializing in Carpatho-Ukrainian materials. Among them are the library and archives of the Hungarian National Museum; the archives of the Hungarian central departments; the church archives of Eger and Esztergom, Mária Pócz, and Nyiregyháza; and some *komitat* archives.

Social and Political Life

For decades, government policies and the general political climate in Hungary precluded the existence of organized Ukrainian community life in the country. The recent democratic reforms sweeping Eastern Europe have already resulted in certain changes in this regard. An Uhorsko-Ukrainske Tovarystvo (Hungarian–Ukrainian Association) was established in 1990 by Hungarian activists to maintain independent cultural and, especially, economic ties with Ukraine. Sára Korig heads the organization; Gábor Szatmári is the administrative director. A counterpart organization, Ukrainsko-Uhorske Tovarystvo (Ukrainian–Hungarian Association), was founded in Kiev. Hungarian Ukrainists – there are Ukrainists of native Hungarian origin as well as of Carpatho-Ukrainian origin – founded the Asotsiiatsiia Ukrainistiv Uhorshchyny (Association of Ukrainists of Hungary) in January 1991. László Dezső became president and lecturer; István Udvari became the administrative head. The third organization concerned with Ukrainian issues is a Ukrainian community group dedicated to cultural-educational work; similar groups exist among other minorities in Hungary, including the Slovaks, Germans, Romanians, and Serbians. With the approval of the Ministries of Culture and Internal Affairs, the Tovarystvo Ukraintsiv-Rusyniv imeny Tarasa Shevchenka v Uhorshchyni (Taras Shevchenko Society of Ukrainians-Ruthenians in Hungary) was established in autumn 1991, with its seat in Budapest. The organization's goals include the publication of a bulletin and calendars, as well as cultural and amateur artistic work. At the same time, an initiative arose to create a Tovarystvo Rusyniv (Society of Ruthenians), with its seat in Komloska. This initiative is supported by some Hungarian circles that sympathize with the trend toward an autonomous Transcarpathia. Transcarpathian Hungarians, who have recently been migrating from Transcarpathia to Hungary in rather large numbers, have founded their own native organization in Hungary, the Pidkarpatskyi Hurtok (Kárpátaljai Kőr; Subcarpathian Group). This group could potentially attract the less nationally conscious Ruthenians-Ukrainians, but it could equally become a tool of aggressive Hungarian politics toward Transcarpathia. At the moment, there are no such tendencies among Hungarian political circles, because most Hungarians view the situation of the Hungarian minority in

Transcarpathia as satisfactory. A positive solution to the issue of minorities can be accomplished through cooperation with the Ukrainian government; moreover, Hungarians are interested in good neighborly relations and, in time, hope to achieve advantageous cooperation in the economic arena with Ukraine, their hitherto "unknown neighbor."

Ties with Ukrainians in Other Countries

At present, there are few formal ties between Ukrainians in Hungary and Ukrainians in other countries. Despite the fact that the two countries are neighbors, Hungary's cultural ties with Ukraine (with the exception of its ties with Transcarpathia) remained inactive for two reasons: there were no independent Ukrainian organizations in the former Ukrainian SSR, and the Hungarian culture is linguistically and ethnically very different from neighboring cultures. For a long time, all that was Ukrainian in Hungary (again, with the exception of Transcarpathia) was identified first with Russia and then, until recently, with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, there were some accomplishments in the realm of literary ties, especially in the area of translations. In the past forty-five years, many Hungarian classical and contemporary works were translated into Ukrainian in Kiev and Uzhhorod, and Ukrainian works were translated into Hungarian. Hungarian music became popular in Ukraine. Hungarian students came to study at Ukrainian universities (but instruction was, for the most part, in Russian). Very few Ukrainians studied in Hungary.

Infrequently, the officially sanctioned event "Weeks of Ukrainian Culture" took place in Hungary, and its Hungarian counterpart was held in Kiev, with an exchange of delegations, exhibits, musical-vocal ensembles, and other activities. On the regional level, such cultural cooperation took place between the northeastern Hungarian *komitats* and the Transcarpathian oblast.

In the area of economic and trade relations, Hungary and Ukraine, both part of the former Soviet Bloc, were members of the Council of Mutual Agricultural Aid, the common market and centralized agricultural system governed by Moscow. This system was not particularly attuned to the peculiar needs and interests of the member partners (especially not to those of Ukraine), but rather focused on the needs of the center of the empire. Iron ore, electric power, manganese, wood, and industrial machines were exported from Ukraine to Hungary. Ukraine imported locomotives, communications technology, medications, footwear, textile goods, certain agricultural products (especially meat), and cattle from Hungary.

Toward the end of the Soviet regime, the system had been disorganized and had proven to be mutually inconvenient for the partners involved. Today, the political situation has changed. In conjunction with economic reforms and the new organization of foreign economic relations, both countries (but Ukraine in particular) want future relations to provide more independence for the partners involved. Bilateral economic agreements, joint agricultural projects, and cultural exchanges between Ukraine (especially the Western oblasts) and Hungary will foster cooperation and build mutually beneficial relations between neighboring peoples whose "friendly" relations under the Soviet regime were merely symbolic.

At the time of writing, Hungarian and Ukrainian government leaders have taken the first steps toward this end, commencing with symbolic political and diplomatic gestures. The official visits of Foreign Minister Anatolii Zlenko of Ukraine to Hungary and of President Arpad Goncz of Hungary to Kiev, the signing of a series of agreements between the two countries, and the planning of future endeavors, projects, and practical business contacts will bear the result of positive economic and political relations.

Notes

1 Translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.

2 Some Ukrainians continue to refer to themselves as Ruthenian (Rusyn), the traditional name of Ukrainians, derived from "Rus'," the historic name of the territory now known as Ukraine. Others, including the more nationally conscious intelligentsia, use the modern term "Ukrainian" in an effort to stress national unity and to avoid confusion with the term "Ruskyi" (Russian), which sounds very similar to "Rusyn." See Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 307. *Ed.*

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UKRAINIANS IN POLAND

Myroslaw Truchan[1]

Country Data

Official Name – Rzeczpospolita Polska (Republic of Poland)

Geographic Location – Located in central Europe, Poland stretches from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Carpathian Mountains in the south. It borders with the Baltic Sea, Lithuania, and Russia on the north; Belarus and Ukraine on the east; Ukraine and Slovakia on the south; and the Czech Republic and Germany on the west. Poland lies between 49° and 54° north latitude and 14°07′ and 26°08′ east longitude.

Area – 120,727 sq. mi., or 312,683 sq km

Population Density – 318.3 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 122.9 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Warsaw

Form of Government – Unitary multiparty republic with two legislative houses, the Senate (100 seats) and the Diet (460 seats)

Official Language – Polish

Population – 38,429,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 98.7% Polish; 0.6% Ukrainian; 0.7% other (1990)

Religious Affiliation – 93.5% Roman Catholic; 1.5% Orthodox; 5.0% other (1992)

Literacy – 98.7% (1988)

Percent Urban – 62.0% (1992)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 66.5 years; female, 75.5 years (1990)

Per Capita GNP – US$1,700 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Poland

While some sources indicate that there are approximately 200,000–250,000 Ukrainians in Poland today, others place the number at 300,000. It is believed that even this higher number may be a low estimate, since, until recently, the hostile attitude toward Ukrainians of the Polish government as well as of the indigenous population caused the majority of Ukrainians to conceal their national identity and to speak Polish in their daily lives. Some sources estimate that the number of Ukrainians in Poland is as high as 500,000.

Participation in the Economic, Political, Professional, and Social Life of the Country

The forced relocation program of 1947 known as Akcja Wisła, or Operation Vistula, which resettled 150,000–200,000 Ukrainians from their native lands (then occupied by Poland) to various locations throughout Poland, totally liquidated the dense Ukrainian settlements on the eastern borders of Poland and dispersed Ukrainians among the Polish population, with the result that thousands of Ukrainian young people were Polonized. Assimilation was expedited by the unfriendly and even hostile attitude of many Poles, the majority of whom were repatriates from Galicia and Volhynia settled on lands that had formerly belonged to Germany. Because the majority of Ukrainians consequently concealed their ethnicity, it is difficult to determine the extent of their participation in the economic and political life of the country. We do know that it has been limited, even though in 1958, 412 Ukrainians were elected as councilors to various positions on the local People's Council in the Województwo Olsztyn (Olsztyn province), where the largest Ukrainian population resides. However, these councilors were not able to influence the fate of their fellow Ukrainians, since they constituted only a small minority on the Councils throughout Poland and had to submit to the will of the Polish majority.

The leading circles of the Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza (Polish United Workers' Party) have often called attention to the passivity of Ukrainians in political life. A. Sław, an expert on Ukrainian affairs, has stated that the number of Ukrainian peasants who belong to the party is minimal. At the same time, Ukrainians who were forcibly relocated from the Curzon line were accused of avoiding contact with the Polish community and consciously isolating themselves from community life.

It should be noted, however, that Ukrainian student groups were significantly active in the 1980s in such cities as Olsztyn, Gdańsk, Szczecin, and Warsaw.

In the postwar years, a progressive improvement in the mutual relationship between the Ukrainian and Polish populations has been observed. The works of many Polish historians have been influential in improving the understanding of Ukrainian issues by the Poles. Notable among these historians have been Z. Wójcik, W. Serczyk, L. Podhorodecki, J. Kozik, R. Torzecki, and J. Tomaszewski. The activity of several Polish writers, including J. Jędrzejewicz, A. Kuśniewicz, and M. Sadzewicz, have also contributed to a better understanding of the Ukrainian problem. Many important issues were expounded by A. Kwilecki and K. Pudło, two scholars of Lemko history and society.

Through the influence of Pope John Paul II, Ukrainians now receive greater support from the Roman Catholic Church, and the Ukrainian problem is often addressed in the Catholic press, especially in the weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny* (General Information Weekly).

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

Prior to the First World War, Kraków contained the largest concentration of Ukrainians in the part of Poland that was occupied by Austria-Hungary. One Ukrainian Catholic parish in that city dates back to the end of the eighteenth century, and in 1808, Ukrainians acquired their own church, the Church of Saint Norbert. Ukrainians continued to settle in Kraków in

the latter part of the nineteenth century, so that by the 1910s, there were approximately 1,500 Ukrainians in the city.

Warsaw was the center of Ukrainian settlement in the part of Poland that belonged to the Russian Empire. The city attracted Ukrainian nobility, cossacks, and merchants. A Basilian monastery was founded in Warsaw in 1721. At the beginning of the twentieth century, between five and ten thousand Ukrainians lived in Warsaw, the majority of whom were either Russian officials of Ukrainian descent or students at the University of Warsaw and other institutions of higher learning. Ukrainians were found in smaller numbers in other Polish cities, especially in provincial centers, such as Lublin and Siedlce.

The number of Ukrainians living within the boundaries of the modern Polish state increased considerably after 1920. Some thirty thousand Ukrainian refugees, mostly military personnel, found themselves in Poland after the defeat of the armies of the Ukrainian National Republic. They lived in internment camps in various Polish cities until 1923; the majority later emigrated to Czechoslovakia and France, while the remainder dispersed throughout Poland. Until 1939, Poland was one of the chief centers of the Ukrainian political emigration, and Warsaw was an important Ukrainian cultural center.

Besides political émigrés from Central and Eastern Ukraine, several thousand Ukrainians from Western Ukrainian territories (then part of Poland) migrated to the major cities in Poland in search of employment. Among them were many members of the intelligentsia, particularly civil servants and teachers, whom the Polish government had transferred to positions in Poland proper in an effort to weaken the potential Ukrainian force on Ukrainian ethnic territory. There were also between one and two thousand Ukrainian students at various Polish universities in the major cities.

At the end of the 1930s, there were approximately 30,000 Ukrainians in Poland proper, with Warsaw and Kraków remaining the largest Ukrainian centers (with 3,000 and 2,000 Ukrainians, respectively). Smaller Ukrainian communities existed in Posnań, Łódź, Katowice, Lublin, Kalisz, Kielce, Radom, and Rzeszów. The number of Ukrainians in German-occupied Poland increased during the Second World War, especially in the years 1940–1, as Ukrainians emigrated from Bolshevik-occupied Western Ukraine. There were 2,000 Ukrainians in Kraków, which became the center of Ukrainian community life; 5,000 in Warsaw; and 1,000 in Lublin. After the occupation of Western Ukraine by Germany, Ukrainians returned to their native land. The majority of Ukrainians who lived in Poland proper emigrated to western Europe before Soviet troops occupied the country in 1944–5.

As a result of the Yalta Conference in February 1945 and the establishment of a new Polish–Soviet boundary, some 700,000–750,000 Ukrainians whose ancestors had lived in the regions of Kholmshchyna, Podlachia, Nadsiania, Boykivshchyna, and Lemkivshchyna for many centuries suddenly found themselves within the borders of Poland. Such cities as Kholm, Yaroslav, Peremyshl,[2] and Sianok had always been considered a western stronghold of Ukraine.

The USSR and Poland had reached an agreement about the relocation of Ukrainians from Poland to the USSR and of Poles from the territory of the USSR to Poland before the end of the war, on September 9, 1944. Contrary to the terms of the agreement, which foresaw a voluntary emigration, the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians were forcibly deported. In the years 1944–6, approximately a half million people were resettled.

In 1947, under the pretext of liquidating the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), Poland deported the remainder of the Ukrainian population, of whom approximately 95 percent were peasants, to Western and Northern Poland under the Akcja Wisła program. This forcible resettlement of Ukrainians from their native lands, which had become part of Eastern

Poland, was executed, with much brutality, by the Polish military. Once resettled, Ukrainians were given land that was 50–70 percent ravaged, having lain fallow for two to three years. Those who did not have livestock were resettled on state farms. According to government orders, the total number of Ukrainians in any community could not exceed 10 percent of the community's population.

Ukrainian peasants were prohibited from changing their place of residence for seven years (1947–54). In order to make it impossible for them to return to their own landholdings, the Polish government passed a law in July 1949 that transferred to the government ownership of all lands belonging to Ukrainians, from which they had been forced to relocate. With the coming into power of Władysław Gomulka in 1956 and the accompanying, if brief, period of liberalization, approximately twenty thousand deportees returned to their own lands (although more than one hundred thousand Ukrainians had expressed the desire to do so).

A majority of the deported peasants in the Western lands (fifty to sixty thousand people) found themselves in the territory formerly known as Eastern Prussia, especially in and around the cities of Górowo, Iławieckie, Węgorzewo, Braniewo, Kętrzyn, Morąg, and Pasłęk. Thirty thousand Ukrainians were resettled near the Baltic Sea in the urban areas of Koszalin, Człuchów, Szczecinek, Miastko, Sławno, and Kołobrzeg. Fifteen to twenty thousand Lemkos were resettled in Lower Silesia, especially in and around the cities of Lubin, Wołów, and Legnica. In addition, groups of approximately ten thousand each were settled near the cities of Gdańsk, Szczecin, and Zielona Góra. The great migration waves of the last forty years in Poland (associated with industrialization and urbanization) resulted in an even greater dispersion of the Ukrainian population.

The Akcja Wisła program was formally condemned by a Polish Senate Resolution in August 1990.

Religious Life

In the first years of resettlement in Poland, neither Ukrainian Catholics nor Ukrainian Orthodox had their own churches or priests, since the clergy were either arrested or separated from the faithful. Peasants gathered voluntarily for prayer; later, Ukrainian priests began to offer services in secret. Ukrainian missals and prayerbooks were frequently the only Ukrainian books available to the resettled Ukrainians, sustaining not only religious values, but the Ukrainian language as well.

In 1956, the government permitted resettled Ukrainians to organize the first Orthodox parishes. Ukrainian Catholics, however, were not allowed to establish parishes, because the Catholic Church was not recognized in Poland after its official liquidation in Ukraine. Ukrainian priests were able to celebrate liturgies in Latin-rite churches if the local pastors gave their consent. Some Catholics converted to Orthodoxy, preferring to see their churches come under Orthodox jurisdiction than become the property of the Roman Catholic Church. In the years following the Second World War, more than three hundred Ukrainian Catholic churches were destroyed, dismantled, or transformed into Latin-rite churches; some were preserved as monuments. Church objects that were not destroyed, particularly valuable icons, were taken to museums, where the Poles exhibited some of them (particularly icons from the Lemko region) as Polish icons.

Today, 50 percent of Ukrainians in Poland are Ukrainian Catholic, and the remainder are mostly Orthodox. Ukrainian Catholics found themselves in a semilegal status after the forced deportation of Bishop Yosaphat Kosylovsky to the USSR, in the summer of 1946, and

the liquidation of the Peremyshl Eparchy. Official Polish statistics do not even mention their existence.

The Ordinary for Ukrainian Catholics, the actual leader of their religious life on Polish territory, was the Primate of Poland. Jozef Cardinal Glemp held this office from 1981 to 1991; he succeeded Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. The Vicar General governed the affairs of the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the name of the Primate. The position of Vicar General was held from 1967 to 1977 by the Reverend V. Hrynyk and from 1977 to 1981 by the Reverend S. Dziubyna. By decree of the Primate of Poland, two Vicars General were installed in 1981: one in Warsaw, for Northern Poland (Rev. Y. Romanyk) and one in Legnica, for Southern Poland (Rev. I. Martyniak). Four deaneries are subordinated to the Vicars General: Peremyshl, Wrocław, Koszalin, and Olsztyn.

Because until recently, Ukrainian Catholics did not have the legal right to organize their own parishes, their spiritual needs were met by so-called pastoral centers. In 1987, according to official statistics, eighty-two such centers were serviced by more than fifty priests. Until recently, Ukrainian Catholic priests had only about thirty churches for their own use. Contrary to age-old customs in the homeland, newly ordained priests in Poland are required to observe celibacy.

The situation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church improved noticeably after the election of Pope John Paul II in 1978, the death of Cardinal Wyszynski in 1981, and several visits to Poland by the Most Reverend Myroslav Marusyn, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for Eastern Churches, during which he ordained young priests. Several Ukrainian candidates for the priesthood now study theology at the Catholic University in Lublin. In 1987, the *Hreko-Katolytskyi Tserkovnyi Kalendar* (The Greek [Ukrainian] Catholic Church Calendar) started to appear.

On July 20, 1989, Pope John Paul II appointed the Reverend I. Martyniak, the Vicar General for Southern Poland, to the position of Auxiliary Bishop to the Polish Primate, with responsibility for Ukrainian Catholics in Poland. In January 1991, the Holy Father named Bishop Martyniak "Bishop of Peremyshl of the Ukrainian Byzantine Rite in Poland." Ukrainian Catholics in Poland were given their own cathedral in Peremyshl by Pope John Paul II in June 1991. A new socioreligious monthly journal of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, *Blahowist* (Messenger of Good News), began to appear in January 1991.

The Eparchy of Peremyshl of the Ukrainian Byzantine Rite came under the Metropolitanate of Warsaw after the reorganization of metropolitanates and dioceses on the territory of Poland in March 1992. On June 19, 1993, Pope John Paul II placed the Eparchy of Peremyshl under the direct jurisdiction of the Holy See.

According to the 1988 Ukrainian Catholic Church Calendar, there was one religious order of men, the Basilian Fathers, with residences in Warsaw, Węgorzewo, Kołobrzeg, Olsztyn, and Peremyshl, and three religious orders of women, including the Sisters of Saint Basil the Great, with residences in Lubomierz, Gorlice, Zalesie Górne, Pasłęk, Peremyshl, and Janowice Wielkie; the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate, with homes in Warsaw, Bartoszyce, Goleniów, Koszalin, Kruklanki, Olsztyn, Peremyshl (two homes), Świdwin, Chełm, and Janów Lubelski; and the Sisters of Saint Joseph, with residences in Kraków, Banie Mazurskie, Wrocław, Komańcza, Międzylesie, Mirocin, Peremyshl, Surochów, and Jaszkowa Górna.

Among the half million Orthodox faithful in Poland, Ukrainians constitute more than a hundred thousand, but since Belarusyns, Russians, and Poles also belong to the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church, it is difficult to obtain an accurate statistical count. In addition, an anti-Ukrainian spirit dominates the Warsaw Metropolitanate, which is subordi-

nated to the Moscow Patriarchate, making it difficult for Ukrainian Orthodox priests to conduct their pastoral work among their countrymen.

In 1983, the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church received permission from the authorities to create a Peremyshl–Nowy Sacz Eparchy in Sanok (Sianok), with Ukrainians constituting a majority. The Eparchy, which is headed by the Lemko-born Bishop Adam (O. Dubets), includes two deaneries, seventeen parishes, and as many mission parishes.

Education and Professional Life

Ukrainian schools in Poland, which had begun to be organized after the retreat of the Germans, were liquidated in 1946–7 in conjunction with the deportation of the Ukrainian population. (The secondary school in Peremyshl was among them.) It was not until 1952 that it was possible to open twenty-four centers for Ukrainian-language instruction in the Polish schools; some 487 pupils attended.

Ukrainian education began to flourish after the creation of the Ukrainske Suspilno-Kulturne Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society) in 1956. During the 1958–9 academic year, there were 6 elementary schools, with 218 pupils; 3 secondary schools, with 223 pupils; and 152 centers of instruction in the Ukrainian language, with 2,602 students. However, a gradual decline began early in the 1960s, as a result of a negative attitude on the part of the authorities toward Ukrainian education, and of the roadblocks they placed in its way. By the 1987–8 school year, only the following remained, with the total number of pupils, at both schools and centers, at 1,432: 1 elementary school, in Biały Bor; 1 secondary school, in Legnica; parallel Ukrainian classes in the elementary school at Banie Mazurske and the secondary school at Górowo Iławieckie; and 56 centers of instruction in the Ukrainian language in the Polish school system.

The 1990–1 academic year began with three new Ukrainian schools in the country: an elementary school in Bartoszyce, a lyceum (secondary school) in Górowo Iławieckie, and a lyceum in Biały Bor. Efforts are under way to establish Ukrainian elementary and secondary schools in Peremyshl.

Both the Pedagogical Lyceum in Bartoszyce and the Teachers' College in Szczecin have ceased to exist, having graduated more than five hundred Ukrainian-language teachers (the majority of whom do not work in areas inhabited by Ukrainians).

A chair in Ukrainian philology has existed at the University of Warsaw since 1953; however, both directors (P. Zvolinski and, since 1971, F. Neyvazhny) have been Polish. A second chair in Ukrainian philology was founded at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków in 1990; enrollment in 1992 stood at forty-five. The event called "Days of Ukrainian Culture" was held at the University in December 1991, with the participation of Ukrainian students, artists, and a theatrical ensemble from Lviv, Ukraine.

Since 1957, approximately ten to twenty Ukrainian teachers have traveled to Kiev each year to attend a professional-development course. More than twenty Ukrainian-language elementary school textbooks have been published through the efforts of local Ukrainian educators.

Cultural Life

The Arts

The Literaturno-Mystetske Obiednannia (Literary-Artistic Association), with a membership of forty to fifty writers, artists, and representatives of other areas of culture and the arts, has

existed since 1959 in affiliation with the main administration of the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society. Among its most prominent members (some of whom have since passed away) have been the poets E. Samokhvalenko, O. Lapsky, Ya. Mushynsky, and Ya. Hudemchuk; the prose writers I. Markiv, I. Hrebinchyshyn, V. Hirny, Yu. Oliinyk, P. Koval, P. Halytsky, and S. Pavlyshche; the literary scholars K. Kuzyk, K. Dzurynka, A. Serednytsky, A. Verba, S. Kozak, M. Syvitsky, Ya. Hrytskovian, and V. Mokry; the linguist M. Lesiv; the sculptor H. Petsukh; the painters Z. Podushko, N. Drovniak, L. Gets, V. Vaskivsky, Yu. Novoselsky, and T. Venhrynovych; the opera singers V. Denysenko and M. Shchutska; the historians O. Tsynkalovsky, O. Volynets, and S. Zabrovarny; the conductors and composers L. Hladylovych, Y. Kurochko, Ya. Popovska, Ya. Poliansky, R. Revakovych, M. Duda, Ya. Trokhanovsky, and B. Fitsak; the choreographers H. Dmytrieva and E. Mohyla; and the theater scholar T. Demchuk.

A considerable number of Ukrainian intellectuals do not take part in Ukrainian cultural life, largely because of opportunism in combination with the prevailing anti-Ukrainian atmosphere in Poland. The recent political changes in the country may serve to modify this situation.

When the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society was founded, dramatic groups, numbering some forty in the 1960s, set the tone for artistic activity. In time, choirs became the most active of all groups, and, since the 1970s, small vocal-musical ensembles have come into vogue.

In the late 1980s, fifty-one artistic groups were active in Poland. Among them was the fifty-member male choir "Zhuravli" (The Cranes), under the direction of R. Revakovych, who succeeded Ya. Poliansky (1972–82), and "Lemkovyna" (Lemko folkloric ensemble), under the direction of Ya. Trokhanovsky. Both groups are notable for their appearances in the West. Since 1967, a festival of Ukrainian music has been held every few years. It features the finest ensembles (usually twenty to thirty, with a total of several hundred performers) and draws an audience of several thousand from across Poland. Since 1972, a festival of children's groups has been held annually, in June, in the city of Koszalin; it features fifteen to twenty ensembles from various parts of the country.

The Media

With the establishment of the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society in 1956, the Ukrainian-language weekly *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word) began to appear in Warsaw. The initial circulation of sixteen thousand diminished significantly in subsequent years, declining to seven thousand by 1987, with twenty-six hundred issues being sent abroad. The "Lemkivska Storinka" (The Lemko Page) appears as a weekly supplement and is published partly in the Lemko dialect. The monthly popular-scholarly literary journal *Nasha Kultura* (Our Culture) is also published as a supplement to *Nashe Slovo*. The children's magazine *Svitanok* (The Dawn) was published until 1985. Since 1984, Ukrainian students, organized as part of a cultural council of national minority students, have published the journal *Zustrichi* (Meetings) in Warsaw. In 1989, as the political situation in Poland began to change and the Polish government officially accepted a Ukrainian delegation and jointly discussed Ukrainian–Polish relations in Parliament, the climate for the publication of *Zustrichi* also changed. The journal began to be financed by the Obiednannia Ukraintsiv u Polshchi (Union of Ukrainians in Poland), which receives funding from the Ministry of Culture. It expanded greatly as a literary-political journal under the chief editorship of Myroslav Chekh and currently prints 3,000 copies in Ukrainian and 1,500–2,000 copies in Polish.

Publishing activity in the Ukrainian language is practically nonexistent. In the course of

thirty years, only a few small collections of local writers and the literary anthology *Homin* (The Sound) were published. The latter anthology, a 304-page work published in 1964, includes the writings of forty-three authors, among them twenty-two poets. Since 1960, the almanac *Ukrainskyi Kalendar* (Ukrainian Calendar) has appeared annually, with a circulation of between six and ten thousand. Of special value are the articles dealing with Ukrainian–Polish problems.

Ukrainian books are distributed with the cooperation of Polish bookstores, especially in the cities of Olsztyn and Szczecin.

In 1958, radio stations in Koszalin, Lublin, Olsztyn, and Rzeszów began to air twenty- to thirty-minute Ukrainian broadcasts two to four times a month. At the end of the 1960s, Lublin discontinued its broadcasts. Once a month, Radio Szczecin airs a twenty-minute Polish-language broadcast dealing with Ukrainian issues. All the broadcasts devote much time to historical topics and to issues pertaining to the life of Ukrainians in Poland, and feature Ukrainian music.

Social and Political Life

In the early 1950s, the Ukrainian cultural underground in Poland had started to gain influence and broaden the scope of its activity. As a result, the government decided to liquidate it and to establish control over the life of the Ukrainian population by consenting to the creation of the Ukrainske Suspilno-Kulturne Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society) in 1956. Until recently, the Society was the only organization in Poland that could, under the supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, manage the cultural activities of the Ukrainian population.

In 1987, 181 groups, comprising some seven thousand members (of whom barely 10 to 15 percent were on Ukrainian ethnographic territory), came under the jurisdiction of the Society. More than 50 percent of the groups have only ten to twenty members, and their small size substantially limits the range of their activity. Moreover, only twenty-one groups have their own meeting rooms. The larger groups include those in Peremyshl (400 members), Gdańsk (250 members), Szczecin (250 members), Koszalin (200 members), Wrocław, Kraków, and Warsaw. Delegates of the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society discuss the work of the Society every three to four years during a nationwide meeting in Warsaw. To date, nine such meetings have been held.

In the first years of its existence, in an effort to obtain more funds for cultural-educational goals, the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society organized manufacturing-trade cooperatives in areas with greater concentrations of Ukrainians. Such activities, however, were forbidden by the authorities at the beginning of the 1960s.

In 1989, the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society ceased to be subject to the supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and was able to reorganize its leadership. At that time, many new organizations came into existence. In October 1989, Ukrainian students in Poland held their first postwar political demonstration, in Gdańsk, in support of increased freedom in Ukraine. They also founded the Spilka Nezalezhnoi Ukrainskoi Molodi (Association of Independent Ukrainian Youth).

A new Ukrainian organization, the Ukrainske Khrystyianske Bratstvo (Ukrainian Christian Brotherhood) was officially registered in Warsaw in November 1989. Established on the basis of the Saint Volodymyr Church Brotherhood, which was founded in 1983 by the Ukrainian Catholic faithful, the organization unites Ukrainian Catholics but does not limit its membership to Catholics alone. The goals of the Ukrainian Christian Brotherhood in-

clude integrating the Ukrainian community in Poland on the basis of religious and national traditions and Christian social teachings; ensuring the legal and social status of the Greek (Ukrainian) Catholic Church in Poland; building cooperation among Ukrainian religious communities, including Catholic and Orthodox; spreading the principles of religious toleration and ecumenism; fostering and spreading Ukrainian Christian culture and developing religious and national traditions among Ukrainian communities; and fostering Ukrainian–Polish cooperation, mutual understanding, and reconciliation. The Brotherhood plans to achieve its goals through educational and publishing activity and the cooperation of clergy, Polish associations, Ukrainian Christian organizations overseas, and the Orthodox Brotherhood.

Other Ukrainian organizations that came into existence in 1989–90 include the Lemkivskyi Komitet (Lemko Committee), Tovarystvo Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Dim u Peremyshli (The Ukrainian National Home in Peremyshl Association), Fundatsiia Sviatoho Volodymyra (Saint Volodymyr Foundation), Obiednannia Lemkiv (Lemko Society), Polske Ukrainoznavche Tovarystvo (Polish Ukrainian Studies Association), the organizational committee of the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood, and Plast, Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization; the Ukrainian Scouts). The Soiuz Ukrainok v Polshchi (Ukrainian Women's Association in Poland) recently became a member of the Svitova Federatsiia Ukrainskykh Zhinochykh Orhanizatsiy (World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations).

The Saint Volodymyr Foundation has as its chief goal the creation of a Ukrainian scholarly and cultural center in Kraków that would serve to bring together Ukrainian scholarship, literature, culture, and the arts. The building, which is in the process of renovation, will house archives, a library, a publishing house, exhibit halls, a conference room, and guest rooms. The Foundation has published a bilingual Ukrainian–Polish almanac, *Mizh Susidamy* (Among Neighbors), which focuses on its activities in the academic, cultural, and political spheres.

In February 1990, the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society held an extraordinary meeting in Warsaw attended by Lemko, youth, Christian, and scholarly circles; priests from the Catholic and Orthodox churches; delegates from the Polish Parliament; heads of the Council of Ministers; representatives from Czechoslovak, Jewish, and Latvian ethnic groups and their cultural-educational associations; representatives from the Ukraina Society, Rukh (the Popular Movement of Ukraine), and the Tovarystvo Ukrainskoi Movy imeny Tarasa Shevchenka (Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society); ambassadors of the USSR in Poland; and representatives of Ukrainian organizations in other countries, including Czechoslovakia, Romania, France, Germany, Canada, and the United States. In the spirit of the political changes that were sweeping Eastern Europe in the late 1980s, this meeting was called to review the situation of Ukrainians in Poland and to consolidate forces in an effort to win political and social rights for them. The meeting culminated in the creation of a new organization, the Obiednannia Ukraintsiv u Polshchi (Association of Ukrainians in Poland), which has as its goal the preservation and further development of Ukrainian scholarship and culture. In 1991, the membership of the Association stood at approximately eight thousand.

In August 1990, the first Svitovyi Forum Ukrainskoi Diiaspory (World Forum of Ukrainians in the Diaspora) was held in Biały Bor, Poland. Organized by the Association of Ukrainians in Poland under the aegis of the Svitovyi Kongres Vilnykh Ukraintsiv (World Congress of Free Ukrainians), the Forum was attended by Ukrainian civic leaders from Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. It urged all Ukrainians around the world to unite in the

struggle for the reestablishment of an independent Ukraine. It appealed to the diaspora to help Ukraine raise its standard of living and join the international community of nations as an equal member. The Forum pointed out that there is a special need for the diaspora's assistance in technical, business, administrative, material, and physical expertise and training.

The Fundatsiia Ukrainskoi Kultury v Polshchi (Ukrainian Cultural Foundation in Poland) was established in Warsaw in 1991 to support Ukrainian community and cultural activity in Poland and to expose Polish society to Ukrainian culture.

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

The fact that Ukrainians are scattered in small groups throughout almost the entire territory of Poland gives greater meaning to a problem facing Ukrainians as an ethnic group everywhere – that of mixed marriages. Even though statistical data on this topic are not available, it is evident that Polish–Ukrainian marriages have become a frequent phenomenon, even among the Lemkos, who were once known for their ethnic endogamy. According to sociologist A. Kwilecki, 30 percent of Lemko marriages in the 1970s were mixed.

Another very important concern has been the absence of a Ukrainian representative in the Polish Parliament, a fact that has had a negative effect on the life of the Ukrainian minority in Poland. From 1989 to 1991, however, Dr. Volodymyr Mokry, literary historian, Ukrainian national-rights activist, long-time member of Solidarity, and professor at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, served as a member of the Polish Sejm.

Ties with Ukrainians in Other Countries

For decades, the Ukrainian community in Poland was kept isolated from both Ukraine and the Ukrainian diaspora in the West. Poland and the USSR feared that such ties might give rise to "harmful ideas" and serve as a bridge between the diaspora and Ukraine. Thus, contacts between Ukrainians in Poland and their compatriots abroad were difficult to maintain and were necessarily carried out only on an individual basis.

Because of the cultural policies of the Soviet authorities, theatrical and artistic ensembles from Ukraine rarely performed in Poland. When they did, their tours stopped mostly in industrial centers, where there were few Ukrainians.

Private contacts between Ukrainians in Poland and Ukraine began to intensify in 1965, when it became permissible to travel to the USSR at the invitation not only of family members, but of friends as well. At the beginning of the 1970s, however, the Soviet authorities began to make these contacts more difficult, and in 1980, fearful of the spread of the "solidarity bacillus," they hermetically sealed off the Polish border. The situation improved with the coming to power of Mikhail Gorbachev.

Because the member groups of Poland's Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society did not, until recently, have the right to invite cultural activists from the USSR, individual members extended private invitations to them instead. Among those who visited Poland, and performed in the larger centers of Ukrainian settlement, were M. Kolessa, B. Oliinyk, H. Nudha, R. Ivanchuk, and Yu. Lohvyn.

Until recently, the only official contact Ukrainians in Poland had with Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia was through the Holiday of Song and Dance, organized every summer in the border town of Svidník. Some contacts had also been made on a private basis with Ukrainians in Yugoslavia and Romania.

The liberal policies of the Polish government in the 1980s brought about a noticeable intensification of contacts with Ukrainians in the Free World. Through such contacts, a

collection of funds was undertaken for the building of a student hall at the Ukrainian elementary school in Biały Bor, the only school of its kind in Poland at the time. The relaxed government policies also enabled several hundred young Ukrainians to migrate to the United States and Canada in the last few years.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

One of the most important events for Ukrainians in Poland was the appointment, on July 20, 1989, of the first Ukrainian Catholic hierarch in Poland. Pope John Paul II named the Right Reverend Ivan Martyniak auxiliary bishop for Ukrainian Catholics in Poland. The consecration of the newly appointed bishop took place on September 16, 1989. The Most Reverend Ivan Martyniak was subsequently named Bishop of Peremyshl, in January 1991.

The years 1989 and 1990 saw significant changes in the social and political life of Ukrainians in Poland, the most important of which were as follows:

1989 October: Ukrainian students held a political demonstration for the first time since the Second World War, in Gdańsk, in support of increased freedom in Ukraine; the Association of Independent Ukrainian Youth was founded.
- *November:* The Ukrainian Christian Brotherhood was founded.

1990 February: An extraordinary meeting of the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society was held in Warsaw to review the situation of Ukrainians in Poland; the Association of Ukrainians in Poland was created.
- *August:* The first World Forum of Ukrainians in the Diaspora was held in Biały Bor.

1990–1: The beginning of the academic year saw the opening of three new Ukrainian schools in the country, and efforts were under way to establish more schools.

1991 June: Ukrainian Catholics were given their own cathedral in Peremyshl by Pope John Paul II.

1992 July 7: Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky celebrated Divine Liturgy at the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist in Peremyshl with Bishop Ivan Martyniak of Poland, Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk of Lviv, and seven bishops from Ukraine. Some six thousand Ukrainian Catholics attended the service, which marked the first anniversary of the visit of Pope John Paul II to Peremyshl and the return of the Cathedral to the Ukrainian Catholic community.
- *December 16:* Ukraine's first ambassador to Poland, Gennadii Udovenko, presented his credentials to President Lech Walesa.

1993 June 19: Pope John Paul II transferred the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Eparchy of Peremyshl under the direct jurisdiction of the Holy See.
- *July 26*: Polish ambassador to Ukraine Jerzy Kozakewicz presented his credentials to President Leonid Kravchuk.

Notes

1 Supplemented and translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.

2 The Ukrainian city of Peremyshl, which has changed hands several times in the twentieth century, was ceded to Poland (along with the Sian, Kholm, and Lemko regions of Ukraine) under the Soviet–Polish agreement made in Moscow on August 16, 1945. In this discussion, we refer to

the city, which is known in Polish as Przemyśl, by its Ukrainian name, Peremyshl. V. Kubijovyc et al., "Galicia," in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 2, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyc (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 3–14. *Ed.*

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UKRAINIANS IN ROMANIA

John Luchechko

Country Data

Official Name – România (Romania)

Geographic Location – Located in southeastern Europe, in the northern part of the Balkan Peninsula, Romania borders with Ukraine on the north; Ukraine, Moldova, and the Black Sea on the east; Bulgaria on the south; and Vojvodina, Serbia, and Hungary on the west. It lies between 43°15′ and 48°15′ north latitude and between 20°15′ and 29°41′ east longitude.

Area – 91,699 sq. mi., or 237,500 sq km

Population Density – 254.4 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 98.2 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Bucharest

Form of Government – Unitary republic with two legislative houses, the Senate (143 seats) and the House of Deputies (341 seats)

Official Language – Romanian

Population – 23,332,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 78.3% Romanian; 10.8% Hungarian; 9.9% Gypsy; 0.9% German; 0.1% Jewish (1990)

Religious Affiliation – 70.0% Romanian Orthodox; 10.0% Greek Orthodox; 1.0% Muslim; 7.0% atheist; 3.0% other; 9.0% none (1980)

Literacy – 95.8% (1983)

Percent Urban – 54.4% (1992)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 66.5 years; female, 72.4 years (1987–9)

Per Capita GNP – US$1,640 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Romania

Demographic and Social Characteristics

It is impossible to ascertain the exact number of Ukrainians living in Romania today. Different sources quote different figures. Relying on official Romanian statistical data, the United Nations 1971 *Demographic Yearbook*, for example, quoted 59,803 Ukrainians. In 1982, the Ukrainian-language weekly *Shliakh* (The Way) (Philadelphia, PA; June 27) similarly placed the number of Ukrainians living in Romania at 60,000 (constituting the country's third-largest minority). *Ukrainski poselennia: Dovidnyk* (Ukrainian Settlements Handbook), published by the Ukrainian Center for Social Research (1980), claimed that there were more than 70,000 Ukrainians. In his book *Ukraintsi v Rumunii, Chekho-Slovachchyni, Polshchi, Yugoslavii* (Ukrainians in Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia) (1969), historian Mykhailo Marunchak quoted Romanian statistics from 1962 indicating a population of more than 70,000 Ukrainians; he then raised the figure to 100,000. In a 1977 article in the Ukrainian daily newspaper *Svoboda* (Liberty) (Jersey City, NJ; August 24), Mykhailo Danylyshyn placed the number of Ukrainians at 100,000, while writer and poet Stefan Tkachuk, of Bucharest, writing in the same newspaper in 1984 (February 3), suggested that it was as high as 200,000.

American and British handbooks, almanacs, and newspapers generally make no mention of Ukrainians in Romania. If they are recognized at all, Ukrainians are considered an insignificant minority in the country.

No doubt the most accurate data on Ukrainians in Romania can be found in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, vol. 2, published in 1971 by the University of Toronto Press. Approximately one hundred Ukrainian villages with close to 120,000 Ukrainian inhabitants were said to exist in Romania at the time. If one adds the modest number of 30,000, or 1 percent of the country's twenty-five year population growth (Romania claims that its population in 1982 grew by 5.3 percent),[1] then the total number of Ukrainians living in Romania today can be estimated at 150,000.

Of the thirty or so Ukrainian villages through which the present author traveled in 1985,

almost all had at least 1,000 inhabitants each, and many had significantly more (the village of Poienile de sub Munte in Maramures county, for example, had nearly 14,000 Ukrainians). Therefore, even at an average of 1,000 inhabitants per village (keeping in mind that some villages may have fewer than 1,000 residents and that some, as a result of mixed marriages, may include a number of Romanians), the total Ukrainian population in the one hundred villages where Ukrainians have settled should stand at approximately 100,000.

It is also known (and confirmed by Ukrainian Romanians) that approximately 25,000–30,000 Ukrainians live in Romania's cities and towns. This includes some 2,000 in Bucharest; 1,500 in Constanta; 1,000 in Iasi; 3,000 in Suceava; 3,000 in Siret; 2,500 in Radauti; 2,000 in Cimpulung Moldovenesc; and, according to a local head of tourism, 6,000 in Sighetul Marmatiei. For many other localities, however, even approximate figures are unavailable – for example, for Tulcea (where a Ukrainian secondary school still existed in the 1950s), Galati, Gura Humorului (the birthplace of Ukrainian writer Olha Kobylanska), Lugoj, and Caransebes in Eastern Banat.

According to a well-informed source in Romania, fifteen Ukrainian villages exist in Maramures county, inhabited by 45,000 Ukrainians. Thus, the Ukrainian population in Maramures county alone almost matches the official Romanian figure for the Ukrainian population in the whole country. Such a comparison tends to validate the claim that the official Romanian statistics on national minorities should be at least doubled to obtain a realistic estimate of present-day minority populations. When it comes to official Romanian ethnic demography, one must be aware that it is politically motivated, falsified, and biased.[2]

Ukrainians in Romania live in four areas of the country: Maramures county (fifteen villages); Suceava county (thirty-nine villages); Tulcea county, which includes northern Dobrudja and the Danube delta (thirty-seven villages); and eastern Banat, near the cities of Lugoj and Caransebes (eight to ten villages). In Maramures and Suceava counties, the Ukrainian villages are located close to one another. In Dobrudja and the Danube delta, they are spread far apart, on vast plains and marshy terrains. In the Banat area, they are like islands in a sea of non-Ukrainian villages.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

From the historical point of view, the Ukrainian population in Romania can be grouped into three categories. The first, the oldest and the most numerous one, consists of the natives of Maramures and Suceava counties, whose history can be traced far back into the past. Romanian sources indicate that the villages of Poienile de sub Munte and Petrova, which are almost exclusively Ukrainian to this day, were founded in 1411; the city of Sighetul Marmatiei (birthplace of 1986 Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel) was founded in 1346; the village of Cimpulung la Tisa, in 1329; and the village of Rona de Sus, in 1360.[3] Romanian Archbishop Miklos Olah of Esztergom, humanist, scholar, and author of *Hungaria*, wrote that the Hungarian Kingdom in the fifteenth century (which encompassed present-day Romania) consisted of twelve nationalities, including Ruthenians (Ukrainians), who had lived in Maramures and the surrounding areas since the twelfth century.[4]

Thus, the claims of some Romanians that Ukrainians settled in the country only during the Austrian domination of the territory (after the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–74) or that they are "Ukrainianized Romanians"[5] are obviously untrue. At the time that some Ukrainian villages in Maramures and Bukovyna already existed, Romania and its predecessors Wallachia and Moldavia were not yet in existence, the appearance of Wallachia being dated

at the end of the thirteenth century and that of Moldavia in the second half of the fourteenth century.

Emigrating Cossacks were the ancestors of the second group of Ukrainians in Romania. Between five thousand and ten thousand Cossacks left Ukraine by land and sea after the liquidation of the Zaporozhian Sich by the Russian Empress Catherine II in 1775, and settled in northern Dobrudja and the Danube delta on the territories of present-day Romania. Here, the Cossacks obtained permission for self-government from the ruling Turks and organized the new Danubian Sich, which, patterned after the Zaporozhian Sich, survived until 1828. With time, the population of the Cossack units and villages grew as they absorbed Ukrainian fugitives from Russian serfdom in Ukraine, as well as Ukrainians from other Romanian regions. Today, these villages, or *slobids*, number thirty-seven.

The third category of Ukrainians in Romania consists of the inhabitants of eight to ten Ukrainian villages in East Banat. This group was originated by Ukrainian settlers who emigrated from Transcarpathia for economic reasons during the second half of the eighteenth century, after the Austro-Hungarian Empire forced Turkey to retreat from these territories. This occurred at approximately the same time that the Ruthenians were settling in today's Yugoslavian Bačka.

Ukrainian lands were among those occupied by Romania at several points in time in the twentieth century, as a result of the two world wars. After the First World War, Romania annexed Bessarabia; Maramures, with numerous Ukrainian villages; the entire Ukrainian region of Bukovyna; Transylvania; East Banat; and southern Dobrudja. In 1940, Bessarabia and northern Bukovyna were seized by the Soviet Union, but Romania reoccupied the regions in 1941, after it pledged its allegiance to Hitler. At that time, Romania also became co-occupant of southern Ukraine, forming the Transdnistria region on June 30, 1941, as a new Romanian province. After the Second World War, Romania was forced to relinquish her claims to northern Bukovyna, Bessarabia, and southern Dobrudja.

Religious Life

The Ukrainian church as well as the spiritual life of the entire Ukrainian population in Romania revived after the fall of the Ceausescu dictatorship in December 1989. The Ukrainian Catholic Church had been liquidated by government decree in 1948 and, together with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, was absorbed by the Romanian Orthodox Church. This arrangement aided the government in Romanizing and assimilating the Ukrainian churches. The government policy was such that the Romanian language was used in the Ukrainian churches, and Romanian priests presided in many of the Ukrainian parishes. Currently, candidates for the priesthood study at the Lviv and Ivano-Frankivske theological seminaries in Ukraine and at the Saint Josaphat Ukrainian Pontifical College in Rome. Those who did not have the opportunity to study abroad entered Romanian Greek-Catholic seminaries. Today, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Romania has its own Vicariate, with its seat in the city of Radauti in Bukovyna, headed by the Reverend Isydor Toniuk.

Education and Professional Life

From the Second World War until the present, Romania has had three constitutions, passed in 1948, 1952, and 1965. The present Constitution guarantees the country's national minorities many human and national rights, including the right to speak in the native language, publish in the native language (books, magazines, and newspapers), and be educated in the native language. These rights do not, however, exist in practice. With the exception of

Hungarians, Germans, and Jews, on whose behalf their respective countries intercede, the Romanian national minorities (some fifteen) do not benefit from any of these guaranteed rights – in fact, they are not even allowed to speak of them. There are rumors that even those Ukrainian Romanians who were members of the Romanian Communist Party made no headway on this issue. For example, Vasyl Bilivsky, who took the Romanian Constitution seriously, was removed from his post as editor-in-chief of the Ukrainian-language newspaper *Novyi Vik* (New Age), labelled a Ukrainian nationalist, and sentenced to seven years in prison.

Immediately after the Second World War, a network of Ukrainian schools was created in the Ukrainian villages and in cities and towns with Ukrainian communities. There were 120 primary schools, 3 secondary schools (in Siret, Sighetul Marmatiei, and Suceava), and 3 teachers' institutes (in Siret, Sighetul Marmatiei, and Tulcea) in Romania. The schools employed almost two hundred teachers and had a total enrollment of approximately ten thousand students. Almost all of these schools existed until 1958, when Ukrainian development ceased abruptly, and then began to regress. After the death of Joseph Stalin and the withdrawal of Soviet occupational troops from its territory in 1958, Romania began a process of Romanization (but not de-Stalinization) that was in effect until the most recent political upheaval in 1989. The result of Romania's internal politics, flavored with Romanian communist nationalism and old-fashioned chauvinism, was the demise of Ukrainian schools, the Ukrainian language, and, eventually, Ukrainian national consciousness as well. With few exceptions, the Ukrainian language was eliminated from the schools, and all the secondary schools and teachers' institutes were liquidated. It was forbidden to refer to villages by their former Ukrainian names, and children who spoke Ukrainian in schools were ostracized. According to one student in Suceava county, "we are told that we speak some sort of stupid language."

As a result of such degradation by the Romanians, Ukrainian children, youth, and undereducated adults are ashamed of their background, while the intimidated intelligentsia live in the cities, separated from the Ukrainian people, and are afraid to speak Ukrainian openly. The older, nationally conscious, generation is dying away or has been liquidated. In its place comes a young generation that is intimidated, has a weak knowledge of the Ukrainian language and history, and, in some cases, has a leftist orientation. But, as the saying goes, among the blind, the one-eyed man is king. Although it is hoped that this situation may improve in the future as the government moves away from the dictatorial Ceausescu era, prospects for any substantial betterment in this, as in other areas, are dim as long as an old Ceausescu hand remains in power, leading what some Romanians refer to as "a Communist government in disguise."[6] Nevertheless, Ukrainians in Romania have appealed to the Ukrainian diaspora to help them in their difficult task of reorganizing schools, reading rooms in the villages, and cultural activity. The Union of Ukrainians in Romania has as its goal the establishment of Ukrainian schools in villages and cities with large Ukrainian populations. Through the Union's efforts, Ukrainian graduates of secondary schools are given the opportunity to study in various universities in Ukraine, including Lviv, Ivano-Frankivske, and Uzhhorod. A number of Ukrainian students also study at the Ukrainian branch of the Philological Department of the university in Bucharest.

Cultural Life

Language Spoken

Ukrainian, as the language of the Ukrainian minority, was until recently actively discouraged, despite being officially sanctioned. Indeed, it was eliminated in most schools. It was only among themselves and far from non-Ukrainians – amid herds of cattle and sheep in the mountains, or on fishing expeditions in the Danube delta – that Ukrainians were able to speak their native language without fear of condemnation. Reversing this trend will be no easy task for the Ukrainian minority in Romania. The rebirth of the Ukrainian language is one of the major goals of the Union of Ukrainians in Romania.

The Media

The Ukrainian press and publishing in Romania were, until recently, controlled by the government, and barely survived. Freedom of the press did not exist in Romania, and all published materials were censored and registered. After 1948, only one Ukrainian newspaper, *Novyi Vik* (New Age), remained in print; it was replaced in 1990. In 1960, the paper became little more than an official organ, as its subtitle had always suggested: "a political and social-cultural biweekly for the Ukrainian population of the Socialist Republic of Romania." During Vasyl Bilivsky's tenure as editor, from 1948 to 1959, the newspaper was interesting, popular, and of high quality, and it enjoyed a circulation of approximately seven thousand copies. After the editor was removed from his post and sentenced, control of the newspaper was given to Ivan Kolesnyk, a Bessarabian who, according to some, had no knowledge of the Ukrainian language. The newspaper subsequently became uninteresting and unpopular; according to one of its readers, it was "Ukrainian in form, but not in content." Its circulation dwindled to four thousand, and rumors circulated that the government was considering closing it down under the pretext of a diminishing readership. *Novyi Vik* was directed, controlled, and financed by the government, and its editors were required to be members of the Romanian Communist Party. After the political revolution in 1989–90, the newspaper of the old regime ceased to exist; it was replaced by *Vilne Slovo* (The Free Word).

From 1950 to 1959, a bimonthly magazine, *Kulturnyi Poradnyk* (The Cultural Adviser), was also published in Romania. Its shutdown was most keenly felt by the Ukrainian literary community. In 1978, the government approved the publication of a new cultural-artistic magazine, *Obrii* (The Horizon). The magazine continues to be published, though only annually, to this day. July 1990 saw the appearance of the first issue of a new monthly Ukrainian literary-cultural journal, *Nash Holos* (Our Voice). Its chief editor is Mykhailo Mykhailiuk. There are no magazines or newspapers for Ukrainian children and youth, such literature never having existed in Romania.

Book publishing, though faring somewhat better than it did before, is still minimal and limited to small printings. Indeed, some books are printed in as few as two hundred copies, which might cause one to conclude that the government publishes them only as a token, to avoid the charge of discrimination against national minorities. Until 1969, few books were published. In that year, the government established the publishing house Kriterion in Bucharest, with a mandate to publish specifically for the national minorities. Since then, the number of published works of both classic and contemporary literature in the Ukrainian language has increased slightly.

A small group of Ukrainian writers and poets has been active for some time as part of the Union of Romanian Writers in Bucharest, the only Ukrainian spark in the Romanian dark-

ness. Approximately forty people of various ages and literary tastes belong to this group. Over the years, however, their creative talents were being systematically crippled by oppression and censorship. The following list of names and pseudonyms, including those of already-deceased members, represents writers who have been associated with the Union: Ivan Ardelian, Maria Balan, Vasyl Barshai, Oksana Bevka, M. Bodnia, Mykola Cheredaryk, Bohdan Hedumin, Kornelii Irod, Vasyl Klym, Kyrylo Kochynsky, Yurii Kokotailo, Mykola Korsiuk (current editor of *Obrii*), M. Kotsar, Ivan Kovach (who often contributed to *Novyi Vik*), Mahdalyna Laslo Kutsiuk, Ihor Lemny, Iryna Levynska, Stepan Levynsky, Sofia Luchyk, Yurii Lukan, Orest Masykevych (who served a ten-year prison term in Soviet concentration camps), Dan Khoria Mazilu, Oksana Melnychuk, Mykhailo Mykhailiuk (editor of *Nash Holos*), Mykhailo Nebyliak, Ivan Nehriuk, Ivan Nepohoda, Denys Onyshchuk, Yurii Parashchynets, Mykola Pavliuk, Yurii Pavlush, U. Rakocha, Ivan Reboshapka (a professor at Bucharest University), Teofil Reboshapka, Aspazia Rehush, Kornelii Rehush, Verhilii Ritsko, Ivan Robchuk, Pavlo Romaniuk, E. Saviuk, Ivan Shmuliak, Stepan Tkachuk, Vasyl Tsapovets, M. Voloshchuk, Yurii Yanovsky, Hruia Yatseniuk, and Sylvester Zahorodny. These names have been gathered from various individuals and various works, publications, critiques, and correspondences; it is not known, however, whether all the individuals listed officially belonged to the Union.

Social and Political Life

Until recently, no significant Ukrainian organization, institution, library, museum, or archives existed in Romania. In 1968, two so-called Ukrainian County Councils were created for Suceava and Maramures counties, but their sole assignment was to oversee the fulfillment of the country's economic five-year plans. The Ukrainian community in Romania remained uninformed, separated from the homeland, and isolated from the Ukrainian diaspora. It was without leadership, intimidated and helpless.

In 1990, shortly after the December 1989 execution of President N. Ceausescu, Ukrainians began to organize into regional associations in various areas throughout Romania, including Maramures county, Dobrudja, Banat, and the capital, Bucharest. These organizations united to form the Soiuz Ukraintsiv Rumunii (Union of Ukrainians in Romania), composed of youth, workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, and the clergy. The goal of the Union is to protect the rights and interests of the Ukrainian population. Its demands include the opening of abolished schools and pedagogical institutes; freedom of religion and unrestricted membership in Ukrainian churches; the right to establish Ukrainian organizations, community centers, choirs, and amateur groups; the right to a Ukrainian press and weekly radio and television broadcasts; and Ukrainian representation in government.

Notes

1 United Nations, *1983 Demographic Yearbook* (New York: United Nations Publications, 1985), 159.
2 John Cadzow et al., eds., *Transylvania: The Roots of Ethnic Conflict* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1983), Appendix B, no. 3, 306.
3 Ministerul Turismului [Ministry of Tourism], *Maramures, OAS, Satu Mare*, no. 11, Uz Intern [Internal affairs]. (Bucharest: Ministry of Tourism, 1980), 105–8, 113.
4 Cadzow, 42, 54–5, 57.
5 Ivan Krypiakevych and Myron Dolnytsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy* [History of Ukraine] (New York: Shkilna Rada, 1966), 197.

6 Philip Revzin, "Romanian Elections Portend More Strife, Even before the Count," *Wall Street Journal*, 21 May 1990, 1.

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6
Ukrainians in Western Europe

UKRAINIANS IN AUSTRIA

Serhij Naklowicz[1]

Country Data

Official Name – Republik Österreich (Republic of Austria)

Geographic Location – Austria is located in Central Europe, in the eastern part of the Alps, between 46°30′ and 49° north latitude and 9°30′ and 17° east longitude. It borders on the west with Switzerland; on the north with Germany, the Czech Republic, and the Slovak Republic; on the east with Hungary; and on the south with Slovenia and Italy. The length of the border is 1,681 miles, or 2,707 kilometers.

Area – 32,377 sq. mi., or 83,856 sq km

Population Density – 242.7 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 93.7 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Vienna

Form of Government – Federal multiparty republic with two legislative houses, the Federal Council (63 seats) and the National Council (183 seats). Austria consists of nine states, including the capital, Vienna.

Official Language – German

Population – 7,857,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 96.1% Austrian; 1.7% Yugoslav; 0.8% Turkish; 0.5% German; 0.9% other (1981)

Religious Affiliation – 84.3% Roman Catholic; 5.6% Evangelical (Lutheran); 1.0% Muslim; 0.1% Jewish; 1.9% other (mostly Christian); 6.0% nonreligious and atheist; 1.1% unknown (1981)

Literacy – virtually 100% (1990)

Percent Urban – 53.9% (1991)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 72.5 years; female, 79.0 years (1990)

Per Capita GNP – US$19,240 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Austria

Estimates place the number of Ukrainians living in Austria today at approximately 4,200. This is a conservative figure, since official statistics do not list Ukrainians as a separate group, and many Ukrainians report themselves as Austrian rather than Ukrainian.[2] The majority of Ukrainians – more than 2,000 – live in Vienna and its environs; the remainder are distributed as follows: Salzburg, 460; Klagenfurt-Villach, 430; Graz, 340; Innsbruck, 330; Kufstein, 270; Linz, 210; and Bregenz, 160.

Participation in the Economic, Political, Professional, and Social Life of the Country

The majority of Ukrainians in Austria live in the large cities and their suburbs. The small number found in the villages are the families of those who were forcibly deported for labor to Germany during the Second World War (Austria was part of Hitler's Germany at the time). After the war, many of these people remained in the country and married Austrians; with few exceptions, their children neither consider themselves Ukrainian nor speak the language. Approximately 80 percent of Austria's Ukrainians were born or raised in that country, attended Austrian schools, and work in private or government establishments, in factories, as salesmen, or in professional positions. About 98 percent are Austrian citizens. Although there are a number of Ukrainian professionals in Austria, notably physicians, lawyers, teachers, and others with graduate degrees, relatively few of them take an active part in Ukrainian community life. Some Ukrainians belong to Austrian political parties in order to obtain better jobs. So far, however, none of them has been in a position to have a significant impact on political life. Only one Ukrainian member of a political party, Professor Ivan Zhyla, achieved a high political post, as president of the Salzburg regional parliament in the 1960s.

Among the Ukrainian university professors in Austria are Dr. Oleh Hornykevych, professor of medicine at Vienna University, specialist in the field of pharmacology, and researcher in the area of Parkinson's disease; Dr. Andrii Pshyvy, physician, lecturer in psychotherapy at Graz University, and professor at the Religions-Pädagogische Akademie (Religious-Pedagogical Academy) in Graz, and author of several scholarly works; and Prof. Ira Malaniuk, chamber singer, and Dr. Lev Vitoshynsky, both of Vienna, professors of singing and guitar, respectively, at the Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst in Graz (Higher School of Music and Performing Arts in Graz). Dr. Stepan Zoshchuk, former personal physician to the late Ethiopian president Haile Selassie and author of a scholarly work, also resides in Austria.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

Until 1772, Ukrainian ties with Austria were only sporadic and were largely limited to trade relations between Kiev and the cities on the Danube. Yaroslav Osmomysl had ties with

Austrian Heinrich Jasomirgot, and King Danylo endeavored to put his son Roman on the Austrian throne by having him marry Gertrude, the last of the Babenbergs and heir to Austria, in 1252. Ukrainian Cossacks, instrumental in the defense of Vienna, served the Austrian emperor as hired divisions in his fight against Turkey and in the Thirty Years' War. Hetmans Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Pylyp Orlyk both maintained diplomatic ties with Austria. In 1683, during the siege of Vienna, a Ukrainian, Yurii Kulchytsky, disguised as a Turk, crossed into the enemy camp and obtained valuable information that greatly aided in the defeat of the Turks. To this day, a street in Vienna is named in his honor. In the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, many Ukrainian students studied at Austrian universities.

Ukrainians began to settle in Austria in significant numbers only in the late eighteenth century, when Galicia, Bukovyna, and Kholm and Podlachia fell into Austrian hands (in 1772, 1775, and 1795–1809, respectively). The first to settle in the country were soldiers who migrated with their families, civil servants, and private and salaried domestic servants, followed by students and government officials. They settled primarily in Vienna and other cities.

In 1775, Empress Maria Theresa presented the Ukrainians with the Church of the Great Martyr Saint Barbara, which had once belonged to the Jesuits, but had stood empty since 1773, when the Pope dissolved the Jesuit order. The monastery was subsequently rebuilt into a church and adapted to the Ukrainian rite. In 1784, Emperor Joseph II founded the Ukrainian Catholic parish of Saint Barbara. The Austrians treated the Ukrainian clergy on an equal footing with Latin rite priests. The Hapsburgs also founded the Barbareum, a theological seminary where Ukrainians were able to train for the priesthood and earn doctoral degrees. Several Ukrainian bishops completed their studies at the Barbareum. After eight years, the theological seminary was moved to Lviv, where the level of education was raised significantly. The clergy played an important role not only in the religious sphere, but also in the national and social-community sector. The Barbareum II was founded in Vienna in 1852 and existed until 1892. This seminary also gave the Ukrainian nation many doctors, noted scholars and community leaders, and several bishops, metropolitans, and archimandrites, whose presence raised the prestige of the Ukrainian Catholic rite in the eyes not only of Ukrainians, but of foreigners as well.

There was a sizable Ukrainian intelligentsia in Austria in the nineteenth century, consisting of representatives to the Austrian Parliament in Vienna, members of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation, high government officials, soldiers, and university students. The intelligentsia contributed to raising national consciousness, and, as a result, organized Ukrainian life began to flourish and national activity grew significantly in Galicia and Bukovyna (Kholm and Podlachia had ceased to belong to Austria in 1809). The Sich student association, for example, organized in 1868 in Vienna, spearheaded progress in the land. Other small student organizations existed in Graz, Innsbruck (associated with the theological academy), and Leoben (associated with the mining academy).

The number of Ukrainians in Austria increased considerably with the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. At that time there was an influx of refugees from Galicia and Bukovyna, including many soldiers and numerous members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. The hospitals treated many Ukrainian casualties. There were immigrants from all parts of Ukraine: thousands were interned in camps in Talerhof, and thousands more, from Russian-occupied lands, were in refugee camps in Gmünd, Wolfsberg, and Grodig. In Freishtadt, there was a camp for Ukrainian prisoners of war from the Russian army.

Vienna became the center of Ukrainian political activity. The Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine) was founded, and Ukrainian newspapers began to

appear. Various charitable committees, cultural-educational organizations, and schools for refugees were founded in Vienna and in the camps. The number of Ukrainians in Austria decreased after the end of the First World War, only to increase again in 1919. After the Treaty of Brest in 1918, a diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian National Republic was established in Vienna, followed by a mission of the Western Ukrainian National Republic. Austria became the home of exiled politicians and members of various political parties as well. The government-in-exile of the Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR) was based in Vienna until 1923, with Ye. Petrushevych as president. The Ukrainian Free University was founded in Vienna in 1921, with Prof. Mykhailo Hrushevsky as its rector. It was later moved to Prague, Czechoslovakia, and its second rector was Prof. Oleksander Kolessa. Currently, it is located in Munich, Germany, with Dr. Bohdan Ciuciura as rector.

With the incorporation of Austria into Germany, the national socialists banned all Ukrainian organizations, with the exception of the Ukrainske Natsionalne Obiednannia (UNO, Ukrainian National Alliance), the Ukrainian *hromady* ("communities"), and branches of the Ukrainska Ustanova Doviria (Ukrainian Trust Authority). The Natsionalistychne Obiednannia Ukrainskoho Studentstva (Nationalist Union of Ukrainian Students), an organization imposed by German authorities during the period 1939–45, became active in place of the Sich, since all other student organizations were banned. The Ukrainske Tsentralne Dopomohove Obiednannia (Ukrainian Central Relief Association), the oldest and largest of Ukrainian charitable institutions, was founded in Innsbruck. The founding meeting of the Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (OUN, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) was held in Vienna in 1929, and, in the years 1934–9, that city was the headquarters of the Tsentralnyi Soiuz Ukrainskoho Studentstva (Central Union of Ukrainian Students). Large-scale charitable work was conducted in Vienna to help the victims of starvation during the great Communist-imposed famine in Ukraine in 1932–3. Also conducted from Vienna was protest action against the pacification and Polonization of the Ukrainian population in the western lands in Poland. Ukrainians in Vienna always answered the needs of their countrymen. Today, however, after the passage of so many years, even the cemeteries, the only traces that had been left of the Ukrainian people and their activity during the interwar period, have been plowed over. There is one memorial, in the city of Gmünd – a beautiful monument of granite, the work of Ukrainian sculptor Hryhorii Kruk, erected in memory of the thirty thousand Ukrainians who died of typhoid and exhaustion in the camps.

There were more than fifty thousand Ukrainians in Austria after the First World War; by the end of the Second World War, this number had risen to more than a hundred thousand. Ukrainians were scattered throughout the country. When the Bolsheviks occupied the Austrian zone, however, they forcibly repatriated as many Ukrainians as they could, leaving barely thirty thousand people. Most of those remaining migrated farther into Western Europe or across the ocean soon afterward.

Until the Bolsheviks left Austria, the whole of Ukrainian social, community, and religious life was concentrated in Western Austria, in such cities as Salzburg, Innsbruck, Linz, Graz, Klagenfurt, Villach, and Bregenz, where Ukrainians were able to pursue their activities freely, develop culturally, organize, and provide assistance for one another. The main camps for refugees were in Kufstein, Landeck, Lienz, Bregenz, Spittal, Klagenfurt, and Linz. In 1948, there were still more than twelve thousand refugees in the camps. Afterward, this number decreased steadily as a result of emigration overseas, until only slightly more than three thousand people, largely the sick, elderly, invalid, or widows with children – those whom no country wanted to admit – remained in Austria.

Religious Life

Approximately 85 percent of Ukrainians living in Austria are Ukrainian Catholics, and 15 percent are Orthodox.

Ukrainian Catholic Church

The oldest Ukrainian Catholic parish outside the homeland is located in Vienna – the Church of the Great Martyr Saint Barbara. The pastor since 1969, that is, since the death of the Reverend Danylo Kovaliuk, has been the Very Reverend Mitred Dr. Alexander Ostheim-Dzerovych, who also serves the faithful in Graz, Klagenfurt, Villach, and Lienz. The Reverend Franz Shlegel, a Latin-rite priest who celebrates services in the Ukrainian rite, assists the pastor. The Reverend Ivan Dashkovsky ministers to Ukrainian Catholics in Salzburg, Innsbruck, Kufstein, Vorarlberg, and Linz. Members of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy throughout the world have visited Vienna: Yosyf Cardinal Slipy; Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky; Metropolitan Stephen Sulyk, of the United States; Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk, of Canada; Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Eastern Churches Archbishop Myroslav Marusyn, of Rome; and almost all Ukrainian bishops from the diaspora. After the collapse of Communism, Ukrainian bishops from the East, including Ukraine, have been visiting Austria; among them have been Bishop Sofron Dmyterko, of Ivano-Frankivske, Ukraine, and Bishop Ivan Martyniak of Poland.

At the time of the great Ukrainian refugee wave into Austria during the Second World War, the Church of Saint Barbara in Vienna served as a deanery. There were nine deaneries with more than 270 priests. The Vicar General for Austria was the Very Reverend Prelate Dr. Myron Hornykevych, pastor of Saint Barbara's Church. The Reverend Dr. Hornykevych later moved to Solbad Hall in the Tyrol, where he died in 1959. The parish was then assigned to the Basilian Fathers.

Saint Barbara's Church observed the two-hundredth anniversary of its existence in 1975, and the two-hundredth anniversary of its existence as a parish in 1984. The church was under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Lviv until 1934; from 1934 to 1945, it was temporarily placed under the jurisdiction of the Latin-rite Archbishop of Vienna; and in 1945, it was permanently placed under the authority of the Latin Archbishop as Ordinary of the Byzantine rite and the Sacred Congregation of Eastern Churches. Ukrainians in Austria do not have their own bishop; Saint Barbara's Church is the only Ukrainian parish outside Ukraine that falls under the jurisdiction of a Roman Catholic hierarch. Since 1987, the Archbishop and Metropolitan of Vienna has been the Most Reverend Dr. Herman Groër.

The Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood of Saint Barbara is affiliated with the Church. Although detailed information on the organization is available only from 1862, it was in existence much earlier. It was active until 1945, when the Communist occupation of Western Austria, including Vienna, interrupted all activities. It was only in 1955–6, when Austria regained its independence after the war, that the Brotherhood was able to resume its normal activities and expand into the social, cultural, and societal spheres. The parish choir of Saint Barbara's Church was renewed under the direction of the noted conductor Prof. Andrii Hnatyshyn, who composes and arranges liturgical music. The choir sings the Divine Liturgy on Sundays and holy days, as well as other church services, and performs religious and secular music as well, giving concerts on the various national holidays. It also performs in Latin-rite churches throughout Austria: parish priests eagerly invite the choir, covering all

transportation costs, in order to have their faithful see and hear the beautiful Ukrainian-rite services and the excellent choir that has so charmed foreign audiences. The custom of visiting other parishes was inaugurated in 1959 by the late Very Reverend Dr. Volodymyr Gavlich, OSBM, who served a Divine Liturgy in the Cathedral of Saint Stephen in Vienna that was filled to capacity with Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian worshippers alike.

The Church of Saint Barbara has undergone extensive renovation. The choir loft was enlarged, and the entire Church, especially the Chapel of Saint Josaphat, was renovated, repainted, and restored to its original Baroque style. Foreign visitors and other tourists are captivated not only by the Ukrainian rite and the fine singing, but also by the beauty of the Church itself.

Other parishes in Austria do not have their own churches, and Divine Liturgies are celebrated in Roman Catholic churches in Salzburg, Graz, Klagenfurt, and Villach. Ukrainians in Austria observe the Gregorian calendar, but services are sometimes held according to the Julian calendar at the request of the faithful.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church

Just after the Second World War, 40 percent of Ukrainians in Austria belonged to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church; at present, the percentage has decreased to approximately fifteen. The faithful are scattered throughout Austria, and, since they do not constitute a large group in any given area, they do not have their own parishes or their own priests. The Administrator of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the Very Reverend Protopresbyter and Mitred Palladii Dubytsky, resides in Munich, Germany. The Reverend Mitred Dubytsky visits his faithful in Austria as the need arises, but cannot hold services there often, because of the expense involved. Sometimes, on national holidays, especially the one commemorating Ukraine's fallen freedom fighters, the Reverend Mitred Dubytsky concelebrates services with the Catholic priest in Gleichenberg or Spittal, near the graves of the fallen Catholic and Orthodox soldiers. The Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood of Saint Volodymyr the Great makes its home in Vienna, with Vira Bush as its president.

Education and Professional Life

There is a supplementary Ukrainian Saturday school at the Church of Saint Barbara in Vienna. Instruction takes place in the only Ukrainian Narodnyi Dim (National Home, or community center) still in existence, which belongs to the parish. There are not many students in the two sections of the school (namely, Ukrainian language for beginners and Ukrainian history, geography, literature, religion, and customs for children who already speak Ukrainian). Some parents send their children to neighboring Germany to attend Plast and other youth camps, to give the youngsters an opportunity to perfect their knowledge of the Ukrainian language and to make friends with other Ukrainian children. The Ukrainian Central Relief Association in Austria is in charge of sending children to the summer camps, subsidizing costs for families in need of assistance.

Ukrainian professional societies include the Ukrainske Likarske Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Medical Association), which was founded in 1987. In cooperation with its counterpart in the United States, it hosted the well-attended Ukrainian Physicians' Congress in Vienna in July 1988. The Association provides scholarships for medical students from Ukraine (mostly from Lviv). It also provides aid for the sick from Chornobyl. The president of the Ukrainian Medical Association is Dr. Oleh Hornykevych.

Cultural Life

Language Spoken

Families of mixed marriages speak German at home; the few remaining all-Ukrainian families still speak Ukrainian, but switch to German frequently. A typical scene is that of Ukrainians leaving church, speaking German to one another. There are very few Ukrainian-speaking children. People admit that they are Ukrainian unwillingly, and then usually only when asked specifically; otherwise, they call themselves Austrian. With some exceptions, school-aged children do not speak Ukrainian, though some are aware that they are of Ukrainian descent. Most, but not all, older people speak Ukrainian. German is now used even in the church and in some organizations.

The Arts

The city of Vienna is home to several noted members of the Ukrainian cultural world. The Austrian poet Andrii Okopenko, son of the Ukrainian general who was the representative of the Ukrainian Red Cross in Vienna, resides in the city. Okopenko, who writes only in German, has received a distinguished Austrian literary award for his works. He has for unknown reasons left the Ukrainian community. Vienna is also home of Ukrainian artist Khrystyna Kuritsa Zimmerman, who completed the Hochschule für Angewandte Kunst in Wien (Higher School of Applied Arts in Vienna) and has exhibited her own works, to favorable reviews, not only in Vienna (in 1974), but also in Munich, Germany, in cooperation with the Ukrainian Free University, and in Kiev, Ukraine (in 1989–90). Ms. Zimmerman also assisted Maestro Sviatoslav Hordynsky with the paintings in Saint Barbara's Church after its reconstruction. The renowned chamber singer mezzo-soprano Ira Malaniuk, of Lviv, a soloist at various concerts throughout the world and professor of voice at the Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst in Graz, lives in Vienna. Another member of the school is guitarist Dr. Lev Vitoshynsky, who appears in concerts and televised performances. Prof. Andrii Hnatyshyn, who graduated from the Vienna Conservatory, is a composer of religious music, secular songs, and an opera. Also residing in Vienna is Erhard Steinagen, a Ukrainian graphic artist. Petro and Aksel Puliui, grandsons of the noted inventor, physicist, and professor of polytechnic studies in Prague Dr. Ivan Puliui (1845–1918), opened a film production company in Linz.

A collection of Ukrainian folk art, featuring native costumes from the Hutzul, Boiko, and Lemko regions of Ukraine donated by Ivan Franko and others, is on display in the Österreich Museum für Volkskunst (Austrian Museum of Folk Art).

Several memorial plaques have been unveiled in Austria over the years, including those in honor of the hundredth anniversary of the Sich student association and the fiftieth anniversary of the Ukrainian Free University; one in honor of the Cossacks who fell in battle near Vienna, located in the church on Mt. Leopoldsberg near Kahlenberg; one in honor of fallen Ukrainian soldiers; and those in honor of Ivan Franko, I. Puliui, and P. Kulish, all in Vienna.

The Media

There is no Ukrainian press or book publishing to speak of in Austria. The Ukrainian Central Relief Alliance in Austria had once published a bimonthly bulletin, but when the number of refugees declined, so did the publication. The organization now sends out short reports of its activities with its holiday greetings at Christmas and Easter. The Ukrainian

Catholic Brotherhood of Saint Barbara has published a bimonthly *Presova Informatsiia* (Press Information) bulletin since 1971, but does not circulate it among members. Two Austrian publishing companies have printed Ukrainian songs compiled by Prof. A. Hnatyshyn for German/Austrian choirs, together with texts translated into German by the late Dr. Ostap Hrytsai and Natalia Gross. A songbook for Ukrainian youth, compiled by Professor Hnatyshyn and entitled *Spivaimo* (Let's Sing), with songs in two- and three-part harmony with piano accompaniment and Ukrainian-language lyrics, was published in 1974 by Derr Publishers in Vienna. Dr. Andrii Pshyvy published two scholarly works, in German, in the fields of medicine and history, respectively, and Dr. Stepan Zoshchuk published a book on nutrition and health, in Ukrainian. All three books received good reviews. Other brochures and books have been published by Ukrainians in Austria, but they did not have as great a scholarly impact.

The choir of Saint Barbara's Church, under the direction of Professor Hnatyshyn, has made many recordings of Ukrainian religious and secular music. The recordings were produced by the recording studio Khvyli Dnistra (Waves of the Dnister), in Cleveland, Ohio, and by the Ukrainian division of Radio Vatican. They include the Divine Liturgy, Resurrection Matins, evening vespers, burial services, services to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Mother of God, Lenten and Easter songs, Marian hymns, and Christmas carols, along with Cossack songs, songs of the Ukrainian Army's Sichovi Striltsi (Sich Riflemen), and folk songs. Every year since 1962, the church choir has broadcast the entire Divine Liturgy live from Saint Barbara's. The choir is regularly invited to sing at various Roman Catholic churches throughout Austria, and has even performed during Papal visits. It has also performed at celebrations of the two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Saint Barbara's Church and its parish, at concerts in honor of the Ukrainian poet laureate Taras Shevchenko and the renowned writer Ivan Franko, and in various other programs commemorating national holidays. The church choir is known throughout the country, and Austrians eagerly attend its concerts.

Social and Political Life

There are a number of Ukrainian social and cultural organizations in Austria. Among them are the following:

Ukrainske Tsentralne Dopomohove Obiednannia v Avstrii (Ukrainian Central Relief Association in Austria, UCRAA). This is the second-oldest Ukrainian organization in Austria, with central offices located in Vienna since 1965. Founded in 1945 and approved by the government in February 1946, it was initially a branch of the Tsentralne Ukrainske Dopomohove Biuro (Ukrainian Central Relief Bureau), which was active during the Second World War in London, England. In keeping with the organization's statutory guidelines, it cared for Ukrainian expatriates and aided in their resettlement in other countries, working closely with the Zluchenyi Ukrainskyi Amerykanskyi Dopomohovyi Komitet (United Ukrainian American Relief Committee) and other foreign charitable organizations (Caritas, IRO, UNRRA, and others). It also took a leading role in cultural-educational activities, forming and supporting a network of schools ranging from kindergartens to secondary schools and postsecondary courses. The organization gave aid to the sick, invalids, widows and orphans, the aged, and all other needy, without discrimination. It cared for the graves of the Ukrainian deceased, arranged for children's and youth camps, provided legal aid, worked

well with the Komisiia Dopomohy Ukrainskomu Studentstvu (KoDUS, Ukrainian Students' Aid Commission, a section within UCRAA), and represented all Ukrainians before the government and foreign international organizations. It served as the umbrella organization for almost all Ukrainian associations until the first Svitovyi Kongres Vilnykh Ukraintsiv (World Congress of Free Ukrainians) was held in 1967, after which it interrupted its activities until 1975. In 1946, UCRAA worked outside of Vienna and the entire Soviet occupied zone; in the Western occupied zones, it numbered more than twelve thousand members and aided more than thirty thousand refugees fleeing to the West during the period 1946–52. The UCRAA changed its statutes several times as new needs and situations arose, especially as Austria began to discharge expatriates from the camps and to stabilize politically as a nation, and as membership in the organization itself dwindled. With the departure of the Bolshevik armies from Austria in 1955, UCRAA broadened the scope of its activities to encompass all of Austria, including Vienna and the former Soviet occupied zone.

At the end of the 1970s, when there were approximately 5,000 Ukrainians in Austria, the organization's membership fell to 789; today, with approximately 4,200 Ukrainians in the country, the membership stands at 436. The organization now has five centers, or branches, headed by trustees; they are located in (1) Salzburg-Linz, (2) Kufstein-Innsbruck, (3) Graz, (4) Klagenfurt-Villach-Spittal, and (5) Vienna and environs. As a community social-service organization operating on a totally voluntary basis, UCRAA finances its activities from membership dues, and contributions from church and social institutions, charitable and financial organizations, and private individuals in the various countries in which Ukrainians have settled.

Besides working closely with the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee and Ukrainian aid organizations in Europe, Canada, the United States, and Australia, UCRAA cooperates closely with the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and other organizations in the diaspora, as well as with foreign charitable institutions (especially Catholic, Evangelical, and Orthodox groups) and with Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox bishops. Over the years, the presidents of UCRAA have included: Dr. V. Bemko, Dr. D. Bobanych, Rev. I. Dashkovsky, Prof. E. Holovinsky, I. Kedryn-Rudnytsky, Yu. Kostiuk, Col. M. Kurakh, Dr. M. Kysilevsky, Dr. S. Naklowicz, Dr. M. Rosliak, and I. Tyktor. A great many notable individuals have worked in or with UCRAA since 1945 during their stays in Austria; many of them have since left the country and settled elsewhere. As a national association in Austria, UCRAA is a member of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and, since 1985, has been a member of the European headquarters of the Koordynatsiinyi Oseredok Ukrainskykh Hromadskykh Orhanizatsiy Evropy (Coordinating Center of Ukrainian Central Organizations in Europe), as well as of the Koordynatsiina Rada Ukrainskykh Orhanizatsiy Avstrii (Coordinating Council of Ukrainian Organizations of Austria) in Vienna, whose acting president is Dr. Serhij Naklowicz.

Before the recent political upheavals, the UCRAA also provided aid to Ukrainians who had escaped from behind the Iron Curtain. This aid, which had increased noticeably during the 1980s, was administered by the Biuro Dopomohy Vtikacham (Bureau of Aid to Refugees) at UCRAA, which was chaired by Dr. Serhij Naklowicz, with the Reverend Ivan Dashkovsky as honorary chair. During the years 1980–91, more than two thousand Ukrainian refugees fled the Soviet Bloc by way of Austria, and applied for aid to UCRAA. The majority of them came from Poland, but others were from Romania, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. (This statistic does not include individuals who, out of fear, neither reported to the UCRAA nor admitted to being Ukrainian, but fled with the aid of Polish and Austrian organizations.

Including such individuals, the total number of refugees would probably approach ten thousand.) During this period, the aid given by the UCRAA exceeded 2.5 million shillings (roughly US$357,000). The refugees emigrated primarily to Canada and the United States, but a small number went to Australia, to a few European countries, and even to southern Africa and Venezuela. There were 306 refugees in Austria on November 30, 1991.

The last General Delegates' Convention of the UCRAA was held in Salzburg on July 31, 1986, at which time the existing Board of Directors was reelected. Both the Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox churches have representatives on the Board.

Koordynatsiina Rada Ukrainskykh Orhanizatsiy Avstrii (KRUOA, Coordinating Council of Ukrainian Organizations of Austria). Created as a committee and headed by Dr. Serhij Naklowicz, the Council has served as an umbrella organization for Ukrainian associations in the country since 1967. Today, it is largely inactive.

Ukrainskyi Zhinochyi Soiuz Avstrii (Ukrainian Women's Association of Austria). Founded in 1958, this organization is headquartered in Vienna. Its current president is Stefa Shwartz-Luta.

Obiednannia Ukraintsiv Avstrii (Union of Ukrainians in Austria). Practically inactive today.

Ukrainske Kulturne Tovarystvo Bukovyna (Ukrainian Cultural Society Bukovyna). Headquartered in Vienna, the organization is not very active today. Its current president is Vira Bush.

Ukrainska Medychno Kharytatyvna Sluzhba (Ukrainian Medical Charitable Service). Headquartered in Vienna, this group is inactive at present; practically, it has ceased to exist.

Soiuz Ukrainskykh Filatelistiv Avstrii (Society of Ukrainian Philatelists of Austria). Headquarters in Vienna. The society organizes an annual stamp exhibition with Ukrainian themes, at which time the Austrian Post Office provides bilingual postal cancellations, in Ukrainian and German, as it does on certain other occasions as well. The stamps and envelopes issued by the society commemorate important events, including the two-hundredth anniversary of Saint Barbara's Church and the two-hundredth anniversary of the Church as a parish, as well as Christmas and various Ukrainian holidays. The exhibitions of the society are a great success, and the stamps and envelopes with Ukrainian themes are popular with philatelists in Austria and abroad.

Komisiia Dopomohy Ukrainskomu Studentstvu (KoDUS, Ukrainian Students' Aid Commission), Austrian branch. Headquarters in Vienna. The current president is Dr. Serhij Naklowicz.

Zluchenyi Ukrainskyi Amerykanskyi Dopomohovyi Komitet (ZUADK, United Ukrainian American Relief Committee), Austrian branch. Headquarters in Vienna. The current president is Dr. Serhij Naklowicz.

Ukrainske Studentske Tovarystvo "Sich" ("Sich" Ukrainian Student Association). Founded in 1868 in Vienna and headed by Mykhailo Mashovets, the organization is headquartered in Graz. It is not very active today.

Ukrainske Pravoslavne Bratstvo im. sv. Volodymyra Velykoho (Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood of Saint Volodymyr the Great). An organization of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, with headquarters in Vienna. Its current president is Vira Bush.

Ukrainske Katolytske Bratstvo sv. VMCH. Varvary u Vidni (Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood of the Great Martyr Saint Barbara in Vienna). Although the Brotherhood is a religious organization, it is nevertheless involved in socio-cultural work, in accordance with its statutes.[3] The exact date of its founding is uncertain; although the first mention of the Brotherhood is found in the parish chronicles in 1862, it is believed that the actual founding was somewhat earlier. Until 1945, the Brotherhood was occupied only with religious matters, but with its renewal in 1955 (it had been inactive during the Bolshevik occupation, 1945–55), it broadened the scope of its activities to include the cultural, educational, and national spheres as well. The Brotherhood's access to the church choir and the church hall proved very beneficial, for it enabled the members to stage concerts in honor of the Ukrainian literary figures Shevchenko and Franko as well as in commemoration of various national holidays and anniversaries. The use of the church hall made the task of the Brotherhood much easier, for it provided an ideal place not only for choir practices but for other meetings of the Brotherhood (and those of other organizations) as well.

The Brotherhood works closely with the parish and the pastor. Its board of directors is chosen from among dedicated parishioners, and the pastor of Saint Barbara's Church has an important influence in the decision making. A beneficial custom has developed among Ukrainian secular organizations in Austria, namely, of inviting representatives of both the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches to sit on their boards of directors, thereby guaranteeing a close working relationship between the organizations and the churches. As is the case with all Ukrainian organizations in Austria, the Brotherhood of Saint Barbara's Church is a nonpolitical organization, if for no other reason than that Austria is a neutral country. Roman Catholics can become members of the Brotherhood, but people of other religious affiliations, for example, the Orthodox, can become only "extraordinary" members. The pastor becomes a board member as spiritual director of the Brotherhood, but may not necessarily always agree with the decisions of the board. The current president of the Brotherhood is Community of Vienna Counselor Ivan Zhupnyk.

Ties with Ukrainians in Other Countries

There have been no official ties with Ukraine for obvious reasons; private individuals maintained contact with their families in the USSR and sent packages and medicine. Some Ukrainians visited their relatives in the homeland and, in turn, relatives from Ukraine visited families in Austria, though very rarely. Today, there are official ties between scholars: Ukrainians from Austria travel to Ukraine to attend various events, meetings, symposia, and congresses, and scholars, community leaders, and political activists from Ukraine come to Austria. Students from Ukraine who receive scholarships from Austria study in the country and live in Austrian hostels. Unless they are skilled workers or specialists, however, they do not easily find employment in Austria. Family ties have become active in the liberalized political climate: families visit each other, and many tourists from Ukraine come to Austria (some of whom choose to remain in the country).

Ties with Ukrainians in other countries (with the exception of the former Soviet Bloc countries) are not out of the ordinary. Many Ukrainian tourists come to or through Austria to visit their families; to revisit the place where they once studied or worked; to see Austria

after the war; en route to other countries; on their way to visit relatives in Eastern Europe; or in a professional or scholarly capacity, to research history and literature in the various Austrian libraries. The traditional meeting place for Ukrainians is the Church of Saint Barbara, where, once a week, people have the opportunity to see their friends, meet with visiting Ukrainian tourists, or go to the cafés after Mass for wine and conversation. Ukrainians in Austria often travel to neighboring countries, particularly Germany, because of the large number of Ukrainians living there, and these visits are returned by Ukrainians living in Germany. Austrian citizens may travel without a visa to all Western European countries, as well as to Canada and the United States, and the same holds true for citizens of those countries who wish to visit Austria.

Some Ukrainians in Austria receive and read most Ukrainian newspapers and are well informed in all matters Ukrainian. But the vast majority neither purchase Ukrainian books nor subscribe to Ukrainian newspapers or journals.

There are also organizational ties between Ukrainians in Austria and their counterparts in other countries. For example, the UCRAA has ties with the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU). In 1983, the Austrian UCRAA was represented at the Fourth WCFU in Toronto by its president, Dr. Serhij Naklowicz, who was the official Austrian delegate to the convention. Austria had also been officially represented in the First Congress.

Because a steady stream of new emigrants comes to Austria, the Ukrainian Central Relief Association in Austria continues to maintain close ties with the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee headquarters in Philadelphia, in the United States; the headquarters and branches of the Suspilna Sluzhba Ukraintsiv v Kanadi (Ukrainian-Canadian Social Welfare Service); the Kanadsko-Ukrainska Imigratsiina Sluzhba (Canadian-Ukrainian Immigration Service), in Toronto; the Svitova Rada Suspilnoi Sluzhby (World Council of Social Service) of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, in Toronto; other charitable organizations in the diaspora; the Ukrainska Hromada (Ukrainian Community) of Victoria, Australia; and the Soiuz Ukrainskykh Orhanizatsiy Avstralii (Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations).

As previously mentioned, Ukrainian metropolitans, and bishops from Ukraine and the diaspora, visit Austria, often celebrating Divine Liturgies at the Church of Saint Barbara. The Administrator of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Protopresbyter Paladii Dubytsky, also visits Austria annually for services commemorating the deceased Ukrainian soldiers in Gleichenberg, Spittal, and other locations. The church choir has traveled to Rome several times, where it performed for the Pope at the Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul and at the Vatican. The Basilian Fathers from Rome usually give recollections in Austria before Easter, preaching and assisting in hearing confessions. Whenever any priest travels through Vienna, he cannot pass up the opportunity to visit and say Mass at Saint Barbara's Church, and it is an old tradition for Ukrainian tourists to stop by the church and, if it happens to be a weekday, at least say a prayer. Finally, as previously mentioned, Ukrainian children from Austria attend summer Plast camps in Germany, where they have the opportunity to meet other Ukrainian children of their own age.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

1979: Yosyf Cardinal Slipy, Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, visited Vienna, Salzburg, and Klagenfurt with the Reverend Dr. Myroslav Marusyn, currently Archbishop. The Cardinal met not only with members of the Ukrainian community but also with Austria's President, Chancellor, ministers, and other high-ranking officials, as well

as the Papal Nuncio and the Austrian bishops, headed by Cardinal Koenig. The Eastern-rite services at the Cathedral of Saint Stephen in Vienna, the tall figure of His Eminence in the archbishop's vestments, and the choir's singing all greatly impressed the Austrians, and newspapers continued to write about the event for a long time afterward.

1983: Pope John Paul II visited Austria, and the choir of Saint Barbara's Church took part in the great festivities.

1984: The two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Saint Barbara's Parish was celebrated, with Archbishop Myroslav Marusyn offering a Divine Liturgy. A commemorative concert was held in the great hall of the old university, with a lecture delivered by His Excellency; a ceremony to confer an honorary doctorate upon Archbishop Marusyn was held in the new Vienna University. This was the first time that a Ukrainian was so honored, such an honor rarely being bestowed even upon dignitaries from the West.

1986: The Ukrainian community celebrated the eighty-fifth birthday of Prof. Andrii Hnatyshyn, honoring his long-time work as choir director and composer.

The General Delegates' Convention of the Ukrainian Central Relief Association in Austria was held on July 31 and included a report on the results of the forty years of activity of this most deserving organization in Austria.

1987: A convention of Ukrainian Catholic priests, organized by the Tovarystvo Sv. Andreia Pervozvanoho (clerical Society of Saint Andrew the First-Called), was held in June in the parish hall of Saint Barbara's Church, under the direction of the Very Reverend Mitred Ivan Kit, from Belgium. The conference went on for three days, each starting with the collective celebration of the Divine Liturgy by all the attending priests. The convention, attended by sixteen priests from Europe, was organized by the Reverend Evhen Harabach, from Munich, Germany.

On October 8, the Most Reverend Dr. Herman Groër was installed as the new Ordinary for Eastern Rite Churches and the new Archbishop-Metropolitan of Vienna. The pastor of Saint Barbara's Church, Monsignor Dr. Alexander Ostheim-Dzerovych, bid farewell to the outgoing Ordinary and Archbishop of Vienna, Cardinal Koenig. Afterward, Monsignor Ostheim-Dzerovych received a Mitre in the Church of Saint Barbara from the hands of the new Archbishop of Vienna. The act of nomination was signed by Archbishop Major Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky in Rome.

1988: Ukrainians in Austria commemorated the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine with church services celebrated by Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky, bishops, and clergy; lectures and concerts were held in various cities throughout the country.

1991: Dr. Serhij Naklowicz was honored by the World Congress of Free Ukrainians with a medal of Saint Volodymyr for his years of tireless work on behalf of Ukrainian refugees from Communist regimés in Eastern Europe.

1992: On January 20, the Ukrainian flag, blessed by the Reverend Dr. O. Dzerovych, was raised atop the permanent Ukrainian mission in Vienna in a ceremony attended by Ukraine's Minister of Culture, representatives of international organizations in Vienna, delegates from Ukraine's neighboring countries, and the Ukrainian community in Vienna.

Addresses

Griechisch-katholisches Zentralpfarramt zu St. Barbara, 1010 Wien, Postgasse 8, Austria

KoDUS – Vertretung in Österreich, c/o Dr. Serhij Naklowicz, Dresdnerstr. 124/III/19, 1200 Wien XX, Austria

"KRUOA" Koordinationsrat der Ukrainischen Organisationen in Österreich, c/o Dr. Serhij Naklowicz

Kulturverein Bukowyna in Wien, c/o Frau Vera Busch, Obmann, 1140 Wien, Lutzowgasse 6/2/2/ Austria

"UCDOA" Ukrainische Zentralhillsvereinigung in Österreich, c/o Dr. Serhij Naklowicz

Ukrainische Autokephal-Orthodox Kirche, c/o Msgr. Palladij Dubytskyj, Ayingerstrasse 25/Parterre, 8000 München 80, Germany

Ukrainische Katholische Kirchengemeinschaft zu St. Barbara in Wien, Sconlaterngasse 7/I, 1010 Wien, Austria (z, H. Senatsrat, Dipl. Ing. Johann Zupnyk, Obmann)

Ukrainische Orthodox Kirchengemeinschaft zu st. Volodymyr der Grosses, c/o Frau Vera Busch

Ukrainischer Arzteverein in Österreich, c/o Präsident Uni. Prof. Oleh Hornykevych, Laurenzgasse 13/II/7, 1050 Wien V, Austria

Ukrainischer Briefmarkensammlerverein "SUFA", c/o Zentralpfarramt zu St. Barbara, Riemerg. 1/II/11, A-1010 Wien, Austria

Ukrainischer Fauenbund in Österreich, 1010 Wien, Schönlaterngasse 7/I, Austria

Ukrainischer Medizinisch-Charitativer Dienst in Wien, Austria

Ukrainischer Studentenverein "Sitsch" in Graz, c/o Michael Maschowec, 8010 Graz/Smrk/ Schönaugasse 116/3 Austria

Vereinigtes Ukrainisch-Amerikanisches Hilfskomitee, Vertretung in Österreich, c/o Dr. Serhij Naklowicz

Vereinigung d. Ukrainer in Österreich, Reichenauerstrasse 6/II, 6020 Innsbruck, Tirol, Austria

Notes

1 Translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko
2 It is difficult to obtain the exact number of Ukrainians in the country, since they are not counted separately in official statistics. Similarly, there is no distinction made between Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics or among types of Orthodox. The statistics presented here are based on

estimates and records of the central governing body of the parish of Saint Barbara's Ukrainian Catholic Church in Vienna.

Ukrainians who report themselves as Austrian rather than Ukrainian either do not have the courage or do not wish to admit to their Ukrainian nationality.

3 The statute was approved by Metropolitan Spyrydon Lytvynovych, whose name appears in an honorary plaque in the vestibule of Vienna University, at the entrance to the Judicial Department. The Metropolitan had studied theology in Vienna.

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"The Very Reverend Dr. Myron Hornykevych, Pastor of the Church of Saint Barbara in Vienna." Lviv, 1929.

UKRAINIANS IN BELGIUM

Mykola Kohut[1]

Country Data

Official Name – Koninkrijk België (Flemish), Royaume de Belgique (French) (Kingdom of Belgium)

Geographic Location – Situated in Northern Europe between 49°30′ and 51°30′ north latitude and 2°35′ and 6°25′ east longitude, Belgium is bordered by the North Sea and the Netherlands on the north; Germany on the east; Luxembourg on the south; and France on the south and west.

Area – 11,783 sq. mi., or 30,518 sq km

Population Density – 850.2 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 328.3 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Brussels

Form of Government – Constitutional monarchy with two legislative houses, the Senate (185 seats) and the House of Representatives (212 seats)

Official Languages – Dutch, French, German

Population – 10,021 (1992)

Ethnic Composition (Nationality) – 91.0% Belgian; 2.4% Italian; 1.4% Moroccan; 0.9% French; 0.8% Turkish; 0.6% Dutch; 2.9% other (1991)

Religious Affiliation – 90.0% Roman Catholic; 1.1% Muslim; 0.4% Protestant; 7.5% nonreligious and atheist; 1.0% other (1980)

Literacy – virtually 100% (1988)

Percent Urban – 96.6% (1991)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 72.4 years; female, 79.1 years (1988–90)

Per Capita GNP – US$15,440 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Belgium

Demographic and Social Characteristics

There are 2,332 Ukrainians in Belgium today, this number being evenly divided between men and women.[2] This figure includes the non-Ukrainian wives of Ukrainian men (who number almost five hundred), but not Ukrainian women who have married non-Ukrain-

ian men. Slightly more than 3 percent of the total population includes children up to the age of six years; 9 percent, children aged seven to fourteen; 10.1 percent, young adults aged fifteen to twenty-five years; 37.1 percent, adults between the ages of twenty-six to fifty years; and 40.5 percent, adults aged fifty years and older. Among the younger and middle-aged generations, only 15.2 percent of marriages are all-Ukrainian, and the remainder are mixed. Marriages among the older generation, aged fifty years and older, are almost evenly divided, with 49.1 percent being all-Ukrainian and 50.9 percent being mixed.

In the past, the average number of children per family was nearly four; today, the number for younger and middle-aged families is less than two. The Ukrainian population in Belgium has thus experienced a decline over the last decade or two, prior to which Ukrainians numbered more than three thousand.

Of the Ukrainian population over fourteen years of age, 975 persons have an elementary education, 242 have a secondary education, 625 have completed trade school, 114 have some postsecondary education, and 96 (including current students) have a university education.

The occupational status of the Ukrainian population in Belgium can be broken down as follows: 8 physicians; 2 dentists; 3 pharmacists; 3 lawyers; 12 engineers; 5 chemists; 2 employed in the sociopolitical arena; 9 teachers and professors at secondary and postsecondary schools; 14 economists; 208 officials in various positions; 588 skilled workers, mechanics, technicians, electricians, builders, seamstresses, and others; 488 retirees and 442 spouses of retirees; and 58 homemakers. The student population consists of 38 college and university students; 52 secondary school students; 122 students in trade schools; 203 elementary school students; 75 children in kindergarten.

Participation in the Economic, Political, Professional, and Social Life of the Country

The Ukrainian community in Belgium is small and therefore cannot boast of accomplishments in the economic sphere. There have been some attempts in this regard, but they have not met with success. The cooperative Dnipro, for example, was active from 1949 to 1960, when the Ukrainian community was larger. Its headquarters were in Brussels and it ran seven food stores, in various towns. The cooperative attempted to expand into other branches of business, but without much success. With the massive emigration of Ukrainians to other countries as well as the rapid growth of competition in the food industry, the Dnipro cooperative was not able to survive.

There have been no private Ukrainian enterprises of any consequence in Belgium. A few individuals have owned small food stores, and there have been some good tailors and shoemakers, as well as one individual who briefly ran his own workshop and store.

It should be noted that a certain percentage of the Ukrainians who have studied in Belgian universities and other postsecondary institutions have become integrated into the economic life of the country. One could probably enumerate several scores of younger Ukrainians holding important posts in industrial and commercial enterprises. The majority of these people work in Belgian firms, but some have been or are still employed in multinational companies such as Ford, Westinghouse, British Petroleum, Westland Helicopter, Philips, Siemens, and a few other, lesser-known, firms.

Although it is possible to find the occasional individual who is politically involved, Ukrainians tend, in general, not to join Belgian political parties. Moreover, those who are involved in politics consider themselves Belgian and do not publicize their Ukrainian ancestry.

As in the past, Ukrainians today do participate in Belgian professional life. Although they may not be in positions of leadership or belong to professional organizations, Ukrainians are active in several professions, including medicine, law, engineering, and pharmacology. Among Ukrainian physicians, there is a clinic director, a professor specializing in cancer research, a neurologist, two surgeons, and three general practitioners. Two Ukrainian lawyers work in the government, and several engineers are found in high positions in industry. One professional in the sociopolitical arena works as a journalist with Radio Svoboda (Radio Liberty); another is a librarian. Some Ukrainian white-collar workers hold important positions in government and private enterprise. In addition to these university-educated professionals, there are many specialists in various occupations that require no more than a secondary or even only an elementary education.

Although it is only a small group, the Ukrainian community in Belgium is nevertheless in the foreground on the social scene. Some would say that the Ukrainians are ghettoized, but the numerous encounters that have characterized the relationship between Ukrainians and the local population since the beginning of Ukrainian settlement in Belgium belie such an assessment. Hundreds of events have been held for the general public at which various groups have depicted the folk culture of Ukraine and offered its culinary riches, and on numerous occasions there have been public services of the Divine Liturgy in the beautiful Ukrainian rite, with its emotional and prayerful singing. The local Belgian population has thus become acquainted with Ukrainian culture and customs. Moreover, Belgium has always perceived the Ukrainian people as strong, self-reliant individuals who are fully involved in the country's economic and social life. From the beginning of their settlement in Belgium, Ukrainians produced income for the country and, at the same time, helped the entire Belgian society. They paid dues to the medical insurance fund, which included coverage for the needs of children, even though, with a few exceptions, they themselves were single individuals. Ukrainians tended not to send large portions of their Belgian earnings to Ukraine, but rather spent or saved their money in the country in which they lived; in this way, they helped build churches, schools, hospitals, old-age homes, cultural and recreational centers, and other establishments in Belgium. Moreover, several hundred Ukrainian women who entered Belgian monasteries devoted their entire lives to ministering to those in orphanages, hospitals, and similar establishments, without receiving any financial remuneration.

This has not been Belgium's experience with all its immigrant groups. The government spent large sums of money on other immigrants, providing interpreters, teachers for their children, financial aid for their families, and other services. The money these immigrants earned in Belgium did not remain in the country but went back to their countries of origin. They were much less socially active in Belgium than the Ukrainians, and, for the most part, tended to isolate themselves in their own ghettos.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

The first ties between Ukraine and Belgium go back to the fourteenth century and possibly earlier, when trade links existed between Kievan Rus' and Flanders. At that time, there were also ties with other provinces in the territory now known as Belgium (which became an independent country in 1830).

Trade between Ukraine and Flanders and the land of the Walloons continued into more

modern times, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During the Cossack Era, the Flemish and French press were actively interested in events in Ukraine. At that time, there were even some Ukrainian students at the Catholic University of Louvain.

In the nineteenth century, Belgian employers took part in the growing industry in Ukraine, which they knew as Russia. Considerable capital was expended (more than a billion Belgian francs at the time), mainly in the industries of mining (in the Donbas and Kryvyi Rih regions of Ukraine), machine building, and cement. Many Belgians who spent time in Ukraine at the end of the nineteenth and, especially, the beginning of the twentieth century were able to instill an interest in Ukraine not only among their employers but also in some circles of the Belgian intelligentsia. Belgian monastic orders took a particular interest: the Redemptorist Fathers, for example, created a Ukrainian branch.

The small number of Ukrainians who lived in Belgium before the First World War were organized into the Ruska Bezstoronnia Hromada, or the Cercle Neutre Ruthène (Circle of Neutral Ruthenians). It was only after the war, in the early 1920s, that a sizable number of Ukrainians migrated to Belgium. Among the first to arrive were soldiers from the ranks of the Ukrainian armies (the army of the Ukrainian National Republic, the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, and the Ukrainian Galician Army), along with political refugees. They were followed by workers seeking employment, students, and Ukrainian nuns. A diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian National Republic headed by Prof. A. Yakovliv, with authority in Belgium and Holland, was active in Belgium in the years 1919–23. At that time, the Ukrainska Respublykanska Kapelia (Ukrainian Republican Kapelle, later known as the Ukrainian National Choir), directed by O. Koshyts, was touring in Belgium, performing well-received concerts in cities throughout the country. Several members of the choir settled in Belgium and started families there after the group disbanded.

Count Mykhailo Tyshkevych, Ukrainian ambassador to the Vatican and later head of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, was a member of the honorary committee for the reconstruction of the famous library of the Catholic University in Louvain, which was destroyed during the First World War.

Between the two world wars, there was a larger, well-organized Ukrainian community in Belgium, consisting of more than six hundred people. Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky visited Belgium several times in the 1920s and later corresponded with the Primate of Belgium, the well-known Désiré Cardinal Mercier.

It was during this period that the quite active Tovarystvo Kolyshnikh Ukrainskykh Voiakiv (Society of Former Ukrainian Soldiers) was organized. Widespread political activity was led by D. Andriievsky, who was aided by Ukrainian veterans as well as by students, whose own organization, the Natsionalnyi Soiuz Ukrainskykh Studentiv (NaSUS, National Union of Ukrainian Students), was formed in1929 and is still in existence today. From the very beginning, the group was a member of the international Ukrainian student organization Tsentralnyi Soiuz Ukrainskykh Studentiv (TSeSUS, Central Union of Ukrainian Students). Thanks to the great benefactor and patron of Ukrainian students Rev. R. Jardin, S.J., fifty-six students (including three women) came to Louvain in 1932 from Galicia in Western Ukraine. The National Union of Ukrainian Students, boasting some eighty members, was the second-largest student organization in the diaspora (the largest was the one in Prague). It was also one of the largest and most active groups of all the foreign students in Louvain, who numbered some four hundred and represented thirty-four nations. Ukrainians held the post of president of the International Circle of Foreign Students in Louvain and, later, that of general secretary as well. A good male choir and a dance ensemble were organized within

the student organization. Through their popularity among the Belgians, they not only promoted Ukrainian national art and folklore, but also spread information about the fate of the Ukrainian nation.

The continued ties between Western Ukraine and Belgium in the 1920s and 1930s were attributable largely to the efforts of the Redemptorist Fathers, more than twenty of whom resided permanently in Galicia and Volhynia. (Roughly the same number left to do missionary work among Ukrainians in Canada.) Several Ukrainian Redemptorist monks studied in Belgium at the time; among them were Archbishop Volodymyr Sterniuk of Ukraine and Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk of Canada. Articles about events in Ukraine on both sides of the River Zbruch often appeared in the Belgian press. There were countless other activities in which the early Ukrainian immigrants were involved.

Besides the political emigrants, the students, and the workers, who were mainly from Transcarpathia, more than three hundred novices, with the help of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy and the Redemptorist Fathers, migrated to Belgium from Western Ukraine and entered various Belgian monasteries. Unfortunately, most of these young novices were assigned to heavy work in the laundry and kitchen and were not given the opportunity to obtain even a minimal education.

During the Second World War, some Ukrainians, especially those in leadership positions, left Belgium, but the majority, notably the workers, students, and nuns, remained in the country.

From 1945, and especially after 1947, the Ukrainian community in Belgium grew from hundreds to thousands of people. The first to immigrate were predominantly young women, primarily from Central Ukraine. Numbering more than fifteen hundred, these women migrated with Belgians who, like themselves, had either worked in Hitler's Germany or had been in captivity. Some of these young women later emigrated overseas, but the majority remained in the country and married Belgians.

Workers and students also came to Belgium at this time. After the Second World War, a revival of Ukrainian community life began in the university city of Louvain. It was here that the first meeting of the organizers of the Ukrainskyi Dopomohovyi Komitet (Ukrainian Relief Committee) was held; its seat was later moved to Brussels, where it remains active to this day. An Ukrainskyi Studentskyi Dim (Ukrainian Student Home) was established in Louvain with the help of the Apostolic See and Archbishop Ivan Buchko.

After 1947, increasing numbers of students were arriving in Belgium, and the National Union of Ukrainian Students once again became one of the largest foreign-student groups at the University of Louvain, numbering more than seventy members in the years 1947–52. As in the 1930s, a good choir and a dance ensemble were active.

Besides the students, there were also workers arriving en masse from the displaced-persons camps in Germany for contract work in the Belgian mines. Many of the newcomers, who numbered more than ten thousand, had secondary or higher education. Nevertheless, all of them had to go to work in the coal industry. Some of these "coal miners" returned to Germany after a short time, and many emigrated to the United States and Canada in the 1950s. Approximately five thousand Ukrainians remained in Belgium. The Ukrainian community was rather active in the years 1947–52, when there were many Ukrainians in the country. Although they are a relatively small group, Ukrainians in Belgium have been and remain active, expending much effort and work toward their own self-preservation. They have also contributed to the development of the Ukrainian diaspora.

Since 1947, various Ukrainian organizations and institutions have been established in Belgium, introducing various church, social, and cultural-educational activities. Many of these organizations are active to this day.

Religious Life

Ukrainians in Belgium have had their religious needs ministered to since the beginning of the 1920s. At first, they were served by the Redemptorist Fathers of the Belgian Eastern rite, but by the late 1930s, Ukrainian priests had already arrived in Belgium.

Between the two world wars, the Ukrainian community in Belgium had several visits by hierarchs and dignitaries of the Ukrainian Catholic Church: Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky visited Belgium twice, and Bishop M. Charnetsky and the Reverend Dr. Y. Slipy, later Metropolitan and Cardinal, each visited once. It was through these visits as well as through ties with religious orders such as the Redemptorists, Benedictines, and the women's order of the Sisters of Mercy of Saint Vincent de Paul that the Belgian hierarchy became well informed about the Ukrainian Church and the Ukrainian rite.

Since 1934, there has been a permanent small church, that of Saint Volodymyr the Great, with a beautiful iconostasis in the Eastern Byzantine rite, on the grounds of the monastery of the Redemptorist Fathers in Brussels. The flag of the Society of Former Ukrainian Soldiers was blessed in this chapel in 1934; it was later given to the Belgian national military museum in Brussels, where it was refurbished in the 1950s and can be found to this day.

Since 1945, the Church of Saint Volodymyr has been a meeting place for the many Ukrainians who have attended services. Among the worshipers were many American and even more Canadian Ukrainians who served in the divisions of the Allied Forces that liberated Belgium. In the first few years after the war, hundreds of marriages were performed in this small church. It was also here that a Divine Liturgy was celebrated on October 31, 1948, on the occasion of the First Congress of Ukrainians in Belgium. This historic church was destroyed by fire in the autumn of 1988 under mysterious circumstances, which remain unexplained. By that time, however, Ukrainians had not been using the church, since a few years earlier they had acquired a much larger one on the outskirts of the city.

The parish in Brussels is not large, numbering only several scores of faithful, who are served by the Reverend Andrii Onuferko. The Divine Liturgy is celebrated in the Ukrainian language every Sunday and is attended by twenty-five to forty people, and twice that number on major holy days.

The Reverend A. Onuferko also serves the neighboring city of Louvain. The Ukrainian community in Louvain today is even smaller than that of Brussels, numbering only several families and five older nuns, who are in Belgian monasteries but come to the services. Nevertheless, Louvain is the seat of the Apostolic Visitature, which has its own large buildings and a boarding house for students (which has, of late, housed mostly Belgians, because of the very small number of Ukrainians). There is a small but beautifully furnished chapel, with an iconostasis and a tabernacle, in the home of the Apostolic Visitature. The Divine Liturgy is celebrated once a week in this chapel, with some twelve to fifteen faithful attending. On major holy days, services are celebrated jointly with the faithful of Brussels.

The largest number of Catholic faithful are found in the vicinity of the city of Liège, located roughly sixty miles (one hundred kilometers) east of Brussels. The Liège Ukrainian community is the oldest in Belgium. Between the two world wars, there was a large and active Ukrainian community in the city. There was also an organized parish, which had its church services in the Belgian church of the Redemptorist Fathers. Today, the Liège parish has its own church, in which the Divine Liturgy is celebrated every Sunday and is attended by some 100 faithful; on major holy days, this number may exceed 250. The pastor is the Reverend Petro Kostiuk, a young Ukrainian priest who is also active in community life.

There is also a small Orthodox community in Liège. It holds church services once a

month in a borrowed chapel, attended by some twenty faithful. In the years 1948–50, the Most Reverend M. Khoroshy, Archbishop of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, resided in Liège.

The next-largest community after the one in Liège is in the city of Genk, in the province of Limbourg. This province is home to primarily postwar immigrants, although Ukrainians from Transcarpathia lived in a few locations in the province between the two world wars. In the years 1947–60, Limbourg had five parishes, some of which were very large and active and exemplarily organized. Today, there is only one central Catholic parish, in Genk, although the faithful continue to live in the surrounding areas. There is a spacious new church with a large iconostasis, as in Brussels. The Divine Liturgy is celebrated not only on Sundays but daily, in Ukrainian; a Belgian and a Dutch priest belonging to the Ukrainian Exarch of the Eastern Rite serve the Ukrainian community. The church and the priests' quarters as well as the meeting halls for the faithful are the property of the Tovarystvo Sviatoi Sofii (Saint Sophia Religious Association). Approximately 70–90 faithful attend regular Sunday services; on major holy days the number reaches 220.

Genk is also home to the large and beautiful new Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. The only Orthodox priest in Belgium resides here and serves three communities, each of which is quite small, since there are only several scores of Orthodox faithful in all of Belgium.

The most active Catholic parish is in Charleroi, in the province of Hainaut, some fifty miles (eighty kilometers) south of Brussels. The Very Reverend Mitred Archpriest Ivan Kit has resided here since the 1950s, serving as the Ukrainian Vicar General for all of Belgium. Through the efforts of the Reverend Mitred Kit, the Ukrainian Catholic community acquired its own church, in which the Divine Liturgy is celebrated daily as well as on Sundays and holy days, when morning matins and sometimes evening vespers are also celebrated. Approximately 50–70 people attend Sunday Mass; on important holy days, this number rises to about 150, or approximately 70 percent of all the faithful. There is a regular religious education program at the parish in Charleroi, which includes instruction in the Ukrainian rite. School children receive their First Holy Communion in the Ukrainian rite and not in the Latin rite, as they often do in other parishes.

The Reverend Mitred Kit celebrates the Divine Liturgy every two weeks in such places as Tamines, Trazegnies, and Namur, where, in total, there are more than seventy faithful attending services on Sundays and twice that number on major holy days.

There is no Orthodox community in Charleroi.

The neighboring parish in the same province is that of La Louvier–Strepy, where a small number of Ukrainians from Transcarpathia had settled between the two world wars. With a few exceptions, these immigrants considered themselves Ruthenians and did not join the Ukrainian community. However, they did attend Ukrainian church services regularly (as the older ones still do today). The parish in La Louvier–Strepy is served by the Reverend Dr. Bohdan Kurylas. It does not have its own church, so services, which are attended by some 35–45 faithful (and more than 120 on major holy days), are held in the Roman Catholic church.

The Orthodox church in this province is found in Morage. The Divine Liturgy is served once a month in a small chapel owned by the Ukrainian Orthodox, with some fifteen to twenty faithful attending the services.

The third Catholic parish in the province of Hainaut is in Wasmes, also home to postwar immigrants. It is served by the Reverend Feliks Bilenky. The parish has its own small church with an iconostasis; adjoining it is the church hall and a residence for the priest, as well as

classrooms for the Ukrainian supplementary Saturday school. Divine Liturgy is celebrated daily as well as on Sunday and is attended by approximately 35–50 faithful on Sundays and more than 130 on major holy days.

There is no Orthodox community in Wasmes.

All told, there are more than thirteen hundred churchgoing Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox faithful in Belgium. The number would be much larger if it included those who come to church once a year, at Eastertime, and those who come only on special occasions, such as the weddings, baptisms, or funerals of relatives. Attendance at Divine Liturgies is not large, with the highest percentage of attendees found among older people. Since there are no brotherhoods, these statistics are taken from church committees in the parishes or parish councils. All these committees and councils are quite active and cooperate with the pastors.

Although there are no Ukrainian Evangelical communities, a small percentage of Ukrainians, notably in the vicinity of Liège, do belong to Belgian Evangelical communities and to various sects.

In the past, almost 90 percent of parents, even those in mixed marriages, baptized their children in the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite. Today, depending on the parish, about 50–70 percent of young parents, most of whom are in mixed marriages, baptize their children in the Ukrainian rite.

Very few children receive their First Holy Communion in the Ukrainian rite. Only one parish sees to it that this is done, and prepares children accordingly. Almost 70 percent of couples, including those in mixed marriages, receive the sacrament of matrimony in the Ukrainian rite. Most funerals are also conducted in the Ukrainian rite.

Of all the customs associated with Christian holy days, the most popular, even among young couples, is that of blessing *paskas* (Easter breads) and other traditional Easter foods. Fewer people (approximately 15–20 percent), celebrate the traditional Christmas Eve supper, and fewer still observe the custom of blessing water on Epiphany, though many do come to church. The custom of priests blessing homes with holy water is still widely observed. Caroling is also still practiced, though rarely in individual homes. With only a few exceptions, most young people do not know about *shchedrivky* (carols/ritual songs traditionally sung on New Year's Eve–Epiphany Eve). Other folk customs have unfortunately been forgotten.

As of 1989, the Ukrainian Catholic Church had five Ukrainian priests (one of whom is a Redemptorist monk) and three non-Ukrainian priests (two Belgian and one Dutch) serving the Ukrainian population in Belgium. In addition, there were three other non-Ukrainian priests authoritized to serve in the Eastern rite who helped out from time to time. There are currently six localities in all of Belgium where Ukrainian Catholics have regular Sunday services and four where services are held irregularly. The Exarch for Ukrainian Catholics is the Most Reverend Mykhailo Hrynchyshyn of Paris, France. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, there were fifteen priests to serve the Ukrainian faithful, eight of whom were Ukrainian. Holy days are still observed according to the Julian calendar.

There is only one Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox priest for all of Belgium. He is employed as an office worker on weekdays.

There are two Ukrainian men in Belgium who belong to a religious order – a Redemptorist priest and a brother of the same order – and about seventy Ukrainian women serving as nuns in various monasteries throughout the country. One of the largest orders is that of the Sisters of Mercy of Saint Vincent de Paul. This order has had a branch in Ukraine since 1922: it did not interrupt its work even in times of extreme persecution of the church in Ukraine, thanks to the Belgian nuns who refused to abandon the country even though they were threatened with deportation to Siberia. In 1939, there were eighty Ukrainian nuns in

this order in Belgium. Since the 1970s, the Mother Superior has made several trips to Lviv to offer financial and moral support to the Ukrainian nuns who belong to her order. She also provides generous aid to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Belgium. There were two Ukrainian Sisters of Mercy who were teachers; one of them taught in the Ukrainian supplementary Saturday schools for years, commuting almost 75 miles (120 kilometers) every week. One Ukrainian nun is a Mother Superior in another monastery, which also generously helps Ukrainian priests and Ukrainian nuns (the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate and the Sisters of Saint Basil the Great) in Poland.

Education and Professional Life

Although there are no Ukrainian elementary or secondary schools in Belgium, there are supplementary Saturday schools offering two to three hours of Ukrainian-language instruction per week. The Ukrainske Naukovo-Osvitne Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Centre of Studies in Belgium) provides these courses. In the 1988–9 academic year, there were seven instructors (four of whom were young professional teachers) and approximately sixty-five students.

In the past, the Ukrainian Centre of Studies in Belgium offered very well organized biweekly or monthly courses in Ukrainian studies. In the years 1958–70, there were more than 120 students and 8 teachers (all of the teachers had a university education). The Centre published summaries of Ukrainian history, geography, language, and literature. More than thirty thousand leaflets dealing with various branches of Ukrainian studies were published at the time. Lately, the courses have been offered only during the three-week Ukrainian summer camps, which are attended primarily by younger children, and the one-week winter camps, which are attended by fifteen- to twenty-five-year-olds. The camps have a total of not more than eighty participants. There are no Ukrainian institutions of higher learning in Belgium.

There are no Ukrainian professional organizations in Belgium. However, since 1947, there has been a trade union – the Spilka Ukrainskykh Robitnykiv v Belhii (Union of Ukrainian Workers in Belgium). It was initially part of the Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens (Confederation of Christian Unions), one of the largest labor unions in the country. The goal of the Union was mainly to defend the occupational needs of workers and to inform them of their rights. At that time, 99 percent of Ukrainians worked under harsh conditions in the coal industry. Moreover, almost none of them knew the local languages and, as a result, they flocked to the Union for advice and information and to socialize with their countrymen.

Today, young people know the local languages well. Futhermore, they work in various industries, under much better conditions, and in professions and skilled occupations. Consequently, they do not feel the need for the services of such an organization. The Union of Ukrainian Workers in Belgium has therefore almost ceased its activity, although it still exists formally.

A Ukrainian publishing house has existed in Brussels for many years, and during Omelian Koval's tenure as president of the Central Committee of the Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (SUM, Ukrainian Youth Association), the journals *Krylati* (The Winged Ones) and *Avangard* (Vanguard), as well as many books and brochures, were published. The publishing house exists to this day, and O. Koval continues to put out publications, including the *Visti* (News) of the Ukrainian Relief Committee in Belgium.

Several publications appeared in Belgium between the two world wars through the efforts of the Evropeiska Federatsiia Ukraintsiv na Chuzhyni (European Federation of Ukrainians in Exile). Among them were *La famine en Ukraine: ses horreurs, ses causes et*

ses effets (The Famine in Ukraine: Its Horrors, Its Causes and Its Effects) and *L'union des églises et les persécutions polonaises en Ukraine* (The Union of Churches and the Polish Persecutions in Ukraine). Many articles in French and small informational booklets on Ukraine were also published.

After 1945, and especially in the 1950s and later, several other works by various Ukrainian authors writing in French were published with the aid of the Ukrainian Centre of Studies in Belgium. They include *Les ouvriers étrangers en Belgique* (Foreign Workers in Belgium); *L'Ukraine en droit international* (Ukraine in International Law); *La Ligne Curson et le II Guerre Mondiale* (The Curzon Line and the Second World War); *Incorporation de l'Ukraine subcarpatique à l'Ukraine soviétique, 1944–45* (The Incorporation of Subcarpathian Ukraine into Soviet Ukraine, 1944–45); and *L'Ukraine soviétique dans les relations internationales, 1918–1923* (Soviet Ukraine in International Relations, 1918–1923); as well as the Ukrainian-language publications *Ukrainska Katolytska Parokhiia i Tserkva sv. Norberta v Krakovi* (Ukrainian Catholic Parish and Church of St. Norbert in Kraków) and *Meletii Smotrytskyi: Podvyzhnyk tserkovnoi yednosty* (Meletii Smotrytsky: Ardent Champion of Church Unity).

Cultural Life

Language Spoken

The Ukrainian language has had an unhappy fate in Belgium. Of the 2,332 Ukrainians in the country, only about 1,421 know or understand the Ukrainian language, even minimally. Almost all children up to the age of fourteen speak the local languages exclusively. Some of them understand Ukrainian well, others poorly. Most young people between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five also speak the local languages exclusively; only a few speak Ukrainian. Approximately 40 percent understand the Ukrainian language; about 10 percent read or write it. People between the ages of twenty-six and forty-nine, with the exception of a small number who speak Ukrainian among themselves, use the local languages. Approximately 70 percent speak Ukrainian; 30 percent read and write it. This age group is characterized by a large number of mixed marriages, which helps account for the unhappy fate of the Ukrainian language. A few non-Ukrainian spouses have learned the Ukrainian language and willingly use it. People over the age of fifty tend to use the Ukrainian language exclusively, unless they are among the many who married non-Ukrainians.

The Arts

There are no Ukrainian professional painters or other artists in Belgium, but there is one collector knowledgeable in the Ukrainian arts. There are also several people who are actively interested in folk arts such as *pysanky* (Ukrainian Easter eggs) and embroideries.

An amateur song and dance ensemble, Poltava, directed by V. and F. Derevianka at the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Genk, has been very active for years.

The Khor Tysiacholittia Khreshchennia Ukrainy (Choir of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine), with approximately sixty members, and the Taras Shevchenko Choir, which is composed almost exclusively of Belgians, provide both Ukrainians and Belgians with a sample of Ukrainian religious and folk music. The Shevchenko Choir was instrumental in acquainting the Belgian people not only with Ukrainian music but also with Ukraine itself.

The well-known opera singer Miro-Skalia (Myroslav Starytsky) had a contract with the Royal Opera in Brussels, where he performed in leading roles for two years.

Andrii Svirko translated into French a novel by Ivan Franko, a novel by Andrii Chaikivsky, and several poems by Taras Shevchenko, and published them at his own expense. Roman

Baboval, a specialist in nuclear medicine who is in charge of the radiotherapy department at a local hospital, is also a poet who belongs to the Ukrainian division of the PEN Club and the Ukrainian "New York group of poets" and is a correspondent of *Svito-Vyd* (World-View), published in New York and Kiev. He has published several books of poetry in both Ukrainian and French, including *Navishcho pro te zhaduiu?* (Why Do I Mention That?), *Nichni perekazy* (Nocturnal Tales), and *La nuit des oiseaux* (The Night of the Birds). Kuzma Dmytryk has published numerous poems in various journals as well as several books of poetry, the most important of which is *Miroir des vanités* (Mirror of Vanities), containing poems in Ukrainian, French, German, and Russian and published in a deluxe edition with numerous color photographs. Irena Stetsyk wrote a novel in French entitled *Une petite femme aux yeux bleus* (A Small Woman with Blue Eyes), which was published by the well-known French publisher R. Fayard. Stetsyk, who wrote two other books, received first prize for this work.

In 1987–88, a luxurious illustrated book entitled *The Millennium of the Holy Baptism of Kievan Rus', 988–1988* was published in French, Dutch, and English through the efforts of the Apostolic Visitature and with the financial support of a Belgian benefactor, Mrs. Convent.

The Media

Various Ukrainian bulletins and leaflets were published in Belgium between the two world wars. The newspaper *Visti* (News), an organ of the Ukrainian Relief Committee in Belgium, has been appearing since 1945, first as a biweekly, then as a monthly, and lately as a bimonthly.

The religious journal *Holos Khrysta Cholovikoliubtsia* (Voice of Christ, Lover of Mankind) has been appearing since 1946, most recently as an organ of the Apostolic Exarchate for Benelux, France, and Switzerland. It was published as a monthly for many years, then as a bimonthly, and lately as a quarterly.

There are also church bulletins, such as the quarterly *Nashe Dushpastyrstvo* (Our Parish Work), which has been appearing in the Charleroi parish for more than forty years, and the quarterly *Tserkovnyi Buleten* (Church Bulletin), which has been appearing in the Liège parish for more than ten years. A quarterly *Buleten Tovarystva Sviashchennykiv Sviatoho Andreia* (Bulletin of the Saint Andrew Society of Priests), European Branch, is also published in Belgium.

Ridna Shkola (Ukrainian School), the bulletin of the Ukrainian Centre of Studies in Belgium, which is published irregularly, has been in existence for more than twenty-five years.

The press bureau of the Ukrainian Centre of Studies in Belgium and the Ukrainska Katolytska Presova Sluzhba (Ukrainian Catholic Press Service) were both active at the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s. Among the publications that appeared in the past but are no longer in existence are those of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), the "Obnova" ("Rebirth") Association of Ukrainian Catholic Students, and the National Union of Ukrainian Students.

Social and Political Life

A number of Ukrainian organizations were active in Belgium in the past, particularly during periods of significant waves of immigration. Having addressed the unique problems and conditions of the times, however, those organizations outlived their usefulness: Ukrain-

ians in Belgium today are assimilated to the point that they do not need the assistance of immigrant aid organizations. Other types of organizations have ceased to exist because of the decline in the Ukrainian population in Belgium, resulting from emigration abroad. Among the formerly active organizations were the aforementioned Circle of Neutral Ruthenians, European Federation of Ukrainians in Exile, "Obnova" Association of Ukrainian Catholic Students, and Society of Former Ukrainian Soldiers, as well as the Komisiia Dopomohy Ukrainskomu Studentstvu (KoDUS, Ukrainian Students' Aid Commission), Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Studentiv imeny Mykoly Mikhnovskoho (TUSM, Mykola Mikhnovsky Ukrainian Student Association), Obiednannia Ukrainskykh Akademichnykh Tovarystv "Zarevo" ("The Dawning" Association of Ukrainian Academic Societies), and the Marian Sodality.

The following Ukrainian organizations exist in Belgium today:

Natsionalnyi Soiuz Ukrainskykh Studentiv (NaSUS, National Union of Ukrainian Students). Established in 1929; based in Louvain. In the years 1932–9, it included an active choir and dance ensemble. After the war, the organization renewed its activities and was initially very active not only among student organizations but also among community and youth organizations. Louvain was the site of various congresses of the Central Union of Ukrainian Students, the parent organization to which the Union belonged from its very inception, and of Obnova, the majority of whose student members were also members of the Union starting in 1935. Various dance and vocal ensembles and choirs have been active under the auspices of the Union over the course of the past forty years. The organization has survived to this day, but with a very small number of students and with little activity. The membership of the Union has ranged from a maximum of ninety to a minimum of twelve; for many years, it stood at thirty-five to forty. The National Union of Ukrainian Students founded and belongs to the Soiuz Ukrainskykh Studentskykh Tovarystv na Evropu (SUSTE, Union of Ukrainian Student Organizations in Europe).

Ukrainskyi Dopomohovyi Komitet (Ukrainian Relief Committee in Belgium). Founded in 1945 and housed in its own building in Brussels, the organization was very active in its early years of existence, when it had twenty-six branches, hundreds of members, and more than ten choirs and dance and dramatic ensembles. With the mass exodus of Ukrainians overseas or back to Germany, the membership dwindled along with the organization's activities. Today, the Ukrainian Relief Committee in Belgium numbers 270 members organized into nine branches that carry on cultural and community activities.

Soiuz Ukraintsiv u Belhii (Union of Ukrainians in Belgium). Established at the end of the 1940s as a result of a division within the Ukrainian community, the Union has no more than thirty members today.

Obiednannia Ukrainok u Belhii (Union of Ukrainian Women in Belgium). Established in 1948, the Union belongs to the Svitova Federatsiia Ukrainskykh Zhinochykh Orhanizatsiy (SFUZHO, World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations). An active and large organization, it became well known in Belgium because of its exhibitions of folk art for the Belgian and Ukrainian public. With the help of other organizations, the Union of Ukrainian Women in Belgium organized well-attended, joint Christmas Eve suppers as well as traditional Easter dinners. Lately, these events have not been organized in all the Ukrainian centers.

Spilka Ukrainskykh Robitnykiv v Belhii (Union of Ukrainian Workers in Belgium). Established in 1947, the Union was active in the days when workers needed advice, information, and protection of their rights. It has all but ceased its activities today, though it does continue to exist formally.

Ukrainske Naukovo-Osvitne Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Centre of Studies in Belgium). Established in 1947, the Centre is responsible for Ukrainian supplementary Saturday schools as well as for publishing activity. At one time, it offered courses in Ukrainian studies. The original members of the Centre were people with postsecondary education; over time, however, the membership came to include anyone who was or had been involved in teaching the Ukrainian language and organizing courses, or who merely believed firmly in Ukrainian schooling.

Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (SUM, Ukrainian Youth Association). Established in 1947, the organization has been widely active since its inception, and its membership continues to include more middle-aged and older people than adolescents and young adults. It was only in the 1950s that young people began to be organized into membership, much after the pattern of Plast, Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization; the Ukrainian Scouts), which was active in Belgium in the years following the Second World War. Plast groups were formed in localities with Ukrainian immigrants from Germany; there were five such groups, with several scores of scouts or candidates for scouts. The groups ceased to be active because of the lack of educators. New scout candidates either joined other youth organizations that were popular at the time or ceased to participate in such organizations altogether.

The Ukrainian Youth Association is credited with having accomplished important educational work in Belgium. It organized choirs, ballet groups, and folk-art courses. Today, the organization has approximately 150 members, including many older people in addition to youth. With the help of the Ukrainian Relief Committee in Belgium and the cooperation of the Union of Ukrainian Women in Belgium, SUM organizes yearly summer camps for forty to fifty participants and winter educational courses in Ukrainian studies for older youth. Youngsters from neighboring countries, including England, France, and Germany, and a few from the Netherlands, take part in the winter courses. In the past, professors from the Ukrainian Free University in Munich conducted the winter courses, but lately the courses have been taught by SUM educators themselves.

Tovarystvo za Patriiarkhalnyi Ustriy Ukrainskoi Katolytskoi Tserkvy v Belhii (Society for the Establishment of the Patriarchate for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Belgium). Established in 1969 to replace the Ukrainskyi Khrystyianskyi Rukh (Ukrainian Christian Movement), the Society has the same members and almost the same administration as its predecessor. An active laymen's movement in Belgium for almost fifteen years, the Ukrainian Christian Movement had published a quarterly bulletin and organized lectures, meetings, and seminars. It had more than a hundred members and several hundreds of adherents. When, at the end of the 1960s, a movement for the creation of a Patriarchate was born, the administration of the Ukrainian Christian Movement began to organize a new lay movement.

In its twenty years of existence, the Society for the Establishment of the Patriarchate for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Belgium accomplished much. For many years, the head of the local Society was also the head of its parent organization, the Ukrainske Patriiarkhalne

Svitove Obiednannia (Ukrainian Patriarchal World Union). To this day, Ukrainians in Belgium, in proportion to their number, hold the most subscriptions of any Ukrainian group in the diaspora to the journal *Patriiarkhat* (The Patriarchate) and contribute generously to its press fund.

Tovarystvo Sviatoi Sofii (Saint Sophia Religious Association). Because of the federal constitution of the country, there are two Associations of Saint Sophia in Belgium. The Ukrainskyi Relihiino-Kulturnyi Tsentr imeny Sviatoi Sofii (Ukrainian Religious-Cultural Center of Saint Sophia) is found in the French-speaking section of Belgium, and has its seat in Liège. It has its own large building, which serves the entire Ukrainian community for various events, meetings, classes, and other needs. The Saint Sophia Religious Association is found in the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, and has its seat in Genk. It also owns several large buildings, including a Ukrainian Catholic Church; a residence for the pastor, guard, and guests; a meeting hall; and a library.

"Francopole," a vacation resort in the Ardennes Mountains, is owned by three Ukrainian organizations: the Ukrainian Relief Committee in Belgium, the Union of Ukrainian Women in Belgium, and the Ukrainian Youth Association. A twenty-five-acre (ten-hectare) estate, it is the home of summer camps and winter Ukrainian-studies courses. It also has a hall, a restaurant, and guest houses.

Holovna Rada Ukrainskykh Hromadskykh Orhanizatsiy v Belhii (HRUHOB, Supreme Council of Ukrainian Civic Organizations in Belgium). Since 1948, all the organizations discussed above, regardless of the degree of their activity, together with the leadership of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches, have belonged to HRUHOB. It is an umbrella group that allows for the joint discussion of various common problems.

There is no Ukrainian political life as such in Belgium, though certain organizations are influenced by one or another of several longstanding Ukrainian political factions. However, most young people do not take an active part in such politics.

A number of Ukrainians have been active in Ukrainian community life in Belgium, serving in positions of leadership in various church, community, lay, and youth organizations. Although it is impossible to list every individual who has contributed to the Ukrainian Belgian community, a few of the most active (some of whom are already deceased) should be noted. They include Rev. Ihnat Atamanets, Protopresbyter Ivan Bachynsky, Ivan Boiko, Stepan Bozhyk, Artymon Bydlovsky, Lida Debailo, Mykola Demchuk, Frieda Derevianka, Rev. Ivan Derevianka, Vitalii Derevianka, Rev. Mitred Danylo Dzvonyk, Rev. Hryhorii Fukanchyk, Kyrylo Haidamakha, Myron Khodorovsky, Osypa Khokholiak, Rev. Mitred Ivan Kit, Mykola Kohut, Rev. Petro Kostiuk, Volodymyr Kotliar, Omelian Koval, Rev. Bohdan Kurylas, Ivan Levko, Ivan Levytsky, Hryhorii Panchuk, Volodymyr Popovych, Danylo Satsiuk, Sofia Sydor, Ivan Vytiazh, Zynaida Vytiazh, Andrii Yakovliv, and Petro Zeleny. It should be noted that many other Ukrainians were also active in Ukrainian community life in Belgium before they emigrated to other countries.

The Reverend Otto Goovaerts, a Belgian Catholic priest, has served the Ukrainian faithful since the 1960s. Other non-Ukrainians who were active in the Ukrainian community in Belgium include Rev. Akhil Buls (Belgian Redemptorist), Rev. Mitred Yakiv Perridon (Dutch), and Rev. Maurice Van de Maale (Belgian).

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

The most urgent problem of the Ukrainian community in Belgium is the minimal, or in many cases nonexistent, interest in things Ukrainian – that is, the Ukrainian church, the Ukrainian community in the diaspora, and even Ukraine itself – among the younger and middle-aged generations.

A small percentage of the members of these generations participate in Sunday Divine Liturgies and an even smaller percentage attend various observances to mark national holidays. However, a larger number do attend folkloric performances by well-known ensembles, especially those from Ukraine.

With the exception of a few isolated individuals, the younger or middle-aged generations do not read Ukrainian books or periodicals.

Coupled with this problem is the decline of the Ukrainian language, as well as the decline in church and organizational memberships. (Of the 270 members of the Ukrainian Relief Committee in Belgium, for example, no more than 20 are middle-aged.)

The great percentage of mixed marriages contributes to continuing assimilation, because the children of such marriages not only do not speak Ukrainian, but also know next to nothing about Ukraine. There are exceptions, of course, but they are few.

One must hope that with changes for the better in Ukraine (including Ukraine's new status as an independent country, the new status of Ukrainian as the official language, and the recent relaxations in travel restrictions, occasioning more visits with relatives in Ukraine), the fate of Ukrainians in the diaspora will also change for the better.

These problems of the Ukrainian community are neither new nor unique to Ukrainians living in Belgium. For a long time now, Ukrainians have taken several approaches to combating them, including, in particular, the establishment of Ukrainian churches or chapels and community halls. It seems clear that where there is an inviting and attractive Ukrainian hall or Narodnyi Dim (National Home, or community center) and a church or chapel where Divine Liturgy is celebrated regularly, the Ukrainian community is better preserved as an ethnic group than it is in places that lack such facilities. Church groups and community centers tend to organize classes in the Ukrainian language that are always attended by at least a few pupils. Church and community organizations that commemorate various religious and national holidays have helped to preserve the Ukrainian community in Belgium to the present day and, even more important, to preserve our identity as a separate ethnic group.

It should also be mentioned that Belgium is the only country in Western Europe to have organized a traveling library, through the efforts of the educational coordinator of the Ukrainian Centre of Studies in Belgium. In this way, thousands of Ukrainian books and other materials, including school textbooks, records, charts, paintings, maps of Ukraine, and various leaflets, have found their way into the hands of the Ukrainian people throughout Belgium as well as of their countrymen in eastern and northern France and even in northern Germany.

Another problem of Ukrainians as an ethnic group is the lack of sustained access to print and electronic media that report on events in Ukraine and on the activities of the diaspora. Such access would undoubtedly serve to familiarize the younger generation with Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the world. From time to time, Ukrainians are featured in the news, but this occurs so rarely that such references are lost in the sea of other news items and commentaries.

Ties with Ukrainians in Other Countries

The Ukrainian community in Belgium maintains active ties with Ukrainians in other countries. It has constant and frequent contacts with Ukrainians in northern and eastern France as well as in northern Germany. Ukrainians from these countries attend events in Belgium, and vice versa.

For years, the Ukrainian community in Belgium has participated with Ukrainians of neighboring countries in memorial services in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, in honor of Evhen Konovalets. Belgian Ukrainians also participate in great numbers in the anniversary commemorations in honor of Symon Petliura in Paris, France.

Children from France and England attend the winter Ukrainian-studies courses in Belgium, and Belgian youth travel to those countries as well (in particular, to attend a camp in Mackwiller in eastern France).

The Ukrainian Belgian community has, since the 1960s, always made a strong presence at the various Ukrainian observances that are held in Rome. Ukrainians have traveled to Munich and other cities in northern Germany to celebrate various anniversaries, and they have participated in congresses of the Ukrainian Youth Association in England. A considerable number of Ukrainians have also traveled overseas to visit relatives or a larger Ukrainian community. For the same reason, many Ukrainians from Belgium travel to Poland and to the independent republics of the former Yugoslavia. Lately, the Ukrainian community in Belgium has had a large number of visitors from Ukraine.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

The most important event in the past few years was the celebration of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, which began in Belgium in November 1987. A combined choir of all Belgian Ukrainian choral groups, the Choir of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, was organized for this occasion. Some of its members, most of whom are middle-aged, traveled almost 75 miles (120 kilometers) for choir practice, a distance that is considered large in such a small country. The Millennium celebrations, which took place in fifteen localities, were important in that they were observed not only by a multitude of Ukrainians (including a large representation from the middle-aged and younger generations), but also, and even more important, by thousands of Belgian faithful.

Another important event was the formation of a musical group called "Yavir" (The Maple), consisting of approximately twenty-five young bandura players. This ensemble, which is a perfect example of the close ties that Belgian Ukrainians maintain with their compatriots in other countries, also includes several members from eastern France and, whenever there are larger appearances, several more from Germany. Yavir, whose members range in age from ten to thirty years, not only performed at all the festivities associated with the Millennium celebrations, but has also had very successful appearances before exclusively Belgian and French audiences.

Two other important events that occurred in recent years were the building of a large and beautiful Ukrainian Orthodox Church and the establishment of the large Center of Saint Sophia, both in Genk.

In June 1989, Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky met with local authorities in Brussels to discuss the creation and financing of a Ukrainian section of the Catholic Radio and Television Network, in order to transmit religious radio broadcasts to Ukraine. The Ukrainian

radio programs of Radio Resurrection were launched in November 1989; in May 1992, this Ukrainian section of the Catholic network, under the chief editorship of the Reverend Dr. Andrii Onuferko, moved its Brussels operations to Lviv, Ukraine.

Notes

1 Translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko
2 Statistics refer to the end of 1988; since that time, there have been a number of deaths as well as a few births in the Ukrainian community. Precise current figures are not available.

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UKRAINIANS IN DENMARK

Ann Lencyk Pawliczko

Country Data

Official Name – Kongeriget Danmark (Kingdom of Denmark)

Geographic Location – Located in Northern Europe, Denmark lies between 54°34′ and 57°45′ north latitude and 8°05′ and 15°12′ east longitude. Its land area is divided between Jylland (Jutland) and 406 islands, 97 of which are inhabited. The largest of the islands are Själland (home of Copenhagen), Fyn, Lolland, Falster, and Bornholm. Denmark is bordered by the Strait of Skagerrak on the north; the Strait of Kattegat on the east; Germany and the Baltic Sea on the south; and the North Sea on the west.

Area – 16,638 sq. mi., or 43,093 sq km

Population density – 310.6 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 119.9 imhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Copenhagen

Form of Government – Parliamentary state and constitutional monarchy with one legislative house, the Folketing (179 seats)

Official Language – Danish

Population – 5,167,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 97.1% Danish; 1.2% Asian (of which 0.5% Turkish); 0.4% other Scandinavian; 0.2% British; 0.2% Yugoslav; 0.9% other (1990)

Religious Affiliation – 88.9% Evangelical Lutheran; 0.6% Roman Catholic; 0.5% other Protestant; 0.4% other Christian; 9.6% other (1991)

Literacy – virtually 100% (1990)

Percent Urban – 84.8% (1990)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 72.0 years; female, 77.7 years (1989–90)

Per Capita GNP – US$22,090 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Denmark

There are fewer than one hundred Ukrainians in Denmark today, scattered throughout the country. They are primarily middle-aged or elderly. The majority are laborers, though there are several civil servants, academics, and professionals.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

The ancestors of the Danes, the Normans, were part of the Varangian retinue in Kiev in the ninth and tenth centuries. Ties between Ukraine and Denmark were primarily dynastic, dating back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when Kievan princes married their offspring into the Danish royal family: the daughter of Yaroslav Mudryi (Yaroslav the Wise), Yelysaveta Yaroslavna, married Danish king Sweyn II in 1067 (her second marriage); two daughters of Mstyslav I (son of Volodymyr Monomakh) married Danes – Malfrida became the second wife of King Eric Emune, and Ingeborg married Knud Lavard (1096–1131). Thus, the famous King Valdemar I (1131–82), Ingeborg's son, was related to the Monomakh family.

Over the years, various Danes took an interest in Eastern Europe, and a number informed their compatriots about Ukraine through their writings and other activities: the diplomat J. Just wrote an account of his visit to Ukraine in 1711; the literary critic G. Brandes maintained ties with Ukrainian writer I. Franko; the writer A.M. Benedictsen wrote about Ukrainian issues; and T. Lange, who lived in Ukraine at the beginning of the twentieth century, translated the works of Marko Vovchok, along with a number of Ukrainian folk songs, into the Danish language. Translations of the works of several Danish writers have been published in Ukraine and Ukrainian classics have been translated into Danish.

In the economic arena, at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ukrainian cooperative movement in Galicia benefited from the experience of Danish cooperatives.

In 1919, diplomatic ties were established between Ukraine and Denmark, further strengthening relations between the two countries. The Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic sent a delegation headed by D. Levytsky to Copenhagen, and a Danish consulate was opened in the Ukrainian capital.

Although individual Ukrainians had begun to immigrate to Denmark before 1914, it was

only after the Second World War that a sizable number of Ukrainians settled in the country. At that time, roughly a thousand Ukrainians, together with their own Catholic clergy, made Denmark their temporary home. The Ukrainian Catholic pastor, the Reverend M. Syvenky, is buried in Copenhagen.

Ukrainian Community Life in Denmark Today

Today, only a small number of Ukrainians remain in Denmark. Among the more prominent are P. Balytsky, a noted community leader, and H. Malanchuk, formerly a professor at Copenhagen University. The Ukrainian faithful are visited annually by clergy representing the Apostolic Visitator for Europe in Rome and often by Archbishop Myroslav Marusyn himself.

There are no Ukrainian churches, priests, schools, or organizations in Denmark. Some Ukrainians belong to the Ukrainska Hromada (Ukrainian Community) in Sweden. The Ukrainian language is spoken among Ukrainians in Denmark, and the Ukrainian culture is kept alive to a small degree.

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

Among the major concerns of Ukrainians as an ethnic group in Denmark is assimilation into the local population.

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UKRAINIANS IN FINLAND

Ann Lencyk Pawliczko

Country Data

Official Name – Suomen Tasavalta (Finnish), Republiken Finland (Swedish) (Republic of Finland).

Geographic Location – Located in Northern Europe, Finland is bordered by Norway on the north; Russia on the east; the Gulf of Finland on the south; and the Gulf of Bothnia and Sweden on the west. It lies between 59°30′ and 70°05′ north latitude and 19°07′ and 31°35′ east longitude.

Area – 130,559 sq. mi., or 338,145 sq km (including land area and inland water)

Population Density – 42.8 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 16.5 inhabitants per sq km (based on land area only) (1992)

Capital City – Helsinki

Form of Government – Multiparty republic with one legislative house, Parliament (200 seats)

Official Languages – Finnish; Swedish

Population – 5,033,000 (1992)

Ethnic (Linguistic) Composition – 93.5% Finnish; 5.9% Swedish; 0.6% other (1991)

Religious Affiliation – 88.1% Evangelical Lutheran; 1.1% Finnish (Greek) Orthodox; 9.9% nonaffiliated; 0.9% other (1990)

Literacy – virtually 100% (1990)

Percent Urban – 61.7% (1992)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 70.8 years; female, 78.9 years (1989)

Per Capita GNP – US$26,070 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Finland

Several Ukrainian families reside in Finland today, primarily in Helsinki and Turku. There is no organized Ukrainian community nor are there any Ukrainian churches, schools, or organizations in the country. Individual Ukrainians, the majority of whom are intellectuals and professionals, maintain ties with the Ukrainian community in Sweden.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

Ukrainian and Finnish civic leaders in St. Petersburg maintained ties during the years 1809–1917, the period when Finland was an autonomous grand duchy within the Russian Empire. Historian H. Gummerus, who was instrumental in acquainting his countrymen with Ukrainian issues, was the Finnish emissary to the Ukrainian government in Kiev in 1918. K. Losky and V. Zalisniak headed the Ukrainian legation in Finland in 1918–20.

Ukrainians emigrated illegally from Tsarist Russia to Finland at the end of the nineteenth century. The largest emigration was after the First World War, but many of that wave later migrated farther west. A small but active Ukrainian community existed in Finland between the two world wars. Ukrainians also settled in Finland between 1941 and 1945 (especially in the years 1944–5) to escape repatriation. A committee to aid Ukrainian prisoners of war and the Ukrainske Informatsiyne Biuro (Ukrainian Information Bureau), headed by B. Kentrzhynsky, were active in Finland in the years 1942–4. Several Ukrainian books were published in Finland by Kentrzhynsky.

Cultural exchanges between Ukrainians and Finns include translations of Finnish works into Ukrainian, exhibitions of Finnish art in Kiev, and exchanges of artistic ensembles between Finland and Ukraine. Helsinki libraries contain valuable Ukrainian publications dating from prerevolutionary times.

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

The chief concern of Ukrainians as an ethnic group in Finland is assimilation into the local society, particularly that of youth.

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UKRAINIANS IN FRANCE

Arkadii Zhukovsky[1]

Country Data

Official Name – République Française (the French Republic)

Geographic Location – France is located in Western Europe between 42°20′ and 51°05′ north latitude and 5°55′ and 8°10′ east longitude. It is bordered by the English Channel (la Manche) and the Strait of Dover (le pas de Calais) on the north; Belgium and Luxembourg on the northeast; Germany, Switzerland, and Italy on the east; the Mediterranean Sea and Spain on the south; and the Atlantic Ocean on the west.

Area – 210,026 sq. mi., or 543,965 sq km

Population Density – 272.8 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 105.3 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Paris

Form of Government – Republic with two legislative houses of Parliament, the Senate (321 seats) and the National Assembly (577 seats)

Official Language – French

Population – 57,289,000 (1992)

Ethnic (Ethnolinguistic) Composition – 93.2% French (of whom 6.4% are bilingual in Occitan, German [mostly Alsatian], Breton, or Catalan); 2.6% Arabic; 4.2% other (1982)

Religious Affiliation – 76.4% Roman Catholic; 3.7% other Christian; 3.4% atheist; 3.0% Muslim; 13.5% other (1980)

Literacy – 98.8% (1980)

Percent Urban – 74.3% (1990)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 73.0 years; female, 81.1 years (1991)

Per Capita GNP – US$19,480 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in France

Demographic and Social Characteristics

There are approximately 25,000 to 30,000 Ukrainians in France today. The majority were born in France and have assimilated into French society. The majority of Ukrainians who were born outside France have become naturalized French citizens. In addition, in 1981, 3,035 people were registered as Ukrainians in the Office Français de Protection des Réfugiés et Apatrides (French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons) (although the statistics of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for refugees put the number of Ukrainians at 1,774, because many Ukrainians were registered as Polish, Russian, Soviet, and other).

It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of Ukrainians in France since there are no categories in the censuses pertaining to ancestry and nationality. As noted above, there are some Ukrainians among *current* refugees and stateless persons, and their exact numbers are known. The majority of people of Ukrainian descent, however, have become naturalized French citizens and are counted as French in government censuses, or have been recorded in the censuses according to the countries from which they emigrated, as Polish, Russian, Romanian, Hungarian, Czechoslovak, Austrian, or Soviet. (In France, citizenship is often identified with nationality.) The latter categories of Ukrainians are the most difficult to count; the majority of individuals are lost to the Ukrainian community for they do not belong to Ukrainian organizations or attend Ukrainian churches.

Although an estimate of the Ukrainian population can be obtained from the membership lists of Ukrainian organizations, it would represent only a small percentage of the total Ukrainian population, (roughly 10 percent). A much larger percentage would be represented by church memberships; data obtained from priests and parishes would likely provide a more accurate number of Ukrainians.

In the 1930s, there were approximately forty thousand people of Ukrainian descent in France; roughly the same number was found in the period 1946–55, taking natural increase and net migration into account.

The concentrations of Ukrainians in the various areas of France are as follows: (1) Paris and its environs and north-central France (with centers in Bois d'Arcy, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Abondant, Sarcelles, Senlis, Soissons, Mouroux, Sens, Corquilleroy-Chalette, Vésines,

Giens, Brienon, Orléans, Troyes, Reims, Epernay, Sezanne, and Vitry-le-François); (2) approximately 1,500 in northwestern France (with centers in Evreux, Bayeux, Rouen, Caen, Mondeville, and Colombelles); (3) approximately 3,800 in northern France (with centers in Lille, Roubaix, Dunkerque, Le Cateau, Amiens, Albert, Arras, Beauvais, Crécy en Ponthieu, Ham, Lens, Libercourt, Roye, Sailly Flibeaucourt, Saint Pol su Ternoise, and Wavignies); (4) approximately 6,500 (the largest concentration) in eastern France with (centers in Hayange, Villerupt, Nilvange, Knutange, Thionville, Metz, Verdun, Rombas, Algrange, Audun-le-Tiche, Longwy, Nancy, Dombasle, Sedan, Strasbourg, Behren, Créhange, Farébersviller, Morhange, Sarrebourg, Mulhouse, Colmar, Montbelliard, and Sochaux); (5) approximately 5,800 in southeastern France (with centers in Lyon, Dijon, Villefranche-sur-Saône, Grenoble, Saint-Étienne, Montbard, and Montceau-les-Mines); and (6) approximately 2,220 in southwestern France (with centers in Toulouse, Bordeaux, Angoulême, Limoges, Carmaux, Lourdes, Montluçon, Agen, Albi, Alès, Béziers, Rodez, and Clermont-Ferrand). The smallest number of Ukrainians – roughly 1,000 – is found in southern and western France, near the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean.

Participation in the Economic, Political, Professional, and Social Life of the Country

Most Ukrainians in France worked as common laborers or farmers until the Second World War. Professionals in various fields migrated to France only after 1945. In the 1980s, approximately 20 percent of Ukrainians were industrial workers; 15 percent were employed in agriculture; 15 percent were professionals; 10 percent were skilled workers; 10 percent were students; 5 percent worked in the mines; and the remaining 25 percent were those without wage-earning occupations, including housewives and children. With the exception of the 15 percent who are employed in agriculture, Ukrainians live in the cities and surrounding areas.

Among the various Ukrainian professionals and intellectuals in France, one finds approximately 11 physicians, 2 dentists, 25 engineers and architects, 80 technicians without specialized higher education, 1 lawyer, 50 elementary-school teachers, 35 secondary-school teachers, 5 university professors, 5 journalists and 180 office workers, secretaries, and stenographers. At various points in time, several Ukrainians ran their own small enterprises; today, there are twelve small Ukrainian establishments. Among Ukrainian artists, there are 10 painters, 8 musicians, and 5 directors of small amateur choirs.

The Ukrainian settlement in France stabilized with the emigration from the country of a considerable number of Ukrainian settlers after the Second World War, during the late 1940s and the 1950s. For a period of thirty years after that, very few Ukrainians migrated to France, thus the sociodemographic characteristics of the group did not change. Whereas the Ukrainian immigration preserved its former way of life between the two world wars, in the postwar era, it began to mirror its French surroundings in fundamental demographic categories such as natural increase, family size, education, and occupation.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

The first Ukrainian–French ties date back to the eleventh century, when French king Henry I married Anna, daughter of Kievan prince Yaroslav Mudryi (Yaroslav the Wise), on May

19, 1051. After the King's death in 1060, Queen Anna ruled as regent while her son Philip was still a child. Anna founded a monastery and the Church of Saint Vincent in Senlis, near Paris.

Ukrainians have studied at the Sorbonne since the second half of the fourteenth century; they were registered in the student lists as coming "from Ruthenia"(1353, 1369) or as belonging to the "Ruthenian nation from Kiev" (1463, 1469) or the "Natione Ruthenia de Ucraina" (1567). I. Uzhevych, a Ukrainian who studied at the Sorbonne from 1643 to 1645, compiled the first grammar of the "Ruthenian" literary language, *Hramatiku Slovenskuyu* (Slavic Grammar), handwritten in Latin. Original copies of the book are kept in the manuscript division of the Paris National Library (1643) and in the city library in Arras (1645). Ukrainians continued to study in Paris in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (for example, A. Losenko studied in the art school during the years 1760–4). In the seventeenth century, Ukrainians also studied at Strasbourg University.

In 1645, the French government invited a detachment of approximately 2,400 Ukrainian Cossacks to take part in the siege of the fortress Dunkirk, under the command of Prince de Condé, during the war with Spain. The negotiations with the French government at Fontainebleau were led by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. After Dunkirk, the Cossacks settled in Alsace and Lorraine and became assimilated.

The later settlement in France of the adherents of Hetman Ivan Mazepa marked the beginning of Ukrainian immigration in France. After that, the followers of Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, whose leader in France was his son Hryhorii Orlyk (1702–59), also settled there. As a French general, the younger Orlyk brought a unit of Zaporozhian Cossacks to France, creating a separate division in the French army. Losing their ties with Ukraine, the Cossacks were later assimilated.

In the years 1813–15, part of the Cossack regiments that stayed in the Russian army took part in the battle against Napoleon in central and western Europe. There, Ukrainian officers became acquainted with new ideas and, delighted with the spirit of free thinking, returned to Ukraine, where they initiated the development of the Masonic and, later, the Decembrist movements.

Ukrainian cultural activists lived in France for some time, maintaining ties with prominent French cultural leaders. Marko Vovchok lived in France from 1860 to 1867; she developed close ties with the French writers J. Verne, G. Flaubert, G. Sand, and P. Mérimée, as well as with publisher P.J. Hetzel-Stahl. Hetzel-Stahl later co-wrote *Maroussia* (Mary, 1878) with Vovchok, which was reprinted more than thirty times. In 1877, artist Maria Bashkyrtseva began to study in Paris, where she lived until her death in 1884, having produced more than 150 paintings. Her *Lettres* (Letters, 1887) and *Journal d'une jeune fille* (Diary of a Young Girl, 1902) were published there.

In the 1870s, Ukrainian scholar and political theorist M. Drahomanov strove to acquaint French cultural and political leaders with Ukrainian issues. At the 1878 international cultural congress in Paris, over which V. Hugo presided, Drahomanov raised a protest against the Ems Ukase, a Russian decree that forbade the use of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine, and circulated a brochure entitled *La littérature oukrainienne proscrite par le gouvernement russe* (Ukrainian Literature Prohibited by the Russian Government).

In the years 1887–1900, the noted Ukrainian scholar Fedir Vovk lived, studied, and later worked at the School of Anthropology in Paris. He published some of his works in the French language. In 1903, distinguished historian, scholar, prominent political and civic leader, and writer Mykhailo Hrushevsky lived in Paris and taught at the Russian Higher School of Social Sciences.

There was a second, small, Ukrainian immigration wave to France at the beginning of the twentieth century as a result of the revolution in the Russian Empire in 1905. Ukrainians from Galicia were also part of that wave. They founded the first Ukrainian organization, the Ukrainska Hromada v Paryzhi (Cercle des Oukrainiens à Paris; Circle of Ukrainians in Paris; 1908–14), which in 1910 had approximately 120 members, mostly from the Dnieper region, or Eastern Ukraine. They established their own choir, organized Ukrainian-language courses, and published informational brochures on Ukraine in the French language. Among the active members in this group were Ye. Bachynsky, Ya. Fedorchuk, S. Makarenko, S. Mazurenko, M. Parashchuk, M. Rudnytsky, and V. Vynnychenko.

As a result of the pro-Russian politics in France at the beginning of the twentieth century, Ukrainian immigrants (among them Ya. Fedorchuk) were usually alone in acquainting the French with Ukrainian issues. During the First World War, France evaded the Ukrainian question in an effort to avoid antagonizing its ally, Russia. To this end, in 1916, the French government forbade the circulation in the country of *La Revue Ukrainienne* (The Ukrainian Review), a journal published in Lausanne by the Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine).

A large Ukrainian delegation of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Western Ukrainian National Republic came to France to attend the Peace Conference at Versailles in 1919 but encountered difficulties with the French government, which was under Polish and Russian influence and was opposed to the Ukrainian desire for independence. After the Peace Conference, in 1921, the Ukrainian delegation became a special diplomatic mission in France, headed by O. Shulhyn.

The third wave of Ukrainian immigration began after the end of the First World War. It was composed of Ukrainians from the expeditionary Russian corps that fought on the French front; officials of the diplomatic and economic missions of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Western Ukrainian National Republic; former members of O. Koshyts's Ukrainska Respublykanska Kapelia (Ukrainian Republican Kapelle), including O. Chekhivsky, K. Mykolaichuk, and others; prominent leaders of the Ukrainian National Republic, including S. Petliura, V. Prokopovych, O. Shulhyn, and others; and former soldiers and officers of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic who came from internment camps in Poland and Romania after 1924, including M. Kapustiansky, M. Shapoval, and M. and O. Udovychenko.

In the early 1920s, approximately, five thousand Ukrainians lived in France. The largest group of immigrants consisted of Galicians, who, starting in 1923, migrated in search of work. The majority of Ukrainians were employed as laborers in the mines, the textile industry, and metallurgical plants in northern and eastern France and in agriculture throughout the country. The flow of Ukrainians to France diminished in the 1930s.

During the Second World War, thousands of Ukrainian prisoners of war from the Soviet Army were brought by the Germans to France for forced labor. During the German–Soviet war, French sympathies were on the side of the Soviets, so they exhibited no interest in Ukrainian issues. Among the participants in the French resistance were former Soviet prisoners of war, one of whom was a well-known Ukrainian, V. Poryk. Some Ukrainians who served in German army units defected to the French resistance, creating their own military detachments: the Ukrainian Battalion in memory of I. Bohun (820 soldiers), the Battalion in memory of T. Shevchenko (546 soldiers), and the Ukrainian Partisan Detachment under the command of O. Krukovsky. Even though the Ukrainian units fought against the Germans, they were demobilized by the French at the demand of the Soviet Embassy. Some of them enlisted in the Foreign Legion.

The last immigration wave arrived after the Second World War, at which time approximately four thousand Ukrainians migrated to France from the displaced-persons camps in Germany and Austria. Many of them emigrated to the United States and Canada in the 1950s because of difficult living conditions and the lack of employment in France.

Religious Life

Almost two-thirds of Ukrainians in France belong to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and the majority of the remainder are members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. A small number are Protestants and Roman Catholics.

Ukrainian Catholic Church

Ukrainian Catholics in France did not have permanent spiritual care until 1937, when a Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic mission was created in Paris, headed by the Reverend Ya. Perridon (1937–52), who had initially belonged to the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Lviv but, in 1946, as Vicar General of France, came under the jurisdiction of Archbishop I. Buchko of Rome. Father Perridon was assisted from 1942 by the Reverend I. Leskovych, who was Chancellor from 1947 to 1952. The Reverend M. Van de Maale (1953–61) succeeded Father Perridon as Vicar General. In 1942, Ukrainian Catholics founded the Church of Saint-Vladimir-le-Grand in the center of Paris. This church, which dates back to the thirteenth century, included the Charité hospital in which S. Petliura died on May 25, 1926, after having been shot by an assassin. After the Second World War, the number of Ukrainian Catholic priests in France rose to nine (1950). In 1954, an Ordynariat for Catholics of the Eastern rite, including Ukrainian Catholics, was established under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Paris and was administered by Monsignors Deschamps and Marchasson.

An Exarchate with its seat in Paris was created for Ukrainian Catholics in France in 1961, under the leadership of Bishop Volodymyr Malanchuk. After Bishop Malanchuk's retirement, Bishop Mykhailo Hrynchyshyn of Canada became the Exarch of Ukrainian Catholics in France, in 1983. The Bishop is assisted by the Vicar General and the Chancellor as well as by exarchal consultants and the exarchal committee. There are approximately 10,000 Ukrainian Catholics in France and eleven Ukrainian Catholic priests. Today, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in France has eleven pastoral districts: Paris, with two attended localities and 2,000 faithful, served by the Reverend Yaroslav-Roger Salevych; Amiens, with twelve attended localities and 1,500 faithful, served by the Reverend Yulian Prokopiv; Corquilleroy-Chalette (Loiret), with six attended localities and 2,000 faithful, served by the Reverend Ya. Salevych; Evreux (Eure), with one attended locality and 600 faithful, and Colombelles (Calvados), served by the Reverend Zenon Yurii Pylypiak; Lille, with three attended localities and 1,000 faithful, served by the Reverend Zenon Narozniak; Lourdes-Toulouse, with ten attended localities and 400 faithful, served by the Reverend Vasyl Pryima; Lyon, with six attended localities and 1,000 faithful, served by the Reverend Mykhailo Vasylyk; Metz (Moselle) with six attended localities and 400 faithful, served by the Reverend Ivan Luzhetsky; Mulhouse (Haut-Rhin), with two attended localities and 300 faithful, served by the Reverend Mykhailo Dlubak; Reims (Marne), with four attended localities and 150 faithful, served by the Reverend Ivan Boichuk; and Strasbourg (Bas-Rhin), with five attended localities and 500 faithful, served by the Reverend Pavlo Kohut.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church had a minor seminary in Loury in the years 1952–6; it was subsequently moved to Rome. The Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate have their

homes in Paris and Mackwiller. The Reverend Z. Narozniak organized the Saint Volodymyr Cultural Center in Lille. In 1982, the pilgrim church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary was built in Lourdes.

Church publications include *Slidamy Maloi Sviatoi* (In the Footsteps of a Little Saint), a quarterly journal that has appeared since 1947 and is currently under the editorship of the Reverend Yu. Prokopiv, and *Dushpastyrskyi Lystok* (Pastoral Newsletter), a monthly bulletin that has appeared since 1961. Additional publications appeared on the occasion of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church

Orthodox Ukrainians in France, who follow the Julian calendar, did not have their own church until 1925. In that year, the first congress of the Ukrainian Orthodox took place in Knutange; its participants invited the Reverend P. Hrechyshkyn, from Transcarpathian Ukraine, to serve them in France. In 1934, after the departure of Father Hrechyshkyn, who was under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Ioan Teodorovych of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the United States, the Reverend Ilarion Bryndzan was invited to serve in France. Father Bryndzan, who was under the jurisdiction of Metropolitan Dionisius of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Poland, fulfilled his pastoral mission in France until his death in 1946. Archbishop Mstyslav Skrypnyk, later Patriarch, resided in Paris from the end of 1946 to mid-1947, renewing the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in France. From 1948 to 1961, the pastor of the Parisian parish of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was the Reverend Volodymyr Vyshnevsky, who was also the administrator of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in France. Father Vyshnevsky contributed greatly to the development of Orthodox life in France. One such contribution was his preparation for the priesthood of Stefan Chervonetsky, Yevhraf Omelchenko, Petro Popel, and Mykhailo Yeremiiv, who were subsequently ordained and fulfilled their priestly duties in various parishes in France. The Reverend Vyshnevsky published the journal *Blahovisnyk* (The Messenger) in Paris. In 1951–3, Metropolitan Polikarp Sikorsky resided in Aulnay-sous-Bois near Paris and is buried in Paris's Père Lachaise cemetery. The pastors of the Paris parish included Reverend Mykhailo Yeremiiv (1961–7) and Reverend Yevhraf Omelchenko (1967–75). From 1975 to 1978, a succession of priests served the parish; they included the Reverend Borys Khainevsky, the Reverend Anatolii Dubliansky from Neu Ulm, the Reverend Paladii Dubitsky from Munich, and Archbishop Orest Ivaniuk. The Reverend Mykhailo Bashkativ has served the parish since 1978.

In addition to the parish in Paris, others were established in the 1960s, in Vésines-Chalette, Nilvange, Lyon, and Grenoble (the last two are no longer in existence). In 1946, the Orthodox parishes in France came under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church under Metropolitans Polikarp and Nikanor; in 1969, they came under Metropolitan Mstyslav.

The present administrator of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in France is the Reverend Borys Khainevsky, pastor of several parishes in eastern France. The Reverend M. Bashkativ (Paris) and the Reverend Ilarion Kaim also serve the Ukrainian Orthodox faithful.

The Brotherhood of Saint Simon was established in 1964. It serves as the legal owner of the church building at 6 rue de Palestine. P. Plevako was president of the Brotherhood until his death in 1985; currently, M. Maslov, head of the Paris church, heads the Brotherhood as well.

Education and Professional Life

Ukrainian-language education has been poorly organized during the entire period of the Ukrainian immigration in France. This failure has been attributable not only to the lack of suitable teaching staff, but also to the fact that many Ukrainian families did not speak Ukrainian and therefore did not send their children to private Ukrainian schools. Community and cultural organizations, the church, and youth organizations provided instruction in the Ukrainian language, organizing private "Thursday schools" (French public schools did not conduct classes on Thursdays). Subsequently, instruction was offered on Wednesdays and, more recently, Saturday afternoons. A "Thursday Ukrainian school" was established in Paris in 1926 and was managed by the Parents' Committee until 1939. Since 1946, the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate have organized Ukrainian-language classes. In 1989, a separate organization, the Tovarystvo Ridna Shkola (Ukrainian School Association) was created; it too offers instruction in the Ukrainian language. Between ten and twenty children and adolescents attend these classes, which also include basic instruction in Ukrainian history and literature. After 1946, similar Ukrainian schools existed for some time in Vésines-Chalette, which had also operated a school in the 1930s; in Lyon, where the school was led by Odarka Kokots; and in Algrange. In addition to the courses offered in Paris, Ukrainian-language schools currently exist in Évreux, in Normandy (ten students); in Strasbourg (ten students); and irregularly in Lyon and Lille. Every year during vacationtime, the Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi u Frantsii (Organization of Ukrainian Youth in France) and the Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (SUM, Ukrainian Youth Association) jointly organize a three-week program of Ukrainian-studies courses (Ukrainian language, history, geography, and literature). A similar program is offered, through the initiative of the Reverend P. Kohut, at the Ukrainian resort center in Mackwiller in eastern France; it is attended by Ukrainian youth not only from France but from other countries as well. The summer programs in Ukrainian studies in the three centers have a combined total of thirty to eighty participants.

Ukrainian instruction at the secondary-school level does not exist in France, but some Ukrainian youth take advantage of the opportunity to study at the Minor Seminary in Rome. Since 1939, university-level Ukrainian-studies courses have been offered at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (National Institute of Eastern Languages and Civilizations), which was initially affiliated with the Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris III) and is now an establishment of higher education operated by the Ministry of Education. A diploma of higher education ("first cycle") in the Ukrainian language and civilization may be earned after two years, and a "second cycle" diploma, after three years. Instructors of the Ukrainian language and literature have included E. Borshchak (1939–59) and M. Sherrer (1959–72); current instructors include E. Kriuba, O. Kamel, and A. Zhukovsky (the latter teaches civilization). Approximately fifteen to thirty students are enrolled in the Institute's Ukrainian-studies courses. For the past four years, the Ukrainian-language chair at the Institute has had a branch at the university in Lyon, where four to eight students attend Ukrainian-studies courses. In 1982, in conjunction with the Ukrainian Free University in Munich and the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies, the National Institute of Eastern Languages and Civilizations organized an international conference entitled "La Renaissance Nationale et Culturelle en Ukraine de 1917 aux Années 1930" (The National and Cultural Renaissance in Ukraine from 1917 to the 1930s). A collection of the papers presented at this conference was published in 1986.

Ukrainian language, literature, and civilization courses have also been offered at the

Slavic Studies department of the University of Paris VIII (Saint-Denis) since 1972. The director is Liudmyla Boiarova, and the courses are attended by four to six students. Ukrainian-language courses are also offered at the university in Bordeaux (Bordeaux III), where they are taught by Vera Omerchenko and attended by a small number of students.

Professional Societies and Publications

The most important center of Ukrainian scholarship in France is the Naukove Tovarystvo imeny Shevchenka v Evropi (Shevchenko Scientific Society in Europe), with headquarters in Sarcelles, roughly eleven miles (seventeen kilometers) north of Paris. The Society comprises twenty-five full members, four member-correspondents, and thirty-seven regular members from across Europe. Among the members of the Society who have worked in France are geographer V. Kubijovyc; ethnographer Z. Kuzelia; psychologists and philosophers O. Kulchytsky and K. Mytrovych; historians I. Borshchak, V. Kosyk, O. Shulhyn and A. Zhukovsky; literary scholars M. Hlobenko-Ohloblyn and L. Pliushch; sociologist and writer V. Yaniv; economist D. Pisniachevsky; musicologist A. Vyrsta; and biologist and veterinarian P. Shumovsky. The Shevchenko Scientific Society in Sarcelles owns its own buildings, which house research facilities and a specialized library, featuring an excellent Ukrainian-studies collection that numbers approximately twenty thousand volumes (the majority of which are publications of the Society). The Instytut Entsyklopedii Ukrainoznavstva (Institute of the Encyclopedia of Ukraine [Ukrainian Studies]) is active at the European branch of the Society, as is the Historical-Philosophical Section of the Society. All three institutions (Shevchenko Scientific Society, Institute of the Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies, and the Historical-Philosophical Section) were headed by V. Kubijovyc until his death in 1985. Past presidents of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Europe include Z. Kuzelia (1949–52), V. Kubijovyc (1952–85), and V. Yaniv (1985–7); the current president (since 1987) is A. Zhukovsky. Directors of the library were I. Popovych, D. Siiak-Kubijovyc, and S. Voloshyna.

The Biblioteka imeny Symona Petliury (Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library) was founded in Paris in 1929. It specializes in the collection of books, documents, and archives pertaining to Ukrainian statehood in the twentieth century, primarily during the years 1917–21. In 1940, the library boasted approximately fifteen thousand books and many complete editions of journals and newspapers; during the German occupation in 1940, however, the Germans confiscated the majority of the books and transferred them to Germany, where they were subsequently lost. The library renewed its activity after the war, replenishing its stocks of books and archives; since 1971, it has had its own premises in Paris. In 1972, the library owned twelve thousand books; by 1990, its collection had grown to twenty-three thousand volumes. The Muzei Vyzvolnykh Zmahan imeny Symona Petliury (Symon Petliura Museum of Liberation Struggles) is located at the library. Past directors of the library include V. Prokopovych (1929–42), I. Kosenko (1942–50), O. Udovychenko (1950–63), E. Prokopovych (1963–4), P. Plevako (1964–8), P. Shumovksy (1968–81), and Yu. Yeremiiv (1981–3); since 1983, the director has been A. Zhukovsky. Directors-conservators have included I. Rudychiv (1929–46), H. Dovzhenko (1946–55), P. Yosypyshyn (1958–89) (the library was closed from 1955 to 1958); and, since 1989, V. Mykhalchuk. The library is a depository for all documents pertaining to Ukrainian studies from libraries across France, particularly from Paris.

The centers of Ukrainian scholarly work in France are the general Slavic institutes, primarily in Paris, with libraries rich in Ukrainian-studies materials: Institut d'Études Slaves (Institute of Slavic Studies), Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (National Institute of Eastern Languages and Civilizations), Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine à Nanterre (Library of Contemporary International Docu-

mentation in Nanterre), Bibliothèque Nationale (National Library), and Bibliothèque Slave (Slavic Library).

The Mizhnarodna Vilna Akademiia Nauk (International Free Academy of Arts and Sciences) was founded in Paris in 1951 at the initiative of O. Shulhyn. Ukrainian scholars participated actively in this institution from the 1950s through the 1970s. Vice-presidents included O. Kulchytsky and O. Shulhyn. Eventually, however, this promising international scholarly institution ceased to exist.

Cultural Life

The Arts

A number of ensembles of varying artistic caliber have been active in Paris and other Ukrainian centers in France. In 1978, the Komitet Ukrainskoho Narodnoho Mystetstva (Ukrainian Folk Art Committee) was established in Paris to promote Ukrainian arts and folklore among the French; it is headed by I. Chumak.

Conductors of Ukrainian choirs have included O. Chekhivsky, T. and V. Dratvinsky, O. Horain-Shumovska, M. Kovalsky, O. Kuklovska, K. Mykolaichuk, O. Savchyn, and Zh. Schneider. The majority of them conducted choirs in the Catholic and Orthodox churches, but there were also several lay choirs.

Many notable Ukrainian artists and sculptors have studied and worked in Paris. Among them are A. Archipenko, M. Bashkirtseva, M. Boichuk, S. Borachok, M. Hlushchenko, S. Hordynsky, O. Hryshchenko, V. Khmeliuk, M. Krychevsky, S. Levytska, A. Losenko, P. Omelchenko, M. Nechytailo-Andriienko, M. Parashchuk, V. Perebyinis, A. Yablonsky, and S. Zarytska. Among the artists still active today are Yu. Kulchytsky and I. Vynnykiv, who live and work on the Riviera, in their ateliers in Mougins; V. Makarenko, O. Mazuryk, O. Savchenko-Bilsky, A. Solohub, A. Solomukha, and T. Vyrsta are among those working in Paris. L. Hutsaliuk also worked in Paris for a period of time.

Theatrical exhibitions in France were organized by Ye. Chaika, B. Dniprovy, T. Maiatsky, and N. Pylypenko, who was the director of a theatrical studio.

Many renowned Ukrainians have lived and worked in France. Composers, musicians, and performers include U. Chaikivska, Z. Dolnytska, D. Drahomeretska (pianist), V. Hrudyn, D. Mazuryk, Yu. Ponomarenko, M. Skalia-Starytsky, I. Vovk, A. Vyrsta, F. Yakymenko, and Ye. Zarytska. Writers include Dima, L. Hoseiko, M. Kalytovska, L. Poltava, V. Vynnychenko, S. Yablonska-Oudin, V. Yaniv. Publicists include M. Kovalsky, S. Naumovych, L. Pliushch, K. Shtul, O. Shtul-Zhdanovych, and D. Siiak-Kubijovyc.

Several historical monuments in France are connected with Ukraine. They include the Church of Saint Vincent in Senlis, which was built in the eleventh century by Anna Yaroslavna, Queen of France, and contains a statue of Anna; a bas-relief of the battle between the Cossacks and the Poles at Berestechko in 1651, which is located near the coffin of Jan Casimir in the church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés; the Taras Shevchenko Square and monument in Paris, near the Ukrainian Catholic Church; a monument to Shevchenko and a street named in his honor in Toulouse and a monument in Vésines-Chalette; the graves of Symon Petliura and his family, in Montparnasse cemetery; the graves of Metropolitan Polycarp Sikorsky, General M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko, the Reverend V. Vyshnivsky, and P. Plevak, in the Père-Lachaise cemetery; the grave of M. Bashkirtseva, in the Passy cemetery; a monument in Boulay, in Lorraine, to the twenty-two thousand Ukrainian soldiers who died in the Second World War; a monument in Vercel (in the department of Doubs) to the soldiers of the Ukrainian Battalion; and a monument to V. Poryk in the city of Hénin-Liétard in Pas-de-Calais.

The Media

In the 1920s and the 1930s, eight Ukrainian periodicals were published in France. Of these, only two existed for a significant length of time: the weekly *Tryzub* (The Trident), an organ of the Ukrainian National Republic, founded at the initiative of S. Petliura and edited by V. Prokopovych, which appeared from 1925 to 1940; and the weekly *Ukrainske Slovo* (The Ukrainian Word), a nationalistic journal, which appeared from 1933 to 1940 and from 1948 to the present. The editors of the latter included O. Boikiv (1933–4), V. Martynets (1934–40), O. Shtul-Zhdanovych (1948–77), and since 1977, V. Maruniak, and M. Styranka.

Among French-language periodicals was the informative *La revue de Prométhée* (The Prometheus Review), edited from 1938 to 1940 by O. Shulhyn. After 1945, eighteen periodicals appeared in the Ukrainian language; among them were the aforementioned *Ukrainske Slovo*, an organ of the Melnyk faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and *Ukrainets* (The Ukrainian), published from 1945 to 1960, which was closely affiliated with the Bandera faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. The editors of the latter included D. Chaikovsky, D. Shtykalo, and B. Vitoshynsky. I. Borshchak edited the journal *Ukraina* (Ukraine) from 1949 to 1953, providing valuable articles in the area of Ukrainian studies as well as sources for French–Ukrainian studies. Since 1949, the Reverend Yu. Prokopiv has edited the religious quarterly *Slidamy Maloi Sviatoi* (In the Footsteps of a Little Saint). French-language periodicals of the postwar era include *L'Est Européen* (The European East), published since 1962 and closely affiliated with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (editor V. Kosyk); *Echos d'Ukraine* (Echoes of Ukraine), published from 1962 to 1969, an organ of the Cercle d'Études Franco-Ukrainiennes (Franco-Ukrainian Society) (editors K. Mytrovych and M. Tatarulia); and *Bulletin Franco-Ukrainien* (French–Ukrainian Bulletin), published from 1959 to 1970 (editor K. Lazovinska). The Franco-Ukrainian Society has published the French journal *Échanges* (Exchanges) since 1971; its editors have included V. Genyk, Ya. Musianovych, and K. Uhryn. The printing house that puts out the bimonthly *L'Est Européen* also publishes various French-language brochures.

Over the years, the Nationalist Publishing Company in Europe and the First Ukrainian Press in France have published the Ukrainian-language weekly *Ukrainske Slovo*, calendar-almanacs, books in Ukrainian and French, works by Ukrainian dissidents, Ukrainian *samvydav* (clandestine publications of Soviet Ukrainian writers), publications of the *Ukrainskyi Visnyk* (The Ukrainian Herald), works on the history of Ukrainian nationalism, and literary works. A bookstore is located at the publishing house.

Since 1959, the Symon Petliura Library has published its *Informatsiinyi Biuleten* (Informative Bulletin), under the editorships of M. Kovalsky, P. Yosypyshyn, and, since 1989, V. Mykhalchuk. The library published a series of books on Symon Petliura and the Ukrainian liberation struggle.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society in Sarcelles published the ten-volume *Entsyklopediia Ukrainoznavstva* (Encyclopedia of Ukraine [Ukrainian Studies]) in the years 1952–89 under the editorship of V. Kubijovyc. (The Encyclopedia was printed in Munich.) The Sarcelles staff worked with the Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies on the publication of the five-volume English-language *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, which appeared in 1984, 1988, and 1993. The Society has published many monographs in the series *Zapysky NTSH* (Annals of the Shevchenko Scientific Society), as well as separate works of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Europe. Among the Society's periodicals are *Visti NTSH u Evropi* (News of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Europe) and the occasional *Visti iz Sarseliu* (News from Sarcelles).

Social and Political Life

A large number of Ukrainian organizations serving various categories of immigrants were active in France between the two world wars. They include the following:

Ukrainska Hromada u Frantsii (Ukrainian Community in France). Established July 17, 1924, the Ukrainian Community was the first Ukrainian sociocultural organization in France. Initially, Ukrainians of various political convictions belonged to this organization (the first president of which was M. Kapustiansky), but, in 1925, sovietophiles and adherents of the Ukrainian National Republic left the Community. They were followed in 1929 by the nationalists, who created their own organizations. The supporters of General Mykola Shapoval ("Hromada Shapovala") remained within the Community, primarily attracting workers who had emigrated from Galicia. In the 1930s, the Community had twenty-two branches, with approximately 1,200 members; in early 1940, the number of members was close to 2,280. Ukrainians who were active in the Community include I. Bondar, M. and A. Shapoval, and P. Turkevych. The Ukrainian Community published a newsletter entitled *Visnyk Ukrainskoi Hromady u Frantsii* (Newsletter of the Ukrainian Community in France) from 1929 to 1938, and *Ukrainska Volia* (Ukrainian Freedom) in 1939–40. The organization ceased its activity in 1976.

Soiuz Ukrainskykh Emigrantskykh Orhanizatsiy u Frantsii (Union of Ukrainian Émigré Organizations in France). Established in 1925 at the initiative of former soldiers of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic, the organization united the political immigration from Central and Eastern Ukraine and was affiliated with the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic until 1940. The Soiuz published a newsletter. In the 1930s, it coordinated the work of fifty-six *hromady* (communities) and seven groups. The leaders of the Soiuz included I. Kosenko, M. Kovalsky, M. Shulhyn, and M. Shumytsky. The organization ceased its activity in 1940.

Tovarystvo Buvshykh Voiakiv Armii UNR u Frantsii (Society of Former Combatants of the Ukrainian Republican Democratic Army [Army of the Ukrainian National Republic] in France). Organized in 1927, the Society had twenty-two branches in 1939, and only four in 1982. It cooperated with the Union of Ukrainian Émigré Organizations in France. Among the active members of the organization were V. Kalinichenko, M. Kovalsky, V. Lazarkevych, Ya. Musianovych, General O. Udovychenko, P. Verzhbytsky, and Yu. Yeremiiv. The Society was closely associated with the weekly *Tryzub* and the Symon Petliura Ukrainian Library in Paris.

Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Soiuz u Frantsii (Ukrainian National Union in France). Organized in 1932, the Union had a nationalistic philosophy that united immigrants from all Ukrainian lands. In 1939, it had eighty-seven branches and approximately five thousand members. This was the strongest organization of Ukrainian refugees in Europe. The leaders of the Soiuz included O. Boikiv, L. Huzar, General M. Kapustiansky, L. Kyselytsia, M. Nebeliuk, I. Stasiv, T. Tsvikula, P. Zakusylo, and M. Zavornytsky. The weekly *Ukrainske Slovo* was published in Paris at the initiative of the Ukrainian National Union in France; in 1938, the Union established the First Ukrainian Press in France.

Soiuz Ukrainskykh Hromadian u Frantsii (Union of Ukrainian Citizens in France). A

sovietophile association active from 1925 to 1932 and isolated from Ukrainian organizations that advocated independence for Ukraine, the Union was composed primarily of immigrants from Galicia. In 1927, it had sixteen branches and approximately eight hundred members. The Union published *Ukrainski Visti* (Ukrainian News). Active leaders included I. Borshchak, A. Halip, M. Norych-Dzikovsky, O. Savchyn, and O. Sevriuk.

Ustanova Doviria Ukrainskykh Emigrantiv u Frantsii (Office des Émigrés Ukrainiens en France; Institute of Trust of Ukrainian Émigrés in France). Active during the years 1942–4, the Institute was the only agency permitted to operate among Ukrainians in France during the Second World War. Headed by I. Stasiv, it provided for the social and cultural needs of immigrants and refugees.

A number of new Ukrainian organizations emerged in France after the Second World War. They include the following:

Obiednannia Ukrainskykh Robitnykiv u Frantsii (Union of Ukrainian Workers in France). Established in 1945, this cultural-trade organization had sixty-two centers and numbered approximately 3,600 members in 1950. It published the weekly *Ukrainets u Frantsii* (The Ukrainian in France) and worked closely with French Christian trade unions. The Union was under the influence of the Foreign Branch of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Leaders included O. Forsyk, V. Nesterchuk, P. Polishchuk, I. Popovych, and Yu. Zablotsky. The Union was active until 1969.

Obiednannia Ukraintsiv Frantsii (Union of Ukrainians of France). A sociocultural organization established in 1949 alongside the Union of Ukrainian Workers in France. By 1965, the Union of Ukrainians of France had nine branches and two centers, with approximately 300 members and 250 adherents. The Union has published *L'Est Européen* since 1962. Active members include V. Kosyk, O. Melnykovych, and V. Nesterchuk. The Union of Ukrainians of France attracts individuals aligned with the Bandera faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and is part of the network of the Ukrainskyi Vyzvolnyi Front (Ukrainian Liberation Front). It has quarters in Sochaux and a vacation resort, "Verkhovyna" (The Highlands), in Rosey, near Vesoul. Membership has decreased to approximately 200–250 in the past few years, and the organization's activity has been reduced.

Ukrainska Narodna Yednist (u Frantsii) (Ukrainian National Alliance in France). Established in 1949 to replace the Ukrainian National Union in France, the Alliance is a sociocultural organization that had 300 members and 350 adherents in the 1960s. Ideologically, it is similar to the Melnyk faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists; it is a member of the Ideolohichno Sporidneni Natsionalistychni Orhanizatsii (ISNO, Ideologically Similar Nationalistic Organizations), and works closely with the weekly *Ukrainske Slovo*. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Alliance published the bulletin *Yednist* (Unity); self-education publications such as *Cours d'histoire de l'Ukraine* (A Course in the History of Ukraine), by M. Hrushevsky (1959); and calendar-almanacs. Members who were or are currently active include V. Genyk, O. Korchak, Yu. Kovalenko, V. Lazovinsky, V. Malynovych, V. Mulyk, Ya. Musianovych, V. Mykhalchuk, and A. Zhukovsky. The organization operates a Ukrainian resort, "Chornohora" (The Black Mountain), in Ardèche (the Rhône-Alpes region). In the last few years, membership has decreased to approximately 200–250, and activity has diminished.

Ukrainska Hromadska Opika u Frantsii (Ukrainian Social Aid in France). Established in Paris in 1946 by immigrants from Eastern Ukraine, the organization, which survived until the 1960s, attracted adherents of the Ukrainian National Republic in Exile. It had ten branches and worked closely with the Association of Former Combatants of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic. Active members included Yu. Batsutsa, S. Kachura, I. Kosenko, and S. Sozontiv. Ukrainian Social Aid in France published the journal *Hromada* (The Community) in 1948–9 and the French-language journal *L'Ukraine libre* (A Free Ukraine) in 1953–4.

Ukrainskyi Khrystyianskyi Rukh (Ukrainian Christian Movement). Headed by V. Yaniv, this organization had its international headquarters in France. Its national division was active during the years 1954–80, with O. Melnykovych as president.

Ukrainske Akademichne Tovarystvo (u Paryzhi) (Ukrainian Academic Society in Paris). Founded in 1946 and headed for many years by O. Shulhyn and, since 1960, by A. Vyrsta, the organization caters to the intellectual needs of Ukrainians in Paris. It organizes lectures, meetings, and conferences. Lately, however, its activity has diminished.

Komisiia Dopomohy Ukrainskomu Studentstvu (KoDUS, Ukrainian Students' Aid Commission). During the years 1951–82, the Commission was active in Sarcelles, near Paris, providing scholarships from contributions collected among Ukrainians from around the world. The president of the organization was O. Kulchytsky, and its secretary was T. Voloshyn.

Ukrainian Free University. A branch of the university, headed by O. Kulchytsky until 1980, and by A. Vyrsta since that time, makes its home in France. In conjunction with the Institut d'Études Slaves (Institute of Slavic Studies) and the Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris III), it organized a series of international conferences and subsequently published books about the writers I. Franko, H. Skovoroda, and L. Ukrainka, and a collection entitled *L'Ukraine et la France au XIX^e^ Siècle* (Ukraine and France in the Nineteenth Century).

Ukrainskyi Rukh dlia Obiednannia Evropy (Ukrainian Movement for a Federal Europe). Active in Paris since 1961 and headed by Ya. Musianovych, the Movement represents Ukrainians in the federalist organization Mouvement Européen (European Movement) and takes part in international congresses.

Soiuz Ukrainok Frantsii (Ukrainian Women's Association in France). Active since 1945, with headquarters in Paris, the Association was headed by H. Pasternak, M. Mytrovych (1974–89), and, subsequently, N. Tryndiak. In the past, the organization had branches in Lyon, Metz, and Lens. In addition to organizing cultural-educational activities, the Ukrainian Women's Association disseminated information pertaining to Ukraine among non-Ukrainian women's organizations and maintained ties with the World Movement of Mothers. It currently has between fifty and eighty members.

Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi u Frantsii (SUM, Ukrainian Youth Association in France). Established in 1949, the Association's branches are housed at the centers of the Union of Ukrainians of France. In the organization's early years, its membership approached 350; in 1989, it stood at approximately 60. The Ukrainian Youth Association has amateur dance and vocal

ensembles and conducts summer camps at the "Verkhovyna" resort in Rosey. Presidents of the organization have included B. Bilohotsky, L. Druar-Vitoshynska, O. Forsyk, B. Kopchuk, V. Kosyk, and M. Mykula.

Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi u Frantsii (Organization of Ukrainian Youth in France). Established in 1956, it has ten branches, housed at the centers of the Ukrainian National Alliance in France. The organization published the journal *Bulletin Franco-Ukrainien*. It organizes annual Ukrainian-studies courses, attended by fifty to a hundred participants, at the "Chornohora" camp in Ardèche. The presidents of the Organization of Ukrainian Youth in France have included V. Genyk, T. Horishny, K. Huzar-Uhryn, B. Kamianetsky, K. Lazovinska, A. Osnovych, O. Repetylo, and Kh. Slyzhuk.

Inshi – Chorna Zemlia (Others – Black Earth). A youth organization that existed in Paris for a period of time in the 1980s, "Inshi" was headed by V. Mykolenko and A. Osnovych.

Ukrainskyi Tsentralnyi Hromadskyi Komitet u Frantsii (Ukrainian Central Civic Committee in France). Founded in 1948, the Committee coordinates sociocultural organizations and establishments, represents Ukrainians before the French government, and maintains ties with Ukrainians in other countries. It is a member of the Svitovyi Kongres Vilnykh Ukraintsiv (World Congress of Free Ukrainians), and its president is one of the vice-chairmen of the latter organization. The Ukrainian Central Civic Committee is also a member of the Koordynatsiinyi Komitet Ukrainskykh Hromadskykh Orhanizatsiy Evropy (Coordinating Committee of Ukrainian Community Organizations in Europe). Uniting twenty organizations and establishments, it was the only Ukrainian coordinating body in France until 1985, when a parallel organization was founded. At present, the Committee unites fifteen constituent organizations. It was through the efforts of the Ukrainian Central Civic Committee, under the leadership of S. Sozontiv, that the French government came to officially recognize Ukrainian as the nationality of Ukrainians in France. The presidents of the Committee have included S. Sozontiv (1948–70), O. Melnykovych (1970–9), Ya. Musianovych (1979–86), V. Malynovych (1986–9), and, since 1989, V. Mykhalchuk. The publications of the organization include *La famine-génocide de 1933 en Ukraine soviétique* (The Famine-Genocide in Soviet Ukraine in 1933), which appeared in Paris in 1983.

Tsentralne Predstavnytstvo Ukraintsiv u Frantsii (Ukrainian Central Representation in France). A coordinating body that parallels the Ukrainian Central Civic Committee, the Representation was founded in 1985 and unites seven organizations and establishments, all of which sympathize with the Ukrainian Liberation Front. Headed by B. Kopchuk, the organization is a member of the Koordynatsiinyi Oseredok Ukrainskykh Hromadskykh Tsentralnykh Ustanov u Zakhidnii Evropi (Coordinating Center of Ukrainian Central Community Organizations in Western Europe) and the World Congress of Free Ukrainians; the president of the Central Representation is a member of the World Congress Secretariat.

Vox Ukrainae (Voice of Ukraine). A Ukrainian Masonic lodge founded in Paris in 1966, the Voice of Ukraine is affiliated with the French National Grand Lodge.

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

There was friction and a lack of cooperation between the political immigration wave from Eastern Ukraine and the labor immigration wave from Galicia during the period between the

two world wars. Because they did not speak French, few Ukrainians worked in the professions at the time. There were many Ukrainian organizations, all based on different political views, that remained isolated from one another. There were few mixed marriages, but once children began to attend French schools, they started to forget their native language as they learned to speak French.

After the Second World War, there was a new wave of political immigrants. Because of difficult economic circumstances in France, however, the majority of this group emigrated overseas. Those who remained in France included settlers from the earlier migration period and some intellectuals from the post–Second World War immigration. The latter encountered difficulties obtaining employment in their professions. The youth, who spoke primarily French, began to take an interest in their Ukrainian heritage. After 1945, the number of mixed marriages increased, and it was only in exceptional cases that the partner of Ukrainian descent continued to keep the Ukrainian culture alive and to acquaint non-Ukrainians with Ukrainian issues. The majority of Ukrainians, especially those outside large urban areas, became lost in the foreign milieu. Various Ukrainian community organizations, with their different political overtones, continued to exist after the Second World War, but the earlier hostilities among them became less intense and they began to cooperate through umbrella organizations and the churches.

Ties with Ukrainians in Other Countries

Ukrainians in France maintain ties with their counterparts in other countries through the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, the Symon Petliura Library (which has representatives around the world), and the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Europe, as well as through the churches – the exarch of Ukrainian Catholics in France also serves the Ukrainian faithful in Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries. Similar ties exist through the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, which has a branch in France. Lately, ties have been strengthened with Ukrainians in the Czech and Slovak republics, Poland, the republics of the former Yugoslavia, Romania, and Ukraine.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

1982: The blessing of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Lourdes. The Church was designed by the architect M. Nimtsiv.

– *November 25–6:* International conference entitled "La renaissance nationale et culturelle en Ukraine de 1917 aux années 1930" (The National Cultural Renaissance in Ukraine from 1917 to the 1930s) was held in Paris, with twenty-six lectures by scholars from Canada, France, Germany, and the United States. The conference was organized by the National Institute of Eastern Languages and Civilizations, the Ukrainian Free University, and the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies.

1983 February: Bishop Mykhailo Hrynchyshyn was appointed Exarch of Ukrainian Catholics in France; the installation took place in the Church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris.

– *June:* The fiftieth anniversary of the artificial famine in Ukraine was commemorated. On this occasion, the Ukrainian Central Civic Committee in France published the *50ème anniversaire de la famine-génocide de 1933 en Ukraine soviétique* (The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Famine-Genocide of 1933 in Soviet Ukraine) in Paris.

1984 December 21: The Shevchenko Scientific Society in Europe marked the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Mykhailo Hrushevsky.

1985 November 2: Volodymyr Kubijovyc, President of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Europe and Editor-in-Chief of the *Entsyklopediia Ukrainoznavstva* (Encyclopedia of Ukraine [Ukrainian Studies]) died in Sarcelles.

1986 May 23–5: The sixtieth anniversary of the death of Symon Petliura was commemorated in Paris, with the participation of representatives from the Ukrainian political arena, including Ivan Kashuba, Mykola Livytsky, Serhii Marenko, Mykola Plaviuk, and Daria Rebet.

1987: The Symon Petliura Library in Paris was completed.
- *April:* The President of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Petro Savaryn, visited Ukrainian organizations and establishments in France.
- *April 10:* A French-language conference on the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine was held at the National Institute of Eastern Languages and Civilizations.

1988: Ukrainians in France commemorated the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine with various events throughout the year. Among those events were the following:
- *February 26:* French-language conference sponsored by the branch of the Ukrainian Free University in France at the Université de Lille III, Université Catholique de Lille.
- *April:* A concert featuring the oratorios "Neophytes" and "Psalms of David" by Marian S. Kuzan, held in the Church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris.
- An ecumenical Pontifical Divine Liturgy in the Church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, with French Jean-Marie Cardinal Lustiger delivering the homily.
- An exhibition of religious books at the Symon Petliura Library.
- An exhibition of Ukrainian *pysanky* (Easter eggs) and embroideries organized by the Ukrainian Folk Art Committee.
- An exhibition of icons and paintings by V. Makarenko and O. Mazuryk.
- *April 15:* French-language conference at the Institut Catholique de Paris, Shevchenko Scientific Society.
- *May 14:* French-language conference at the Université Catholique de Lyon and the Université de Lyon-Lumière, on the theme "Kiev-Rome-Byzantium."
- *November:* A large delegation from France participated in the Fifth Congress of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, in Toronto.

1989 March 17: The Ukrainian National Alliance in France celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the declaration of independence of Transcarpathian Ukraine.
- *June–July:* Levko Lukianenko, head of the executive committee of the Ukrainska Helsinkska Spilka (Ukrainian Helsinki Union), visited the Ukrainian community in France.
- *November 2:* The blessing of the Shevchenko Scientific Society's monument at the cemetery in Sarcelles where various Ukrainian scholars are buried.

1990 February 18: The blessing of a monument in a Vésines-Chalette cemetery in which Ukrainians from Abondant and Paris are buried.

1992 April: Pierre Beregovoy, whose father was a Ukrainian immigrant, was appointed Prime Minister of France.

Addresses

Conseil des Écoles Ukrainiennes de France, 186, boulevard Saint-Germain, 75006 Paris, France

L'Église Ukrainienne Catholique Saint-Vladimir le Grand, 186, boulevard Saint-Germain, 75006 Paris, France

L'Église Ukrainienne Orthodoxe Autocéphale St. Simon, 6, rue de Palestine, 75019 Paris, France

Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, 2, rue de Lille, 75007 Paris, France

S. Petliura Bibliothèque Ukrainienne, 6, rue de Palestine, 75019 Paris, France

Note

1 Translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.

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UKRAINIANS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Wolodymyr Maruniak[1]

Country Data

Official Name – Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Federal Republic of Germany)

Geographic Location – A "new" united country created by the merger of West and East Germany on October 3, 1990, the Federal Republic of Germany is located in Central Europe and borders with Poland and the Czech Federal Republic on the east; Austria and Switzerland on the south; France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands on the west; and the North Sea, Denmark, and the Baltic Sea on the north. Its territory extends from 47°12′ to 54°55′ north latitude and from 6° to 15°2′ east longitude.

Area – 137,822 sq. mi., or 356,957 sq km

Population Density – 582.6 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 224.9 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Berlin; seat of government, Bonn

Form of Government – Federal multiparty republic with two legislative houses, the Federal Council (68 seats) and the Federal Diet (662 seats). The country is composed of sixteen states.

Official Language – German

Population – 80,293,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 93.4% German; 2.1% Turkish; 0.8% Yugoslav; 0.7% Italian; 0.4% Greek; 0.4% Polish; 0.2% Spanish; 2.1% other (1990)

Religious Affiliation – Former West Germany: 42.9% Roman Catholic; 41.6% Lutheran Reformed and Lutheran traditions; 2.7% Muslim; 0.6% Reformed tradition; 0.1% Jewish; 12.1% other (1987). Former East Germany: 47.0% Protestant; 7.0% Roman Catholic; 46.0% unaffiliated and other (1990)

Literacy – Former West Germany: approximately 99% (1989); Former East Germany: virtually 100% (1989)

Percent Urban – 85.3% (1990)

Life Expectancy at Birth – Former West Germany: male, 72.2 years; female, 78.7 years (1986–8). Former East Germany: male, 69.8 years; female, 75.9 years (1987–8)

Per Capita GNP – Former West Germany: US$24,170 (1990); Former East Germany: US$9,720 (1989)

Ukrainian Population in Germany

Demographic and Social Characteristics

There are currently slightly more than twenty thousand Ukrainians living in what was formerly known as West Germany. Information on the number of Ukrainians living in what was formerly known as East Germany remains unavailable at the time of printing. Since demographic sources indicate that 99.7 percent of the population of former East Germany is German, one can safely assume that the number of Ukrainians would be very small. It is believed that once the political situation in the "new" united Germany stabilizes, data may become more readily available. Thus, the present article necessarily deals with Ukrainians who live in what was popularly known as West Germany. Table 1 indicates the number of Ukrainians living in the various states of West Germany in 1985.

Participation in the Economic, Political, Professional, and Social Life of the Country

There is no comprehensive demographic and historical study of Ukrainians in Germany in the twentieth century. The writings of Dmytro Doroshenko and Ivan Mirchuk deal with

Table 1 Distribution of Ukrainians in former West Germany, by state, 1985

State	Number of Ukrainians
Schleswig-Holstein	210
Hamburg	320
Lower Saxony	1,435
North Rhine–Westphalia	1,562
Hesse	3,300
Baden-Württemberg	3,500
Bavaria	8,705
Unaccounted	1,000
Total	20,032

Source: Data obtained from church and organizational archives.

separate aspects of the subject, while the work of Wolodymyr Maruniak, *Ukrainska emigratsiia v Nimechchyni ta Avstrii po II sv. viini* (Ukrainian Immigration in Germany and Austria after the Second World War), ends with the years 1945–51.

Of the 6.3 million slave laborers, or *Ostarbeiter* (literally, laborers from the East), and prisoners of war from the Red Army who found themselves in Germany during the Second World War, between 2 and 3 million were Ukrainians. Of those, 90 percent repatriated in the years 1945–6, and among the approximately 1 million displaced persons who remained in Germany and Austria at the end of 1946, Ukrainians constituted the second-largest ethnic group, after the Poles. In 1948, there were 83,640 Ukrainians in the American zone, 22,000 in the British zone, and 5,500 in the French zone. After 1952, the settlement pattern of Ukrainians in Germany changed with internal migration to states that offered greater employment opportunities. Those changes are evident from a comparison of the Ukrainian population in the various German states in 1950 and 1970 (as percentages of the total Ukrainian population), as shown in Table 2.

After the incorporation of displaced persons into the German economy in 1951, a separate law granted them rights equal to those enjoyed by the German population, except with regard to the political sphere. Residences for displaced persons were built in the cities that offered greater employment opportunities. Full employment of the able-bodied Ukrainian population was achieved by 1970. Some people opened their own shops and small enterprises; by 1980, there were more than forty such establishments, including two dental clinics, ten doctor's offices, four print shops, and ten publishing houses (two of which closed down in the last ten years). Eighty percent of Ukrainians work in industry; approximately 5 percent in agriculture; and approximately 1 percent in British and American military units and in Ukrainian enterprises. The employed population participates in German sociocultural life through membership in professional societies and, to a lesser degree, in German community organizations. There is a marked tendency among the older Ukrainian population toward cultural isolation and national ghettoization, while the younger generation assimilates into German life chiefly in professional spheres. Ukrainians tend to concentrate near the Ukrainian churches. Because of the Ukrainian community's tendency toward national isolation and its relative lack of interest in German society, there is minimal Ukrainian involvement in the political life of the country.

The organized community life of stateless foreigners (or former displaced persons) is connected with German life at large through advisory offices at the individual state ministries for refugees, which have representatives from the various national groups.

Table 2 Comparison of the Ukrainian population in the various German states in 1950 and 1970 (percentages of the total Ukrainian population)

State	1950	1970
Bavaria	40.0	44.0
Lower Saxony	24.0	7.1
Baden-Württemberg	14.0	17.0
Hesse	9.0	16.5
Westphalia	8.0	7.8
Hamburg	3.0	1.9
Holstein	2.0	1.0
Unaccounted	–	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Data obtained from church and organizational archives and displaced-persons records.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

Although economic relations between Kiev and Regensberg are known to have existed in the ninth century, the first sources describing ties between the Ruryks of Kievan Rus' and the German courts date back only to the tenth and eleventh centuries. Among such ties were Princess Olha's delegation to Otto I; the alliance between Heinrich II and Yaroslav Mudryi; the marriages of Yaroslav's daughters to German princes; and the marriage of Heinrich IV to the daughter of Kievan prince Vsevolod. These dynastic ties deepened during the time of the Galician-Volhynian State, when Roman, the son of King Danylo, married Gertrude of the house of Babenberg. The Ruryks were also related to the dynasty of Wittelsbach.

The dynastic relationships went hand in hand with trade contacts between Kiev and Regensburg and the settlement of German colonists on Ukrainian lands. Relations continued during the period of the Lithuanian–Polish Commonwealth and the hetmanate in Ukraine. Political ties deepened during the Thirty Years' War, when Ukrainian Cossacks served in the army of Maximillian I of Bavaria.

After the anti-Polish uprising of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and on the basis of the Pereiaslav Treaty of 1654, Ukraine became the protectorate of Russia. Under the reign of Peter I and Catherine II, all Ukrainian autonomous rights were abolished. Fighting against this loss of rights were the Ukrainian hetmans, notably Petro Doroshenko, who sought aid from the Prince of Brandenburg, and Ivan Mazepa, who sided with King Charles XII of Sweden against Muscovy. But the victory of Peter I at the battle near Poltava in 1709 sealed the fate of Ukraine for many centuries. One of its immediate results was the first Ukrainian political emigration, that of the Cossacks to Turkey. Mazepa's successor, Pylyp Orlyk, and later his son Hryhorii strove to create an anti-Russian coalition of European countries. They carried on diplomatic activity in the German kingdoms of Silesia, Saxony, Hannover, and Holstein toward this end. A final attempt to enlist German aid in the fight against Russia was made in 1792 by Count Kapnist, who lived in Berlin at the time.

Starting in the sixteenth century, German–Ukrainian cultural relationships were also strengthened by Ukrainian students who studied in German universities and who opened the way for humanism, reformation, and counterreformation in Ukraine. German–Ukrainian relations came to a standstill in the seventeenth century.

An interest in Ukraine was evident in German literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. On the political side, however, the newly created German kingdom of the Hohenzollerns was preoccupied with the idea of peaceful coexistence with Russia and family ties with the Romanoff dynasty. This attitude changed only with the outbreak of the First World War. In 1918, during the German occupation of Ukraine, the Central Powers acknowledged Ukraine's independence and drew up a treaty with Ukraine in Brest-Litovsk. In the period between the two world wars, Germany supported the right-wing political circles of Ukrainian immigrants and financed the activity of the Ukrainskyi Naukovyi Instytut (Ukrainian Scientific Institute) in Berlin.

The national-socialist regime's political plans for Ukraine called for the country to become a colony of Germany as well as a territory for settling German colonists. The plans also included the evacuation of a large part of the Ukrainian population beyond the Urals.

Two large Ukrainian immigration waves came through Germany, one during and immediately after the First World War and the other, after the Second World War. The first immigration wave comprised approximately two hundred thousand Ukrainian prisoners of war from the Tsarist army and political refugees fleeing after the failure of Ukraine's attempts at independence during the years 1917–20. The great majority of the prisoners of war were returned to Ukraine in the postwar exchange of prisoners; consequently, in the end, the first wave numbered between fifteen and twenty thousand people.

Many Ukrainians found themselves in Germany during the Second World War. After Poland fell in 1939, their number included former Ukrainian soldiers in the Polish army, inhabitants of the Generalgouvernement (the central part of Poland and parts of Western Ukraine that had been occupied by Nazi Germany in 1939–45, but not incorporated directly into the Third Reich), and refugees fleeing the Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine. During the German–Soviet War of 1941–5, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian soldiers from the Soviet army were interned in Germany, and many of them died in German prison camps. Ukrainians were among the millions recruited or forcibly deported to work in Germany; some Ukrainians from the Generalgouvernement went voluntarily, but many were taken by force, as were between 2 and 3 million *Ostarbeiter* from Soviet Ukraine. At the end of the war, between 2.5 and 3 million Ukrainians found themselves in Germany. Most were forcibly repatriated to the USSR in 1945.

The second large Ukrainian immigration wave consisted of Ukrainians who had been deported to Germany for forced labor and who refused to be repatriated to the USSR in 1945–6, and of refugees from throughout Ukraine who had fled their homeland when it was reoccupied by Soviet troops. Their combined number was approximately 200,000, and most of them lived in the displaced-persons camps. Of this group, approximately 180,000 later settled in other countries, especially in the New World. By 1980, there were only 20,000 Ukrainians left in Germany.

The problem of displaced persons in Germany and Austria in the years 1947–51 began to resolve itself when Ukrainians, with the help of Ukrainian humanitarian organizations in Europe and abroad, started to emigrate to other countries. Out of approximately 126,000 Ukrainians who received such aid, some 28.6 percent emigrated to the United States, 18.3 percent to Great Britain, 13.5 percent to Belgium, 12.7 percent to Australia, 8.3 percent to Canada, 2.8 percent to Brazil, 2.8 percent to France and its colonies, 1.3 percent to Venezuela, and the remaining 11.8 percent to various other countries. In the same years, approximately 40,000 Ukrainians emigrated from Germany with the help of other relief organizations (the National Catholic Welfare Conference [NCWC], the Church World Service [CWS], and the Tolstoy Fund). In the years 1952–8, an additional 10,000 Ukrainians left the country.

Religious Life

Ukrainian churches are an important factor in the preservation of the national awareness and cohesiveness of the Ukrainian community. The religious affiliations of Ukrainians in Germany break down as follows: 65 percent Ukrainian Catholic, 30 percent Orthodox, and 5 percent other. In 1985, there were eleven Catholic parishes with sixteen priests and fifteen thousand faithful, ten Orthodox parishes with six priests and five thousand faithful, and two Evangelical parishes with two priests and an undetermined number of faithful.

Ukrainian Catholic Church

The Ukrainian Catholic Church has been serving the faithful in Germany since 1910. Until 1945, the Apostolic Visitator for Ukrainian Catholics was the Reverend P. Verhun, who died in Soviet imprisonment. From 1945 to 1947, the office of Apostolic Visitator was filled by the Reverend N. Voiakovsky, whose name was connected with the Church-Archeographic Commission, the mandate of which was to investigate the causes of church disunity within the Ukrainian nation. In 1948, an Apostolic Administratorship was established for Ukrainians in Germany, with Archbishop Ivan Buchko as administrator. The 1960s saw basic changes within the structure of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, with the establishment of Exarchates of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Germany, France, and England and with the return in 1963 of Archbishop Major Yosyf (later Cardinal) Slipy from Siberian exile. In 1959, the Most Reverend Platon Kornyliak was named Exarch of Ukrainian Catholics in Germany, a position that he holds to this day. The rebuilding of the cathedral in Munich in 1975 was of great significance for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in this country.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church experienced its greatest growth in the diaspora in the years 1945–8, when twelve bishops resided in Germany. Afterward, however, the majority of the bishops and their faithful emigrated to various countries in the West. Until 1953, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Germany was headed by Metropolitan Polykarp Sikorsky (whose headquarters were in France after 1951) and, following his death, by Metropolitan Nikanor Abramovych, Archbishop Orest Ivaniuk, and, at present, Archbishop Anatolii Dubliansky. Eight sobors of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church took place in Germany after the Second World War, the last one in 1969.

Ukrainian Evangelical Church

After the departure of the Reverend V. Kuziv in 1948, the various congregations of the Ukrainian Evangelical Church continued to exist in Germany, maintaining close ties with their German church counterparts.

Education and Professional Life

A country with a very large concentration of Ukrainians in the years 1915–24 and 1945–51, Germany became home to intensive Ukrainian cultural activity. During the First World War, the Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine) worked to raise national awareness among Ukrainian prisoners of war from the Russian army by means of publications, courses, and other cultural activities. After the Second World War, West Germany was the only European country with a private Ukrainian school system. This system of education operated within the displaced-persons camps from 1946 to 1949 and

was recognized by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), the International Refugee Organization (IRO), and the German school board. In 1947, it included 72 kindergartens, with 139 teachers and 2,551 children; 87 elementary schools, with 401 teachers and 5,300 pupils; 35 secondary schools (known as gymnasiums), with 461 teachers and 2,779 students; 8 other secondary schools, with 58 teachers and 408 students; 39 trade schools, with 217 teachers and 2,112 students; and 5 institutions of higher learning, with 314 professors and 1,266 students. Thus, in 1947, there was a total of 246 educational institutions, with 1,590 teachers and 14,416 students.

The great emigration wave of 1947–51 put an end to this network of schools; after 1952, only kindergartens and Saturday schools remained, supplementing the curriculum of German elementary education with Ukrainian subjects. The number of such schools declined over the years (see Table 3).

The professional teachers' association, the Tsentralna Ukrainska Uchytelska Hromada (Central Ukrainian Teachers' Organization), whose membership exceeded 2,000, was active in the years 1946–51. It was headed by V. Cheredarchuk and its headquarters were in Augsburg. Five meetings and professional conferences took place prior to 1951, the year the organization ceased to exist. From 1952 to 1985, teachers' conferences and pedagogical courses were held in the summers at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich in order to raise the qualification level of Ukrainian Saturday school teachers. A publication developed on the basis of these courses appeared in Munich in 1969; it was entitled *Pedahohichni problemy ta dydaktychni porady: Materiialy vyshkilnoho kursu dlia uchyteliv subotnykh shkil* (Pedagogical Problems and Didactic Advice: Materials for the Educational Course for Teachers of Saturday Schools).

After 1952, there were two attempts at organizing a private Ukrainian secondary school, but they were not successful, meeting with opposition from German authorities. A Ukrainian residence for pupils who study in the city's trade schools is located in Munich.

Ukrainian scholarly life in Germany began to emerge in two periods, 1920–42 and 1945–51, when there were a considerable number of scholars among the immigrants in the country. With the financial aid of the German government, the Ukrainskyi Naukovyi Instytut (Ukrainian Scientific Institute) was established in Berlin and was active between 1926 and 1945. From 1945 to 1951, the following private Ukrainian institutions of higher education were active in Bavaria: Ukrainskyi Vilnyi Universytet (Ukrainian Free University), 1946–51, which had been located in Prague, Czechoslovakia, from 1921 to 1945; Ukrainskyi Tekhnichno-Hospodarskyi Instytut (Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute), 1945–9, which had also been located in Czechoslovakia, from 1932 to 1945; Ukrainska Ekonomichna Vysoka Shkola (Ukrainian Higher School of Economics), 1945–50; Ukrainska Katolytska Dukhovna Semynariia (Ukrainian Catholic Theological Seminary), 1946–8; and the Bohoslovsko-Pedahohichna Akademiia Ukrainskoi Avtokefalnoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy

Table 3 Ukrainian kindergartens and supplementary Saturday schools in Germany, 1957–80

	Kindergartens		Saturday Schools	
	Number	Pupils	Number	Pupils
1957	24	341	41	736
1961	10	103	36	488
1965	3	31	20	237
1980	1	16	5	67

Source: Data obtained from church, school, and organizational archives.

(Theological Academy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church), 1946–50. In 1946, a total of 1,266 students attended these schools. The Ukrainian Higher School of Economics and both theological seminaries closed down when their students and faculty emigrated from Germany.

Scholarly life in 1946–51 centered around two traditional scholarly institutions: the Naukove Tovarystvo imeny Shevchenka (Shevchenko Scientific Society), which was reorganized into three sections in 1947 (history and philosophy; philology; and mathematics and natural sciences), with a membership of 81 in 1949, and the Ukrainska Vilna Akademiia Nauk (Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences), founded in 1945, with three sections (law and economics; history, philology, and philosophy; and natural sciences and mathematics) and a membership of 150 in 1947. Heading the Shevchenko Scientific Society were Professors Z. Kuzela and I. Rakovsky, while Professors L. Biletsky and D. Doroshenko were presidents of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences. Other scholarly organizations also existed, for example, the Spilka Naukovykh Pratsivnykiv na Emigratsii (Society of Scholars in the Diaspora), which had 240 members. It should also be mentioned that the Instytut dlia Vyvchennia SSSR (Institute for the Study of the USSR) existed in Munich between 1952 and 1960, giving many Ukrainian scholars the opportunity to publish their works.

Ukrainian emigration from Germany resulted in the demise of the majority of Ukrainian institutions and associations in that country. The following professional organizations still exist today:

Ukrainian Free University (UFU). The UFU was accredited by the Bavarian government in 1950. Since 1965, with the aid of government contributions, the University has been organizing Ukrainian-language courses and summer semesters for students and doctoral candidates. By1985, it had published 10 volumes of *Naukovi Zapysky* (Scholarly Annals), 6 volumes of *Naukovi Zbirnyky* (Scientific Collections), and 120 monographs, sets of lecture notes from various subjects, and other works. Rectors of the UFU included Professors Yu. Boiko, O. Kulchytsky, I. Mirchuk, V. Oreletsky, Yu. Paneiko, V. Shcherbakivsky, M. Vasyliv, and V. Yaniv.

Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute (UTHI). As a research institution, the UTHI published ten volumes of *Naukovi Zapysky* (Scholarly Annals) and eight monographs. Rectors of the Institute included: Professors V. Domanytsky, B. Ivanytsky, M. Korzhan, I. Maistrenko, P. Savytsky, and R. Yendyk.

Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences. The Academy published several small works during the tenure of President P. Kurinny, but after his death in 1972, its activity declined.

Shevchenko Scientific Society. The Society publishes the *Entsyklopediia Ukrainoznavstva* (Encyclopedia of Ukraine [Ukrainian Studies]), which is printed in Munich; its other endeavors were relocated to France, where the European section of the Society is active.

Since 1965, Ukrainian scholarly activity in Germany has been centered in the Dim Ukrainskoi Nauky (Ukrainian Studies Building), which houses the Ukrainian Free University, the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute, and the Shevchenko Scientific Society – the three institutions that joined together in 1962 to form the Association for the Advancement of Ukrainian Studies.

A number of Ukrainian professors taught in German universities after the Second World

War; they included M. Antokhii, Yu. Boiko, A. Bilynsky, D. Chyzhevsky, O. Horbach, T. Matskiv, H. Nakonechna, and B. Osadchuk. Several Ukrainians have worked or are working in university and scholarly libraries; they include L. Bilas, D. Ilianchyn, S. Mardak, N. Vasylyk-Khodiavka, and I. Zheguts.

The Ukrainska Nezalezhna Asotsiiatsiia Sovietoznavtsiv (Ukrainian Free Association of Sovietologists) and the Fundatsiia imeny Yevhena Konovaltsia (Evhen Konovalets Foundation) conducted research on political issues in 1955–60 and 1961–74, respectively. After 1960, both the Ukrainske Bohoslovsko-Naukove Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Theological Scholarly Society) and the Ukrainske Istorychne Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Historical Society) were professionally active.

Publications

Germany ranks first among European countries in the publication of Ukrainian periodicals and books. Ukrainian publishing activities in Germany began in 1914–15. Eleven German-language works on Ukraine appeared in the years 1915–18, but they focused exclusively on the political aspects of Ukrainian issues. The literary and artistic life of Ukrainians in Germany during the period 1916–24 was reflected in the considerable number of Ukrainian publications that appeared in Berlin and Vienna, including two publications on Taras Shevchenko and a monograph on A. Archipenko. The years 1926–45 proved to be more interesting for German-language publications; it was during this time that the publishing house of Harasovits in Leipzig put out many of the large publications of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, including I. Mirchuk's *Handbuch der Ukraine* (Handbook of Ukraine) and D. Doroshenko's *Die Ukraine und das Reich* (Ukraine and the Reich).

After the First World War, there were eight Ukrainian publishing houses in Berlin; two of the larger ones were Ukrainska Nakladnia (The Ukrainian Press) and Ukrainske Slovo (The Ukrainian Word). After the Second World War, there were seventeen publishing houses, among them, Prometei (Prometheus), Dniprova Khvylia (The Dnieper Wave), Suchasnist (Contemporary Times), Logos (The Word), and Ukrainske Vydavnytstvo (The Ukrainian Publishing House).

The number and types of books published over the years by Ukrainian presses in Germany are shown in Table 4 (reprints and publications produced on the manifold writer during the first few years after the war are not included).

Of the total 2,159 publications, 221 were in foreign languages (201 in German, 14 in English, and 6 in other languages) and 81 were translations from foreign literatures (24 from German, 20 from English, 15 from French, and 22 from other national literatures). Among the many Ukrainian-language publications is the aforementioned multivolume *Entsyklopediia*

Table 4 Books published by Ukrainian publishing houses in Germany, 1900–45 and 1946–85

Type of publication	Number of Books Published		
	1900–45	1946–85	Total
Literary works	232	580	812
Scholarly publications	114	382	496
Political writings	77	335	412
Other publications	105	334	439
Total	528	1,631	2,159

Source: Data obtained from the records of Ukrainian publishing houses.

Ukrainoznavstva, printed in Munich by the Shevchenko Scientific Society. It includes three volumes organized thematically, and nine alphabetically.

Cultural Life

The Arts

Ukrainian music was mentioned in various German writings, including Herbinius's *Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae* (Kievan Cave Monastery; Jena, 1675), which described Ukrainian liturgical songs, and Bodenstedt's *Poetische Ukraine* (Poetic Ukraine; Stuttgart, 1845), which dealt with Ukrainian folk songs. In Ukraine, early attempts at writing instrumental music were influenced by Beethoven and Mozart. Composers S. Liudkevych and M. Lysenko studied at the conservatories in Leipzig and Vienna, and noted Ukrainian vocalists and instrumentalists, such as D. Hordynska-Karanovych, L. Kolessa, I. Malaniuk, M. Menchinsky, O. Nosalevych, and O. Rusnak, had ties with the German operatic world. Even tighter bonds existed in the realm of art, beginning with the influence on Ukrainian painters of Hans Holbein. Many notable Ukrainian artists and sculptors, including M. Butovych, V. Krychevsky, G. Narbut, and I. Trush, studied at German art academies. Finally, many Ukrainian painters and sculptors found themselves in Germany during and after the Second World War. Two Ukrainian exhibitions were held in Berlin before the outbreak of the Second World War: graphics in 1933 and cartography in 1936.

In the field of literature, German–Ukrainian ties were initiated during H. Skovoroda's stay in Munich in 1752. In the nineteenth century, they were nurtured by I. Franko, O. Kobylianska, M. Kotsiubynsky, and M. Vovchok; and in the years 1910–24 they were sustained by S. Cherkasenko, B. Lepky, O. Oles, V. Vynnychenko, and others. Many German-language publications of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute appeared between 1926 and 1945.

During the displaced-persons' era, 1945–51, Ukrainian literary and artistic life flourished in the context of such professional organizations as Ukrainskyi Mystetskyi Rukh (Ukrainian Artistic Movement), headed by U. Samchuk and with G. Shevelov as ideological leader (fifty-four members); Obiednannia Pratsivnykiv Dytiachoi Literatury (Association of Writers of Children's Literature); Ukrainska Spilka Obrazotvorchykh Mysttsiv (Ukrainian Association of Artists), headed by E. Kozak (forty-eight members); and Obiednannia Ukrainskykh Muzyk (Association of Ukrainian Musicians), headed by Z. Lyshko and V. Vytvytsky (sixty-five members). Professional music ensembles under the auspices of the Association of Ukrainian Musicians included the Ukrainskyi Opernyi Ansambl (Ukrainian Opera Ensemble) in Munich, directed by B. Piurko; the mixed choir "Ukraina," directed by N. Horodovenko; the Kapelia Bandurystiv imeny Tarasa Shevchenka (Taras Shevchenko Bandurist Kapelle), directed by H. Kytasty; and an all-male choir, directed by V. Bozhyk.

During this period, theater artists belonged to the Obiednannia Mysttsiv Ukrainskoi Stseny (Association of Artists of the Ukrainian Stage), which had eighty-two professional members, headed by V. Blavatsky, and two professional theaters – V. Blavatsky's Ansambl Ukrainskykh Aktoriv (Ensemble of Ukrainian Actors) and Y. Hirniak's Teatralna Studiia (Theatrical Studio). The Association also operated six folk theaters in the displaced-persons camps and two ballet studios, headed by V. Pereiaslavets and V. Zavarykhyna. Among the most important artistic events of the period were the Tyzhni Ukrainskoi Kultury (Weeks of Ukrainian Culture), in Regensburg and Munich (1948); the large international exhibit of artistic works by displaced persons, in Munich, in which Ukrainian artists constituted the vast majority of the participants (January 1947); five artists' exhibits by displaced persons; six exhibits of Ukrainian artists; and eighty-five exhibits of Ukrainian folk art.

Table 5 Ukrainian literary and artistic organizations in Germany, 1947 and 1965

Type of organization	Number of organizations 1947	1965
Libraries	44	4
Dramatic ensembles	34	1
Choirs	49	5
Orchestras	22	1
Dance ensembles	11	3
Total	160	14

Source: Data obtained from organizational archives.

The period 1952–85 has its own special characteristics, not least of which is the notable reduction in literary and artistic activity. In fact, in comparison with 1947, artistic activity virtually came to a halt after 1952, as evidenced by the radical decline in the number of organizations (see Table 5).

Among the choirs of this latest period, the most noteworthy are Khor Chornomorskykh Kozakiv (Choir of the Black Sea Cossacks), conducted by Serhii Horobenko (1958–60), and Khor Dnipro (Dnieper Choir), conducted by the Reverend I. Zaiats (1952–6). The male choir Ukraina, organized in Munich in 1984, specializes in liturgical compositions.

Ukrainian literature in Germany has not fared better. After the departure from the country of most writers and after the death of the few who remained in Bavaria, only the following remained: E. Andiievska, K. Horbach, I. Kachurovsky, and F. Koval; and, among the literary critics, Yu. Boiko-Blokhyn and I. Koshelivets. The three major publishing houses that remained are Suchasnist (Contemporary Times), Instytut Literatury imeny M. Oresta (M. Orest Institute of Literature), and Na Hori (On the Top); their publishing activity in this period is interesting in that it includes translations from foreign literatures, including English, French, German, Spanish, and even Chinese and Japanese. Anthologies of English and French poetry and some German novels have appeared in Ukrainian translation. German translations of Ukrainian works have also been published.

Both musical and artistic activity have also dwindled. Among the well-known figures in the world of music and art (some of whom have since passed away) are vocalists K. Chichka-Andriienko, I. Malaniuk, M. Minsky, O. Rusnak, and I. Synenka-Ivanytska; pianists L. Hornytsky and H. Koval; violinist M. Mykhailovsky; composers O. Bobykevyçh and Ye. Tsymbalisty; artist S. Borachok (seven exhibits since 1952); and sculptor H. Kruk (ten exhibits).

The Media

Through the years, 105 Ukrainian periodicals have been published in Germany, in both Ukrainian and German. Table 6 gives the number of periodicals that appeared regularly for a considerable length of time.

The first Ukrainian-language publication was the weekly newspaper *Rozsvit* (The Dawn), which appeared in Rastatt in the years 1915–18; it was published in the prisoner-of-war camp for soldiers from the Tsarist army. The first German-language periodical was *Nachrichten des Ukrainischen Pressebüro* (Release from the Ukrainian Press Bureau; Berlin, 1914–15). The first German-language journal was the monthly of the German–Ukrainian Association in Berlin, *Die Ukraine* [Ukraine; 1918–26).

Table 6 Periodicals published by the Ukrainian community in Germany, 1900–45 and 1946–85

Type of periodical	Number of periodicals published		
	1900–45	1946–85	Total
Newspapers	17	14	31
Political journals	10	15	25
Religious periodicals	–	6	6
Literary and artistic journals	–	9	9
Scholarly periodicals	2	5	7
Other	9	18	27
Total	38	67	105

Source: Data obtained from organizational archives.

At present, two weekly newspapers, *Khrystyianskyi Holos* (The Christian Voice) and *Shliakh Peremohy* (Pathway to Victory) are published in Germany. Four journals are also published: the literary-artistic monthly *Suchasnist* (Contemporary Times), the quarterly *Ridna Tserkva* (The Native [Ukrainian] Church), and two German-language journals, including the *ABN-Korrespondenz* (ABN Correspondence).

Social and Political Life

Ukrainian community life in Germany centers around the Tsentralne Predstavnytstvo Ukrainskoi Emigratsii v Nimechchyni (Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany), an umbrella organization founded in 1945, with headquarters in Munich. Past presidents of the Representation include Ya. Bentsal, M. Dorozynsky, V. Mudry, V. Pliushch, Yu. Studynsky, and I. Vovchuk. Since 1964, A. Melnyk headed the organization and V. Lenyk has served as secretary. In the northwestern part of Germany, the Provincial Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany, headed by Yu. Kovalchuk, with its seat in Hannover, serves as the center of the region's community life. Local chapters of the organization, which currently number thirty-eight, are active in individual Ukrainian communities. Among the noteworthy activities of the Central Representation in the last three decades were the three congresses of Ukrainians in Germany that it organized; the first was held in 1962 in Stuttgart; the second, in 1965 in Munich; and the third, in 1967 in Koenigstein.

Ukrainian community life in Germany falls into two distinct periods: the first, which ended in 1951, was a time of great development and major accomplishments; the second, after 1952, was one of downfall and crisis. The difference between the two periods is readily apparent from a comparison of the numbers of various community organizations, as shown in Table 7. The status of organized community life in the mid-1960s is depicted in Table 8, which shows both the number of branches and the number of members in the various organizations that were active at the time.

Organizations that are no longer active include the Bratstvo Kolyshnikh Voiakiv Ukrainskoi Povstanskoi Armii (Brotherhood of the Former Soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army), Svitskyi Apostoliat Ukrainskykh Zhinok (Lay Apostolate of Ukrainian Women), Tovarystvo Spryiannia Ukrainskoi Natsionalnoi Rady (Association of the Friends of the Ukrainian National Council), Tovarystvo za Patriiarkhat (Association for the Patriarchate), Spilka Ukrainskykh Zhurnalistiv (Ukrainian Journalists' Association), Karpatskyi Soiuz (Carpathian

Table 7 Ukrainian community organizations in Germany, 1948 and 1962

Type of organization	Number of organizations 1948	1962
Professional	7	–
Veterans'	7	2
Students'	29	1
Youth	4	3
Literary and artistic	10	–
Women's	1	1
Aid	2	2
Political prisoners'	2	1
Journalists'	2	1
Scholarly	6	2
Total	70	13

Source: Data obtained from organizational archives.

Society), and Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Politychnykh Viazniv (Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners).

The turning point in postwar Ukrainian political life in Germany was the creation, in West Germany, of the Ukrainska Natsionalna Rada (Ukrainian National Council) in 1947. The Council served to consolidate the very diverse political life of the Ukrainian community and to continue the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine. All political parties and groups, with the exception of the Hetmanites-Monarchists, were included in the Ukrainian National Council: Ukrainskyi Natsionalno-Demokratychnyi Soiuz (Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance), Ukrainska Radykalna Demokratychna Partiia (Ukrainian Radical Democratic Party), Ukrainske Natsionalno-Demokratychne Obiednannia (Ukrainian National Democratic Union), Selianska Partiia (the Peasant Party), Ukrainska Sotsiialistychna Partiia (Ukrainian Socialist Party), Soiuz Zemel Sobornoi Ukrainy (Union of the Lands of a United Ukraine), and both the Bandera and Melnyk factions of the Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). Over the years, the Ukrainian National Council was headed by I. Bahriany, O. Boidunyk, B. Ivanytsky, and Ya. Makovetsky, and the chairmen of the executive branch of the Council have included S. Baran, A. Figol, M. Livytsky, I. Mazepa, and S. Sozontiv. Six sessions of the Ukrainian National Council took place in Germany. After the second session in 1950, and with the departure of the Foreign Branch of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Council began to disintegrate. At the same time, other parties were also becoming politically weakened. Several political leaders died during this period, among them L. Rebet and S. Bandera, who were killed in Munich in 1957 and 1959, respectively, by Soviet assassins. In 1967, the sixth session of the Council, the final session to be held in Munich, saw the end of the Ukrainian National Council's Munich period; the Council was subsequently transferred abroad, in stages.

Until the mid-1960s, West Germany was the center of immigrant political life, for the headquarters not only of the Ukrainian National Council but also of all the Ukrainian political parties and associations were located there. The demise of Ukrainian political life in Munich began in the 1960s, and by the 1980s, the only political faction with headquarters in the city was the Foreign Branch of the Ukrainian National Council. All the other political groups had either transferred their activities abroad or lost their influence because of a lack

Table 8 Branches and membership in selected Ukrainian organizations in Germany, mid-1960s.

Organization	Number of Branches	Number of Members
Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany	62	4,054
Ukrainian Youth Organization (Plast)	8	199
Ukrainian Medical and Charitable Service	30	1,925
Association of Ukrainian Women	19	580
Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM)	28	456
YMCA–YWCA	24	419
Church brotherhoods	27	308
Ukrainian Caritas	11	289
Association of Ukrainian War Invalids	10	119
Legion of Symon Petliura	10	150
Other veterans' organizations	9	183
Ukrainian Christian Movement	11	170
Ukrainian Christian Workingmen's Movement	7	300
Union of Ukrainian Student Organizations in Germany	1	19
Total	257	9,171

Source: Data obtained from organizational archives.

of interest on the part of the younger generation. The Ukrainian community in the Federal Republic of Germany thus ceased to play an influential role in the political life of the Ukrainian diaspora.

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

As the Ukrainian community became more integrated into German society, it became increasingly difficult to keep the youth close to their ethnic roots. The problems faced by the Ukrainian community in Germany are typical of all immigrations, and bear solely on issues of nationality. The main problems involve preserving Ukrainians as an ethnic group, an effort that necessarily includes developing a sense of national awareness among the youth, and slowing down the process of denationalization, above all, by retaining the Ukrainian language. The factors that contribute most to the disappearance of Ukrainian as the language spoken in the home are mixed marriages and children's attending German kindergartens and elementary schools. Mixed marriages play a negative role in this regard, as the German language takes precedence among youth, with the exception of some of the members of Ukrainian scouting and youth organizations, such as Plast, Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization) and the Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (SUM, Association of Ukrainian Youth). With the arrival of Ukrainians from Poland in the last few years, the Polish language has gained some influence. Other factors hindering the preservation of the Ukrainian ethnic group are the considerable weakening of the ties of the younger generation to the church and the lack of interest on the part of young people in organized Ukrainian community life. The preservation of Ukrainian as a language spoken by the people is one of the basic tasks not only of Ukrainian preschools and supplementary Saturday schools, but of youth organizations and the entire community as well.

Ties with Ukrainians in Other Countries

Ukrainians in Germany maintain ties with Ukrainians throughout the diaspora through their central institutions. For example, the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany has ties with the Koordynatsiinyi Oseredok Ukrainskykh Hromadskykh Tsentralnykh Ustanov Evropy (Coordinating Center of Ukrainian Central Community Organizations in Europe) and with the Svitovyi Kongres Vilnykh Ukraintsiv (World Congress of Free Ukrainians). Similarly, the Obiednannia Ukrainskykh Zhinok (Association of Ukrainian Women) is tied to the Svitova Federatsiia Ukrainskykh Zhinochykh Orhanizatsiy (World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations), and the Soiuz Ukrainskykh Studentskykh Orhanizatsiy v Nimechchyni (Union of Ukrainian Student Organizations in Germany) is tied to the Tsentralnyi Soiuz Ukrainskykh Studentiv (Central Union of Ukrainian Students) through the Soiuz Ukrainskykh Studentiv v Evropi (Union of Ukrainian Students in Europe). Plast and SUM maintain similar contacts. Other organizations, such as Soiuz Ukrainskykh Zhurnalistiv (Ukrainian Journalists' Association), Ukrainska Sanitarno-Kharytatyvna Sluzhba (Ukrainian Charitable and Health Service), and veterans' and invalids' associations, maintain informal contacts with corresponding organizations in other countries.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

1984: Two scholarly conferences, on Czech–Ukrainian and Polish–Ukrainian relations during the interwar period, were organized by the Ukrainian Free University.

1985 October: For the first time, an exhibit of Ukrainian scholarly publications was displayed at the noted Frankfurt Book Fair.

1988 April–May: A conference of several Ukrainian scholarly institutions was held to commemorate the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity.

– *September:* A jubilee concert was held to celebrate the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity, with the participation of notable German religious and political figures.

1980–90: Among the notable Ukrainians in Germany who died during this decade were Yaroslav Stetsko, leader of the Bandera faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists; sovietologist Borys Levytsky; sculptor Hryhorii Kruk; and journalist Zenon Pelensky.

Note

1 Translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.

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UKRAINIANS IN ITALY AND THE VATICAN

Daria Markus

Country Data

Official Name – Repubblica Italiana (Italian Republic)

Geographic Location – Located in southern Europe, Italy is situated on the Apennine Peninsula and includes the islands of Sicily and Sardinia. It is bordered by Switzerland and Austria on the north; Slovenia and the Adriatic Sea on the east; the Ionian Sea on the south; and the Tyrrhenian Sea, the Ligurian Sea, and France on the west. Italy lies between 36°40′ and 47°05′ north latitude and between 6°33′ and 18°30′ east longitude.

Area – 116,324 sq. mi., or 301,277 sq km

Population Density – 491.4 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 189.7 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Rome

Form of Government – Republic with two legislative houses, the Senate (325 seats) and the Chamber of Deputies (630 seats)

Official Language – Italian

Population – 57,103,000 (1992)

Ethnic (Ethnolinguistic) Composition – 94.1% Italian; 2.7% Sardinian; 1.3% Rhaetian; 1.9% other (1983)

Religious Affiliation – 83.2% Roman Catholic; 13.6% nonreligious; 2.6% atheist; 0.6% other (1980)

Literacy – 97.1% (1990)

Percent Urban – 67.1% (1991)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 73.2 years; female, 79.7 years (1988)

Per Capita GNP – US$16,850 (1990)

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainians in Italy and the Vatican

The oldest existing document that testifies to the Ukrainian presence in Italy is the Trier Psalter (also known as Gertrude's Psalter, now in the Archeological Museum at Cividale, northern Italy). In the eleventh century, it belonged to Gertrude-Irene, wife of Kievan prince Yaropolk, the son of Prince Iziaslav. When Iziaslav was in exile in Germany, he sent his son to seek help from the Pope. Yaropolk visited Rome in 1075 and, on that occasion, Pope Gregory VII crowned him and his wife, Irene. The event is commemorated in one of five illuminated miniatures that were added to the psalter in Kiev in the years 1078–87, after the prince's return home.

Also well documented is the stay of Evpraksia at the most famous castle of the Middle Ages, that at Canosa. She was a daughter of Kievan prince Vsevolod, and either sister or half-sister of Prince Volodymyr Monomakh. Evpraksia (also known as Praxides and Adelaide) was the second wife of German emperor Henry IV, who, while campaigning in Italy against the Pope, had her imprisoned in Verona. Matilde of Tuscany helped Evpraksia to escape and, in 1094, gave the young empress a sanctuary at her castle in Canosa for more than a year. Evpraksia's testimony against Henry IV at the papal synod in Piacenza in 1094 brought about his abdication.

Italy was not a *terra incognita* to Ukrainians. In the thirteenth century, Venice and Genoa had their colonies on the north shores of the Black Sea. In the fifteenth century, trade routes between Italy and Asia crossed Ukrainian territory. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Italy again became central to the development of European culture, leading it into the Renaissance. Ukrainian youth studied at Italian universities as early as the fifteenth century, usually at Bologna and Padua. In Bologna, where the university was chartered to students, who traditionally elected from among themselves a rector of the university, Yurii Katermak from Drohobych, in Western Ukraine, was chosen rector in 1481–2. His work, *The Prognosis for the Current Year 1483*, published in Rome, was the first printed book by a Ukrainian writer.

From the time of the Renaissance, Italy has always attracted Ukrainian visitors – students, writers, artists, the curious, and those in search of a better climate, among them Maksym Berezovsky, Mykhailo Drahomanov, Yurii Fedkovych, Vasyl Hryhorovych-Barsky, Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky, Solomia Krushelnytska, and Lesia Ukrainka. There were colorful episodes involving Ukrainian Cossacks. A commemorative tablet in the church of Santa Rosalia near Palermo, in Sicily, describes how a handful of Cossacks successfully escaped from Turkish slavery in 1622 and, in gratitude, helped to build the church. In northern Italy, at Riva del Garda, Cossacks fought as mercenary soldiers on the side of the Austrian emperor in 1626–7.

In more recent times, thousands of Ukrainian soldiers were interned for several years in Italian prisoner-of-war camps. After the First World War, it is estimated that there were some one hundred thousand Ukrainians in the camps in Verona, Caserta, and other locations. After the Second World War, some ten thousand Ukrainian soldiers of the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army (also known as Division Galizien, a Ukrainian military formation in the German armed forces organized to fight on the Soviet front) were imprisoned for two years in the British camp near Rimini, which was primarily a camp for German prisoners of war. In 1947, the prisoners were transferred to Great Britain. The thirty-nine Ukrainians who died in the camp are buried at a German military cemetery at

Passo della Futa, approximately twenty-five miles (forty kilometers) north of Florence. After the Second World War, many Ukrainians temporarily lived in refugee camps near Trieste and Naples.

There were also diplomatic missions to Italy, such as the exchanges between Hetman B. Khmelnytsky and the Republic of Venice in the seventeenth century and the diplomatic missions in 1919–20, one from the Ukrainian National Council of the Ukrainian National Republic, headed by D. Antonovych, and another from the Western Ukrainian National Republic, headed by O. Kolessa, as well as one to the Vatican, headed by Count M. Tyshkevych.

However, Ukrainian settlement in Italy differs from that in other countries. It is primarily an institutional presence with a transitory population; there has never been a stable, self-perpetuating community of Ukrainians in the country. Between the two world wars, there was a small community of lay people in Rome. In 1933, they organized the Ukrainska Hromada (Ukrainian Society [Community]), which was headed until 1947 by Ye. Onatsky and subsequently by V. Fedoronchuk. In 1936, the family of a prominent Ukrainian political leader, Yevhen Konovalets, moved to Rome. After the war, the lay community cooperated with the Ukrainskyi Dopomohovyi Komitet (Ukrainian Relief Committee), organized by Archbishop Ivan Buchko, which helped Ukrainian prisoners of war and refugees in Italy. But by the 1960s, there was only a handful of Ukrainian lay people living in the country. Altogether, at present, there are about 250 Ukrainians residing in Italy.

Actually, the history of Ukrainian settlements in Italy is closely tied to the Church Union of 1596 and to the city of Rome. The Union brought to Rome a small but permanent colony of theological students, who initially lived at the Greek College on Via Babuino, and later, from 1639, at the Saints Sergius and Bacchus residence on Piazza Madonna dei Monti, in the building donated to Ukrainians by Pope Urban VIII. The building also served as a residence for the representatives of the Kievan Metropolitanate and the order of the Basilian Fathers. From 1897 until 1932, it housed the Ukrainian College established by Pope Leo XIII. Between 1932 and 1960, it was the seat of the Basilian Fathers. The property was sold in 1960, when the Basilian Fathers moved to new quarters on the Aventine Hill. When Archbishop and Metropolitan of Lviv Yosyf Slipy arrived in Rome after eighteen years in Siberian labor camps, the Vatican provided him with a residence in one of its palaces in Vatican City. In 1970, Cardinal Slipy repurchased the building on Piazza Madonna dei Monti, which later served as the residence of his successor, Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky. The Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, with its famed miraculous icon of the Mother of God from Zhyrovytsi, where Bishops Constantine Bohachevsky and Ivan Buchko were both consecrated, serves as a Ukrainian parish church in Rome. There is also a hospice of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, which is visited by almost every Ukrainian coming to Rome, among them Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky in 1906, on his way to the Holy Land with numerous Ukrainian pilgrims, and historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky and his family in 1908. Thus, the history of this building (popularly known as "the Madonna"), more than of any other, reflects the history of Ukrainians in Italy.

Currently, all Ukrainian institutions and organizations in Rome are associated with the Ukrainian Catholic Church. From 1622 to 1917, the Church was under the jurisdiction of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda Fide). When the Sacred Congregation for Oriental Churches was established by Pope Benedict XVI in 1917, the Church came under the Congregation's juridical supervision. Ukrainian Archbishop Myroslav Marusyn has been the Congregation's Secretary since 1982.

The administrative structure of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, headed by Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky, who now resides in Lviv, Ukraine, includes a chancery and a chapter

of Krylos, of Lviv, which has published a newsletter, *Visti z Rymu* (News from Rome), since 1984, and issues press releases in four languages from its Ukrainian Press Service. The Secretariat of the Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Hierarchy also has its headquarters at the "Madonna," as does the Office of the Postulator for the Beatification of Ukrainian Saints.

Ukrainian Institutions and Organizations in Rome

Religious Orders

General Curia of the Basilian Order. The chief administration of the order was transferred to Rome in 1932. The residents of the House, which was initially part of the Saints Sergius and Bacchus complex but is currently located at Via San Giosafat, include the members of the chief administration of the order – the Protoarchimandrite, four advisers, the secretary, and the treasurer – as well as Basilian monks and seminarians studying at Roman Papal universities.

After the Union with Rome, Metropolitan Rutsky reformed the Order, which dates back to the very beginning of Christianity in Ukraine, with a view to improving the education of the monks, since it was from their ranks that the Church hierarchy was elected. There were Basilian monks studying in Rome as early as 1616.

The Basilian Fathers in Rome are engaged in extensive scholarly and publishing activity. They are in charge of the Saint Josaphat Pontifical Ukrainian College on Gianiccolo Hill, conduct the Central Seminary of the Basilian General Curia (in 1987, there were twenty-one students), and are responsible for the Ukrainian programs broadcast on Vatican Radio. Some of the priests work in the Vatican. Since 1949, when the Basilian Fathers began to publish books, they have produced fifty-five volumes of documents pertaining to Ukrainian history, which can be found in the Vatican Archives; more than sixty scholarly works; and about sixty popular books in the Ukrainian Spiritual Library series; in addition, they publish the scholarly periodical *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni* (Zapysky Chynu Sviatoho Vasyliia Velykoho; Annals of the Order of Saint Basil the Great). The General Mother House is also the site of a valuable library.

In the ancient Basilian monastery of Grottaferrata near Rome, there are still several Ukrainian monks of the original twenty-two whom Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky brought from the Peremyshl Eparchy in the 1930s. Three of them graduated from the Gregorian University in Rome and were teaching in the secondary school operated by the monastery. Others were engaged in other kinds of work at the monastery. One of them, Brother Josaphat, became a world-renowned specialist in the restoration of old manuscripts.

Saint Theodore Studite Monastery – Studion. The monastery is located near Rome, overlooking Lake Albano. The spacious one-hundred-room, two-story building was acquired in 1964 by Yosyf Cardinal Slipy, to whom Archimandrite Klymentii Sheptytsky entrusted the leadership of the Studites in the free world. The tradition of the Studite Order of Ukrainian monasteries goes back to Teodozii Pechersky in the eleventh century. This Order, peculiar to the Slavic East, was revitalized in the twentieth century by Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky. Together with his brother Klymentii, the Metropolitan updated the rules of the order, in which prayer is the central preoccupation in the life of the monks.

On average, five to six monks reside at the monastery, which serves as the general house and novitiate for Studite monks. There is a library containing approximately four thousand volumes and an iconographic studio.

Salesians of Saint Don Bosco. The original Ukrainian members of this order were some fifty-four young boys from the Peremyshl Diocese who were sent, in the 1930s, to Torino to study at the Salesian school with a view to becoming members of that Order. They do not form a separate branch of their religious order, but are included in the general Salesian province. Their most important work is administering and teaching at the Ukrainian Minor Seminary in Rome.

General Curia of the Basilian Sisters. The House was established in 1954, a year after the Apostolic See mandated a centralization of the Ukrainian Order of Basilian Sisters, whose roots go back to the founding of Saint Irene's Monastery in Kiev in 1037. The building, which can accommodate twenty sisters, usually houses a smaller number of residents.

The main occupation of the Sisters, besides administering the Order, is to serve the institutions that were founded by the late Cardinal Slipy, namely, Saint Sofia's Church, Saint Clement's University, the cardinal's residence, and the Studion monastery. The tradition of serving the Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church goes back to the times of Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky in Lviv.

In the small town of Albano, not far from Rome, there is a cloistered monastery of Basilian Sisters founded in the last century by Mokryna Miacheslavska, a fascinating personality about whom at least ten books have been written. Today, the monastery houses non-Ukrainian Sisters of the Latin Basilian Rite, but under the direction of the Ukrainian Basilian Order. The Sisters worked at the papal residence in Castel Gandolfo until 1929.

Generalate of the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate. The General Mother House of the Order, which was founded in Western Ukraine in 1892, was opened in Rome in 1948. The resident Sisters administer the Order; work at the Vatican Radio and the Sacred Congregation for Oriental Churches; operate a church-vestments workshop; and do the housekeeping at the Ukrainian Major Seminary, the Minor Seminary, and the residence of Archbishop M. Marusyn, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for Oriental Churches.

Sister Catechists of Saint Anne. The Sisters, who come from Brazil, established their residence in Rome in 1972. They service the Saints Sergius and Bacchus hospice.

Educational Institutions

Ukrainian Catholic University of Pope Saint Clement. The Ukrainian Catholic University (popularly known as UKU, for Ukrainskyi Katolytskyi Universytet) was founded by Yosyf Cardinal Slipy in 1963. It is located adjacent to Saint Sofia's Church, which was built on the outskirts of Rome on Via Boccea by Cardinal Slipy and consecrated in 1969 in the presence of Pope Paul VI. The university building, completed in 1968, is owned by the Tovarystvo Sviatoi Sofii (Saint Sophia Religious Association) of Rome. (From 1964–5 – the first academic year – until the university building was completed, classes were held at the Studion in Castel Gandolfo.) Of the seventy-eight regular students who enrolled at the University since it opened its doors, twelve have been ordained priests and eight have joined the Studite Order of monks. Between 1970 and 1987, the University sponsored summer courses, which were attended annually by between twenty-five and forty students from various countries. Since 1963, the University has published an annual journal, *Bohosloviia* (Theology), as well as a number of scholarly works. Its library contains more than thirty-two thousand books. The University also operates a museum, which contains ecclesiastical, historical, ethno-

graphical, liturgical, and artistic exhibits. The Ukrainian Catholic University of Pope Saint Clement has affiliates in Argentina, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States.

The College of Saint Sophia. A seminary founded in Lviv in 1783 as the Greek Catholic Theological Academy, the College was reestablished in Rome in 1968 and is housed at Saint Clement's University. The number of seminarians in 1989–90 was between ten and fifteen.

Saint Josaphat Pontifical Ukrainian College. The College was founded in 1897 by Pope Leo XIII. It was under Jesuit supervision until 1904, when the Ukrainian Basilian Fathers took over its administration. Initially housed at the Saints Sergius and Bacchus residence, it was moved in 1932 to its present location on Gianiccolo Hill. Since 1939, the upkeep of the building has been fully provided by the Sacred Congregation for Oriental Churches. The students are enrolled at the Pontifical Universities (Urbanum, Angelicum, and Gregorianum) or at the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, and supplement their knowledge of the Ukrainian language, rite, and church history at the College. In the late 1980s, between 24 and 40 students were enrolled annually; out of 591 students who have attended the College from its inception, 304 became priests and 12 became bishops.

Ukrainian Papal Minor Seminary. Originally, in 1951, the Salesian Fathers established the Minor Seminary, a secondary school for boys, in Loury, France. The Seminary was moved to Castel Gandolfo in Italy in 1956 and to its present location on Via Boccea in 1959. The building is owned by the Holy See and is supported by the Sacred Congregation for Oriental Churches. Between 1951 and 1987, 748 students were enrolled; of those, 134 went on to study for the priesthood and 41 were ordained as priests. Students from various countries attend the Seminary. In 1990 there were approximately 40 students, some of whom were from Ukraine. The language of instruction is Ukrainian. The course of study lasts six years, and the graduation diploma is recognized by most universities.

Ukrainian Catholic Organizations

The Ukrainian Catholic central organizations headquartered in Rome are the Bohoslovske Naukove Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Catholic Theological Scholarly Society), founded in Lviv in 1923, which publishes *Bohosloviia;* the Tovarystvo Sviatoi Sofii (Saint Sophia Religious Association), founded in Rome in 1970, which has chapters in Belgium, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States; and the Patriarchal center and Ukrainian Catholic center in Rome, opened in 1972 in the complex on Piazza Madonna dei Monti (which houses the chancery offices, Synodal Secretariat Office, Postulator's Office, the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, the hospice, and, until 1988, the Ukrainian Catholic Museum of Saint Clement's University).

Places of Significance for Ukrainians

Finally, mention should be made of several places, which, although they do not fall under the category of community or settlement, nevertheless have a historical and symbolic significance for Ukrainians. One is the Villa Andrea in Castel Gandolfo, purchased by Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky in 1927 for use as a summer retreat for Ukrainian seminarians in Rome. A number of Ukrainian graves are found at both the Catholic cemetery of Campo Verano, where, besides a number of religious, the wife and son of Colonel Konovalets are buried; and the Protestant cemetery in Rome.

But of chief interest is the golden-domed church of Saint Sophia, erected by Yosyf Cardinal Slipy in 1967–9 in the Ukrainian-Byzantine style, closely resembling that of the original Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kiev. The Church, lavishly decorated with mosaics by such artists as Sviatoslav Hordynsky and Yuvenalii Mokrytsky, was built with the aid of contributions from faithful throughout the Ukrainian diaspora. Among those buried in the crypt beneath the Church are Archbishop Ivan Buchko and Superior of the Basilian Sisters Mother Klavdia; in addition, the remains of Cardinal Sembratovych, Princess Teresa Sangushko-Sapiha, and others were transferred to the crypt. The Church has served as a center of pilgrimages and gatherings of Ukrainian Catholics from around the world. It was the site of the celebration of the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity in 1988.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

The first synod of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy, including church leaders from both the homeland and the diaspora, was held in Rome in June 1990. The liturgy celebrated at the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Rome saw the largest gathering of Ukrainian Catholic bishops in the history of the Church. Pope John Paul II met with the Ukrainian bishops in the Vatican.

The Vatican established formal diplomatic relations with Ukraine in February 1992; on March 28, 1992, Pope John Paul II appointed the Reverend Monsignor Antonio Franco Apostolic Nuncio to Ukraine. Prior to assuming his new post in Lviv, Monsignor Franco was consecrated Archbishop by the Pontiff.

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Some of the data in this article are derived from interviews with the heads of Ukrainian institutions and monastic orders in Rome.

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UKRAINIANS IN LUXEMBOURG

Very Rev. Dean Pavlo Kohut and Ann Lencyk Pawliczko[1]

Country Data

Official Name – Groussherzogtum Lëtzebuerg (Luxemburgian), Grand-Duché de Luxembourg (French), Grossherzogtum Luxemburg (German), (Grand Duchy of Luxembourg)

Geographic Location – Bordered by Belgium on the north and west, Germany on the east, and France on the south, Luxembourg is located in Northern Europe between 49°26′ and 50°10′ north latitude and 5°44′ and 6°31′ east longitude.

Area – 999 sq. mi., or 2,586 sq km

Population Density – 387.4 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 149.6 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Luxembourg

Form of Government – Constitutional monarchy with two legislative houses, the Council of State (21 seats) and the Chamber of Deputies (60 seats)

Official Language – None. Luxemburgian is the national language; French is used for most official purposes; and German is the lingua franca.

Population – 387,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 72.5% Luxemburger; 9.0% Portuguese; 5.4% Italian; 3.4% French; 2.5% Belgian; 2.4% German; 4.8% other (1990)

Religious Affiliation – 94.6% Roman Catholic; 1.1% Protestant; 4.3% other (1989)

Literacy – virtually 100% (1990)

Percent Urban – 85.9% (1991)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 70.6 years; female, 77.9 years (1985–7)

Per Capita GNP – US$28,770 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Luxembourg

The Ukrainian community in Luxembourg is small (with fewer than one hundred people) and maintains very few contacts with organized Ukrainian community life. Ukrainians are scattered throughout the country; most have married non-Ukrainians and their children do not speak the Ukrainian language.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

The first Ukrainian settlers in Luxembourg arrived in the 1920s to work in heavy industry in the vicinity of Esch. At that time, they maintained close contacts with Ukrainians in neighboring Lorraine, in eastern France, the home of a large and active Ukrainian community.

After the Second World War, Col. Andrii Melnyk, one of the organizers of the Ukrainian National Movement and later head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, made Luxembourg his permanent residence. He is buried there. Every year, in commemoration of the anniversary of his death, a memorial service is held at the cemetery and a Divine Liturgy is celebrated at the local church nearby. The colonel's widow, Sofia Melnyk, lived in Luxembourg until her death, in 1990.

Ukrainian Community Life in Luxembourg Today

There are no Ukrainian churches, schools, or organizations in Luxembourg. There is also no resident Ukrainian priest in the country; the Very Reverend Pavlo Kohut, from France, ministers to the spiritual needs of this small community.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

The Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine was commemorated in the Roman Catholic cathedral in Luxembourg in 1988, with the participation of the local Archbishop and numerous clergy and faithful.

In 1989, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Col. Andrii Melnyk was observed in Luxembourg. The commemoration was attended by His Excellency Mykhailo Hrynchyshyn, Bishop of France and Benelux; Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox clergy; non-Ukrainian priests; and many faithful, the majority of whom were Luxembourg nationals. A German choir under the direction of a German conductor sang the responses to the Ukrainian liturgy. Approximately 150 Ukrainians from Western Europe, Canada, and the United States took part in the services, which were followed by a reception prepared by the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate from France. The festivities were organized by the Reverend Pavlo Kohut and Dr. Yakiv Makovetsky.

Note

1 The information provided for this article by the Very Reverend Dean Pavlo Kohut was compiled, supplemented, and translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.

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UKRAINIANS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Mykola Kohut[1]

Country Data

Official Name – Koninkrijk der Nederlanden (Kingdom of the Netherlands); popularly known as Holland

Geographic Location – The Netherlands is located in Northern Europe between 50°45′ and 53°30′ north latitude and 3°20′ and 7° east longitude. The country is bordered by the North Sea on the north and west, Germany on the east, and Belgium on the south.

Area – 16,163 sq. mi., or 41,863 sq km (including land area and inland water)

Population Density – 1,157.2 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 446.8 inhabitants per sq km (based on land area only) (1992)

Capital City – Amsterdam; seat of government, The Hague

Form of Government – Constitutional monarchy with a parliament (States General) comprising two legislative houses, the First Chamber (75 seats) and the Second Chamber (150 seats)

Official Language – Dutch

Population – 15,163,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 95.8% Netherlander; 1.2% Turkish; 0.9% Moroccan; 0.3% German; 1.8% other (1990)

Religious Affiliation – 36.0% Roman Catholic; 18.5% Dutch Reformed Church; 8.4% Reformed Churches; 4.5% other; 32.6% nonreligious (1986)

Literacy – virtually 100% (1990)

Percent Urban – 88.5% (1990)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 73.7 years; female, 79.7 years (1989)

Per Capita GNP – US$14,931 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in the Netherlands

Although no precise statistics are available, the Ukrainian population in the Netherlands after the Second World War is estimated to have been approximately eight hundred. With the exception of a small number of men, most of the immigrants were women, primarily from Eastern Ukraine, who migrated to the Netherlands from Germany and married Dutch

men. Several hundred of these women probably still live in the Netherlands, but their exact number is not known; moreover, references to them are always in the past tense, for the majority have forgotten their native tongue and have not made an effort to establish ties with Ukrainians in other countries or in the homeland. Their families are now fully assimilated into Dutch society, and, in many cases, their children are not aware of their mother's ancestry. With few exceptions, the families of Ukrainian men who married Dutch women have also assimilated into the local society. Today, there may be approximately twenty Ukrainian families in the Netherlands, all of them living in the cities. The majority of Ukrainians in the Netherlands are older people (the descendants of the assimilated Ukrainian women cannot be counted as Ukrainians); it can be assumed that there are a few young people, but their exact number remains unknown.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

The Netherlands and Belgium were once a single nation; hence, Ukraine's early relations with the Netherlands are synonymous with those described in the section on Belgium (see pp. 216–18). Although the earliest ties were based on trade, other contacts developed in the seventeenth century, as young Ukrainians came to study at Dutch institutions of higher learning. Several notable Dutch cartographers and engravers were interested in Ukraine and published scenes of Ukrainian cities and descriptions of its lands in various geographic and historical works. In the twentieth century, Ukraine maintained relations jointly with the two countries of the Netherlands and Belgium. The diplomatic mission of the Ukrainian National Republic was initially located in The Hague and subsequently moved to Brussels. In 1920, the Ukrainska Respublykanska Kapelia (Ukrainian Republican Kapelle), under the direction of O. Koshyts, toured both countries. Metropolitan A. Sheptytsky visited both Belgium and the Netherlands in 1921, as well as in later years.

Religious Life

There are no Ukrainian churches, priests, or religious in the Netherlands. However, after the creation of the Apostoliat Ziedynennia (Apostolate of Unity) at the initiative of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, Dutch priests and religious interested in the Ukrainian Catholic Church learned the Ukrainian language, accepted the Ukrainian-Byzantine rite, and began to work almost exclusively among the Ukrainian Catholic faithful. Among those who became well known in the Ukrainian community are Rev. Peter Al, Rev. Johan Meyer, the late Rev. Yakiv Perridon, Rev. Theodor Van Den Hout, and the late Rev. Theodor Van Gool. Other Dutch priests also served the Ukrainian Catholic faithful, but were less active and ministered to Ukrainians for shorter periods of time. At present, the Reverend Peter Al serves Ukrainians in the Netherlands as the need arises (often traveling with the Byzantine Choir of Utrecht); there are no regularly scheduled Ukrainian church services.

Education and Professional Life

Today, there are no Ukrainian schools in the Netherlands. A supplementary Saturday school offering Ukrainian-language courses existed in Utrecht in the 1960s and early 1970s, but it was not well attended.

Cultural Life

Dutch is the language spoken by most Ukrainians in the Netherlands.

The famous and very active Vizantiiskyi Khor (Byzantine Choir) of Utrecht, under the direction of Dr. M. Antonovych, has been in existence since 1951. The choir's forty-odd members are Dutch, but sing exclusively in Ukrainian. The Byzantine Choir is credited with performing a very significant task for the Ukrainian people: it has been instrumental in promoting the Divine Liturgy, Ukrainian church music, folk songs, and works by Ukrainian composers, as well as familiarizing the public with Ukraine in general. Although the choir was founded through the efforts of the Apostolate of Unity, it has been independent of the Apostolate since about 1980. The choir gives twenty-five to forty concerts a year, more than any Ukrainian choir in the diaspora. In September 1990, the Byzantine Choir did a concert tour of Ukraine.

Social and Political Life

The only Ukrainian organization ever to exist in the Netherlands (and even be quite active for a time) was the Obiednannia Ukraintsiv Holiandii (Union of Ukrainians in Holland), established in 1947. The founder and first president of the Union was K. Kryzhevska, who immigrated to the Netherlands in 1925. Succeeding Kryzhevska as president was O. Kushpeta, followed by Kryzhevska's daughter. M. Bryk was very active as secretary of the Union until his death, after which all activities of the organization ceased. The membership of the Union stood at 120 at its peak; currently, it is assumed that there are approximately ten members, but there is no secretary or treasurer and no meetings are held. The president is M. Beskers. Among the active Ukrainians in the Netherlands are the Antonovych, Bryk, Kryzhevsky, Kubaievych, Kushpeta, and Stakh families.

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

Among the concerns of Ukrainians in the Netherlands are the almost exclusive use of the Dutch language, at the expense of Ukrainian; mixed marriages; and complete assimilation into Dutch society.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

1988: The observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Evhen Konovalets, Colonel of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic and political leader of the nationalist movement, including a commemorative concert attended by several hundred Ukrainians from around the world. Konovalets is buried in Rotterdam.

Note

1 The information provided for this article by M. Kohut was compiled and translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.

UKRAINIANS IN NORWAY

Ann Lencyk Pawliczko

Country Data

Official Name – Kongeriket Norge (Kingdom of Norway)

Geographic Location – Located in Northern Europe, Norway is bordered by the Arctic Ocean and the Barents Sea on the north; Russia, Finland, and Sweden on the east; the North Sea and the Strait of Skagerrak on the south; and the Norwegian Sea and the Atlantic Ocean on the west. It lies between 57°57′ and 71°11′ north latitude and 4°30′ and 31°10′ east longitude.

Area – 125,050 sq. mi., or 323,878 sq km (excluding Svalbard and Jan Mayen, 24,360 sq. mi., or 63,080 sq km)

Population Density – 34.3 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 13.2 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Oslo

Form of Government – Constitutional monarchy with one legislative house, Parliament (165 seats)

Official Language – Norwegian

Population – 4,283,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition (by country of citizenship) – 96.6% Norway; 0.4% Denmark; 0.3% Pakistan; 0.3% Sweden; 0.3% United Kingdom; 0.2% United States; 0.2% Vietnam; 1.7% other (1991)

Religious Affiliation – 87.9% Lutheran; 3.2% nonreligious; 8.9% other (1980)

Literacy – virtually 100% (1990)

Percent Urban – 75.0% (1990)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 73.4 years; female, 79.8 years (1990)

Per Capita GNP – US$23,120 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Norway

There are several Ukrainian families living in Norway, concentrated in the cities of Oslo and Bergen. The majority are laborers, some of whose children have postsecondary degrees. Members of the younger generation do not consider themselves Ukrainian, but do admit to their Ukrainian ancestry. Members of the older generation speak Ukrainian.

Ukrainian Life

Ukrainians migrated to Norway between the two world wars, in the 1920s, and worked primarily as laborers. There is no Ukrainian church, school, or organization in the country. Some Ukrainians are members of the Ukrainska Hromada (Ukrainian Community) of Sweden. Ukrainians in Norway gather two or three times a year to attend the Divine Liturgy celebrated by a priest from Rome, from the office of the Apostolic Visitature. The services are held in the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Oslo, with the local choir, which includes only a few Ukrainians, singing the responses in Church Slavonic. The services are attended by many Roman Catholics.

Dr. Mykola Radeiko, of Oslo, was instrumental in disseminating information about Ukrainians among the upper circles of Norwegian society.

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UKRAINIANS IN SPAIN

Nestor Romanyk[1]

Country Data

Official Name – Reino de España (Kingdom of Spain)

Geographic Location – Spain is located in Southern Europe between 36° and 43°47′ north latitude and 9°20′ west and 4°20′ east longitude. It is bordered by Portugal on the west; the Bay of Biscay, France, and Andorra on the north; the Mediterranean Sea on the east; and the Strait of Gibraltar on the south.

Area – 194,885 sq. mi., or 504,750 sq km

Population Density – 200.5 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 77.4 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Madrid

Form of Government – Constitutional monarchy with two legislative houses, the Senate (250 seats) and the Congress of Deputies (350 seats)

Official Language – Spanish

Population – 39,085,000 (1992 estimate)

Ethnic (Ethnolinguistic) Composition – 72.3% Spanish; 16.3% Catalan; 8.1% Galician; 2.3% Basque; 1.0% other (1989)

Religious Affiliation – 97.0% Roman Catholic; 0.4% Protestant; 2.6% nonreligious and atheist (1980)

Literacy – 94.7% (1988–9)

Percent Urban – 78.4% (1990)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 74.4 years; female, 80.3 years (1990–5)

Per Capita GNP – US$10,920 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Spain

Demographic and Social Characteristics

There are currently about 140 Ukrainians in Spain, of whom about 20 count their ancestry as wholly Ukrainian; the remaining number are children of the younger generation's mixed marriages. Twenty-five percent of Ukrainians in Spain are children, either preschoolers or youngsters attending school, and 8.1 percent are currently attending university. Among the Ukrainians in Spain, 29.4 percent of whom have a university education, there are two university professors, twelve engineers, five physicians, five pharmacists, and one veterinarian. Family incomes, according to Spanish standards, are more than adequate, averaging the equivalent of US$1,500 per month.

The Ukrainian families all live in the cities. Of the nineteen families that constitute the Ukrainian community, nine live in Madrid.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

There were no Ukrainians in Spain during the Second World War. The nucleus of today's Ukrainian community in Spain consists of former students, the first Ukrainians to settle in the country. The first group of students, numbering sixteen, arrived in Madrid in late 1946 to take advantage of the scholarships given to refugees by the Spanish government. More than 110 students attended Spanish universities between 1946 and 1955, but only fourteen remained in Spain upon completion of their studies. They married non-Ukrainians (there were no Ukrainian women in Spain at the time), and started a Ukrainian "colony" (community). In addition to the students, there was one Ukrainian family living in Madrid in the postwar years; it still resides there today. All the other families are those of mixed marriages.

Religious Life

Although there are no Ukrainian churches in Spain, Ukrainians in Madrid have permission to use the chapel of one local parish. The Divine Liturgy is celebrated by a Spanish priest who is familiar with the Ukrainian rite.

Education and Professional Life

There are no Ukrainian elementary or secondary schools, universities, or supplementary Saturday schools. Similarly, there are no Ukrainian professional organizations.

Cultural Life

Members of the original immigration speak the Ukrainian language, but, in general, Spanish is the language spoken.

There were Ukrainian radio programs until the death of General Franco. There is no Ukrainian press in Spain.

Social and Political Life

The Ukrainska Hromada (Ukrainian Community) is the only Ukrainian organization in Spain.

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

The major concerns of Ukrainians in Spain are mixed marriages and the lack of Ukrainian schools for children.

Ties with Ukrainians in Other Countries

There are ties with almost all Ukrainian organizations in the West.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

1980: A demonstration in defense of freedom for Ukraine was organized by Ukrainians in Spain during the International Conference on Human Rights in Madrid.

Note

1 The information provided for this article by N. Romanyk was compiled and translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.

UKRAINIANS IN SWEDEN

Bohdan Zaluha and Ann Lencyk Pawliczko[1]

Country Data

Official Name – Konungariket Sverige (Kingdom of Sweden)

Geographic Location – Located in Northern Europe, on the Scandinavian peninsula, Sweden borders with Norway and Finland on the north; Finland, the Gulf of Bothnia, and the Baltic Sea on the east; the Baltic Sea on the south; and the Straits of Kattegat and Skagerrak, and

Norway, on the west. Sweden lies between 55°20′ and 69°05′ north latitude and 11° and 24°10′ east longitude.

Area – 173,732 sq. mi., or 449,964 sq km (including land area and inland water)

Population Density – 54.7 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 21.1 inhabitants per sq km (based on land area only) (1992)

Capital City – Stockholm

Form of Government – Constitutional monarchy and parliamentary state with one legislative house, Parliament (349 seats)

Official Language – Swedish

Population – 8,673,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 90.8% Swedish; 2.5% Finnish; 6.7% other (1991)

Religious Affiliation – 88.9% Church of Sweden (nominally; approximately 30% nonpracticing); 1.7% Roman Catholic; 1.1% Pentecostal; 8.3% other (1991)

Literacy – virtually 100% (1988)

Percent Urban – 83.4% (1985)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 74.4 years; female, 80.2 years (1986–90)

Per Capita GNP – US$23,680 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Sweden

There are approximately two thousand Ukrainians living in Sweden today. They are found primarily in the cities in the southern and central regions of the country, including Stockholm, Malmö, Örebro, Göteborg; in the past, some Ukrainians were also found in Lund and Borås.

Ukrainians are found in all occupations; there are physicians, nurses, civil servants, and laborers. Not all are active in Ukrainian community life; a gathering of forty to fifty Ukrainians is considered large. In fact, only a handful of people are truly active in the community. Moreover, Ukrainians are scattered throughout the country. While the majority of Ukrainians converse among themselves in Ukrainian, some also speak Swedish, Finnish, Polish, or even Russian among themselves. The prevalence of mixed marriages does not facilitate the learning of the Ukrainian language at home. The majority of Ukrainian youth have assimilated into the local society.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

Ties between Ukraine and Sweden date back to Ukraine's Princely Era (860–1340) and to the Cossack–Hetman era (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). Sweden maintained contacts

with Ukraine from the very beginnings of the national formation of the two countries. At first, particularly in the ninth century, such ties were primarily economic. With time, however, they also became dynastic, as the royal families began to intermarry: Prince Yaroslav Mudryi (Yaroslav the Wise) married Ingegarda, daughter of Swedish king Olaf Skottkonung, and Mstyslav Harold, son of Volodymyr Monomakh, married Christina, daughter of Swedish king Inge Steinkel. Their shared rivalry with and wars against Poland and Muscovy brought the two countries closer together in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ukrainian hetmans, including Ivan Mazepa, and Swedish kings, including Charles XII, maintained ties and aided each other in their struggles.

The first Ukrainian political immigration to Sweden followed the unsuccessful efforts of the Swedes and Ukrainians to defeat Tsar Peter I, which forced Hetman Pylyp Orlyk to flee Ukraine. He arrived in Sweden in 1715 with a staff of twenty-four, including several high-ranking military personnel. Orlyk's son, Hryhorii, studied at the University of Lund.

Another Ukrainian who resided in Sweden at this time was Anna Voinarovska Myrovych, who was granted Tynnelsö Castle by King Charles XII, reportedly as a reward for the large sum of money her husband had lent him. She lived there for some time, and it is believed that some of her children remained in Sweden.

The next group of Ukrainian immigrants settled in Sweden during the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Ukrainian women and girls from Galicia were recruited for work in the potato and beet fields. While most of them eventually returned to their native land, some remained in Sweden and were assimilated into the local population.

One of the Ukrainian immigrants of the early 1900s was the well-known opera singer and educator Modest Mentsinsky, who performed in the Stockholm Royal Opera during the years 1904–8 and again from 1925, at which time, in addition to his performances with the opera, he started a school of voice. Mentsinsky remained in Sweden until his death, in 1935.

Osyp Maidaniuk, professor of art and art history in Lviv, lived in Sweden from 1915 until his death in Stockholm, in 1961. He worked as an artist in Sweden.

Ukrainians began to migrate to Sweden in larger numbers between the two world wars. Among them were refugees fleeing the USSR by way of Finland. Some of those who settled in Sweden toward the end of the Second World War and immediately after were former Soviet exiles from Karelia (near the White Sea, not far from the Finnish border), who had been deported there during the collectivization of 1932–5. Most of them had been *kurkuli* (kulaks or well-to-do peasants). When war broke out and Finland occupied the Karelian territory, they settled in Finland. Although Finland was obliged to return Soviet citizens, some Ukrainians managed to escape to Sweden. The descendants of those refugees form the backbone of the Ukrainian community in Sweden.

After the Second World War, another wave of Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Sweden, from German concentration camps. Ukrainian workers from Germany and Austria also migrated to Sweden, with the aid of the Swedish Red Cross. Other immigrants at this time included refugees from Poland and Karelia and a number of Bačka Ukrainians, who came with the workers' transports from Yugoslavia. During the early postwar years, there were between two thousand and twenty-five hundred Ukrainians in Sweden, some of whom subsequently emigrated to Canada and the United States.

Although the majority of Ukrainian immigrants were employed as laborers, there were also a number of professionals, including physicians, engineers, teachers, and civil servants.

Religious Life

Ukrainians in Sweden are divided approximately evenly between Catholic and Orthodox. Initially, Bishop Ivan Buchko and the Reverend M. Van de Maale ministered to the Ukrainian Catholics; currently, they are served by the Apostolic Exarch of Germany, Bishop Platon Kornyliak. The Reverend H. Matvienko, from Hamburg, Germany, once ministered to the Ukrainian Orthodox faithful, who are currently served by Archbishop Anatolii Dubliansky. There is no Ukrainian church in Sweden. Priests from Germany are invited to visit the faithful on holy days; the community takes turns extending invitations to Catholic and Orthodox clergy. Archbishop Dubliansky normally represents the Orthodox Church; the Reverend Casanova (of Spanish extraction) usually represents the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Thus, Ukrainian Divine Liturgies are celebrated several times a year, and Ukrainians of both faiths gladly attend the services, regardless of the religious affiliation of the celebrant.

Education and Professional Life

There are no Ukrainian schools in Sweden. A very small number of Ukrainian intellectuals are active in the Ukrainian community.

Social and Political Life

During the First World War, the representation of the Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine), headed by O. Nazaruk, was active in the neutral country of Sweden and was responsible for the publication of several important works. In 1916, the Ukrainske Informatsiine Biuro (Ukrainian Information Bureau) was formed, under the leadership of Bandrivsky, V. Stepankivsky, and M. Zalizniak. In 1917, en route from exile in Siberia to his native land, Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky remained for some time among the Ukrainians living in Stockholm.

Despite the fact that Sweden did not officially recognize the independent Ukrainian state, Stockholm was the seat of the Ukrainian diplomatic mission for Sweden and Norway; it was headed by B. Bazhenov in 1918 and K. Losky, under the Directory, in 1919. Through the efforts of Losky, a major Swedish-language work on Ukraine entitled *Ukrainarna*, edited by A. Jensen and M. Ehrenpreis, and dealing with Ukrainian history, geography, literature, and culture, was published in 1921. Swedish economist and sociologist G. Steffen authored the brochure *Russia, Poland and Ukraine*, which appeared in the Swedish and English languages.

During the Seond World War, the Ukrainske Informatsiine Biuro dlia Finlandii i Skandynavii (Ukrainska Informationsbyran för Finland och Skandinavien, UIFS; Ukrainian Information Bureau for Finland and Scandinavia) was active in Helsinki, under the direction of B. Kentrzhynsky. The Bureau, which was transferred to Stockholm in 1944, aided Ukrainian prisoners of war from the Red Army. From 1949 to 1955, B. Kentrzhynsky, with Yu. Borys and B. Zaluha, headed the Ukrainske Presove Biuro (Ukrainian Press Bureau) in Stockholm. The Bureau issued press releases for the Ukrainian and Swedish press. Kentrzhynsky was active in the Swedish historical society Karolinska Förbundet, publishing works on Swedish–Ukrainian relations, particularly on Charles X Gustavus (1956), Charles XII (1959), and Hetman Ivan Mazepa (a large monograph, published in 1962). In 1950–2,

Yu. Shevelov taught Russian and Ukrainian at the University of Lund. The works of many famous Swedish writers were translated into Ukrainian.

Ukrainian *hromady* (communities) became active in Sweden in the latter part of the 1940s. Among the organizations that were once active in Sweden but are no longer in existence are the Ukrainska Hromada imeny Hetmana P. Orlyka (Hetman P. Orlyk Ukrainian Community), headed by V. Dekhtiar and active in Stockholm in 1948–61; the Ukrainske Bratstvo Sviatoho Yuriia (Ukrainian Brotherhood of Saint George), headed by M. Boiko and active for some time in Malmö; and the Ukrainskyi Akademichnyi Kliub (Ukrainian Academic Club), headed by Yu. Borys and B. Zaluha and active in Stockholm in 1950–60. The Club, whose activities ceased when the students who were its members completed their master's and doctoral degrees, was an initiator and member of an international union of refugee students from Communist-ruled countries, including Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ukraine, and the Baltic countries.

The oldest Ukrainian organization in Sweden is the Ukrainska Hromada Shvetsii (Föreningen Ukrainska Sällskapet; Ukrainian Community of Sweden), in Stockholm, which was established in 1947 and is active to this day. In the first years of its existence, the Ukrainian Community actively assisted Ukrainian refugees in the displaced-persons camps in Germany and Trieste and financially aided a class in the Ukrainian secondary school in Regensburg, Germany. It cooperated with various Ukrainian organizations in the free world. In its early years, the organization numbered approximately 250–300 members.

The Ukrainian Community of Sweden provides an opportunity for Ukrainians to gather together, organizes various functions and lectures, publishes a periodical, and maintains contacts with individuals and organizations of Swedish and other nationalities in its dissemination of information about Ukraine and Ukrainians.

The main organization, with its board of directors headquartered in Stockholm and headed by Bohdan Zaluha, also has three branches: the Ukrainske–Shvedske Kulturne Obiednannia (Ukrainian–Swedish Cultural Society), in Stockholm; the Ukrainska–Shvedska Hromada (Ukrainian–Swedish Community), in Örebro; and the Ukrainska–Shvedska Kulturna Spilka (Ukrainian–Swedish Cultural Union), in Malmö. Since 1954, the Ukrainian Community has published the Ukrainian-language periodical *Skandynavski Visti* (Scandinavian News), under the editorship of Bohdan Zaluha. The periodical, which is distributed to libraries, Ukrainian communities, and individuals, includes historical materials, articles on Ukrainian culture and Ukrainian activity in Sweden, and reprints from the Swedish and Western press on Ukrainian topics, with Ukrainian translations. Lately, several issues of *Visti* have been sent to Ukraine. The Ukrainian Community traditionally meets during Christmas and Easter to celebrate the Divine Liturgy, stage concerts (with speeches and performances), and serve the traditional Christmas Eve supper or Easter dinner, in addition to holding its official meetings. The organization's membership is open to all Ukrainians who believe in a sovereign and independent Ukraine, regardless of their religious background. It is nondenominational and ideologically neutral. The branches in Örebro and Malmö, where there are larger numbers of Ukrainians, have *Narodni Domy* (National Homes or community halls) where weekly meetings and cultural activities, including embroidery and the decoration of *pysanky* (Ukrainian Easter eggs), are conducted.

An Ukrainskyi Informatsiinyi Tsentr (Ukrainian Information Center) was established in 1991 by Yaroslav Stupak, Sana Vitt, and Bohdan Zaluha.

Prominent leaders of Ukrainian community and professional life in Sweden have included the following: former officer of the Swedish merchant fleet V. Bretan, of Göteborg; V. Fedorchuk, of Tranås; physician B. Skobovych-Okolot, of Karlskoga; former captain of the

Norwegian merchant fleet A. Turtsevych, of Surte; and chairman of the Ukrainian Community and editor of *Skandynavski Visti* B. Zaluha, of Järfälla. Zaluha was active in Amnesty International in defense of human rights for Soviet political prisoners and has petitioned the Swedish government and immigration officials to allow Ukrainians from Poland to immigrate to Sweden. Also residing in Sweden are mathematics lecturer Petro Basarab-Grvat and one of the newest members of the Ukrainian community, writer and journalist Yaroslav Stupak.

Ukrainians in Sweden maintain ties with Swedish community activists and political writers and cooperate with other local ethnic groups, including the Balkan, Hungarian, and Polish groups.

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

Among the major concerns of Ukrainians as an ethnic group in Sweden are (1) the assimilation of Ukrainian youth and (2) the misconception on the part of average Swedes, created by decades of widespread Russification and propaganda by the Soviet Union, that Ukrainians are really Russians. Individual members of the Ukrainian community make every effort to develop contacts and arrange for cultural and political exchanges between Sweden and Ukraine in order to educate the Swedish population about Ukraine and Ukrainians. Toward this end, Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine, invited three Swedish professors to participate in an academic exchange.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

The Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine was celebrated by Ukrainians in the Scandinavian countries in the cities of Lund and Malmö, in southern Sweden, on May 22, 1988. The commemorations included a Pontifical Divine Liturgy celebrated in the Catholic Church in Lund by Bishop Platon Kornyliak, of Germany, assisted by Bishop H. Brandenburg, of Sweden, and several priests. An ecumenical choir from West Berlin, under the direction of Dr. Franz Gerner, sang the responses. A jubilee Divine Liturgy was celebrated on the same day in the Serbian Orthodox Church of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Malmö by Archprotopresbyter P. Dubitsky, with the assistance of two priests. The Ukrainian choir from Düsseldorf, Germany, under the direction of the Reverend A. Ostapchuk, sang the responses. A sculpture of Saint Volodymyr the Great, a gift from fellow Ukrainians B. Mykytchak and Dr. H. Nakonechna, of Germany, was blessed in the presence of clergy and noted Ukrainian and Swedish guests and donated to the Slavic Department of the University of Lund. An ecumenical jubilee *Moleben* (prayer service) was celebrated in the cathedral in Lund by Ukrainian bishops and clergy of the Catholic and Orthodox churches, the Swedish Catholic bishop, and Swedish Catholic and Protestant clergy. The jubilee commemorative concert that followed included lectures, recitations, and artistic performances by choirs, *bandura* players, and violinists. A banquet attended by more than one hundred invited guests concluded the day's Millennium festivities.

The year 1988 also marked the visit of two guests from Ukraine: Atena Pashko, wife of noted human rights activist and former political prisoner Viacheslav Chornovil, and music critic Mykhailo Holovashchenko, who arrived at the invitation of the Swedish Royal Opera and, during his stay, collected information for his book on noted Ukrainian opera singer Modest Mentsinsky.

The Millennium year also saw the successful airing on Swedish national television of the film *Harvest of Despair*, a documentary on the artificial famine in Ukraine in 1932–3.

Note

1 The information provided for this article by Bohdan Zaluha was compiled, supplemented, and translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.

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UKRAINIANS IN SWITZERLAND

Bohdan Hawrylyshyn and Ann Lencyk Pawliczko[1]

Country Data

Official Name – Confédération Suisse (French), Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft (German), Confederazione Svizzera (Italian) (Swiss Confederation)

Geographic Location – Switzerland is a landlocked country in Central Europe, bordered by France on the north and west, Germany on the north and east, Austria on the east, and Italy on the south. It is located between 45°50′ and 47°54′ north latitude and 6° and 10°30′ east longitude.

Area – 15,943 sq. mi., or 41,293 sq km

Population Density – 433.5 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 167.4 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Bern (administrative); Lausanne (judicial)

Form of Government – Federal state with two legislative houses, the Council of States (46 seats) and the National Council (200 seats)

Official Languages – French, German, Italian

Population – 6,911,000 (1992)

Ethnic (Ethnolinguistic) Composition – 63.0% German; 17.6% French; 9.4% Italian; 2.1% Yugoslav; 1.7% Spanish; 0.8% Romansch; 5.4% other (1990)

Religious Affiliation – 47.2% Roman Catholic; 43.5% Protestant; 1.5% Muslim; 0.3% Jewish; 7.5% other (1990)

Literacy – virtually 100% (1988)

Percent Urban – 59.7% (1991)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 74.0 years; female, 80.8 years (1989–90)

Per Capita GNP – US$32,790 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Switzerland

Demographic and Social Characteristics

There are close to one hundred Ukrainians living in Switzerland today. They are found in the cities, dispersed across the country. Their demographic characteristics are as follows: they range in age from one to eighty-five years old; their number is divided roughly evenly between males and females; the majority of them are married; family size ranges from two to six persons; and there is no noticeable population growth. In terms of socioeconomic characteristics, the Ukrainian population in Switzerland ranges from those who have only an elementary-school education to those holding doctorates, and from blue-collar workers to professors. Incomes range from US$10,000 to US$200,000.

Participation in the Economic, Political, Professional, and Social Life of the Country

There are approximately ten Ukrainian professionals active in the Swiss and international arenas. Two are well known in Swiss political, economic, educational, and artistic fields, and their contacts are found at the very top levels of their respective sectors of activity. Others work and meet periodically in the Ukrainian community. It should be noted that, in the nineteenth century, Mykhailo Drahomanov, Ukrainian scholar, civic leader, publicist, and political theorist, was well established in Geneva; his publications can be found in the library at the University of Geneva.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

Ukrainians first settled in Switzerland in 1905. In the early part of the twentieth century, there was an entire Ukrainian community in Switzerland, composed mainly of students from then Russian-occupied Ukraine. Others escaped to Switzerland after the Revolution. The small group of Ukrainian refugees who migrated to the country after the First World War cooperated with the emissaries to the League of Nations from the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation in the Polish Diet and from Ukrainian refugee groups from various countries with the goal of defending Ukrainian interests at the League of Nations in Geneva.

The Ukrainskyi Chervonyi Khrest (Ukrainian Red Cross) was headquartered in Switzerland. M. Yeremiiev published an informational bulletin, and the Ukrainske Biuro (Ukrainian Bureau), under M. Trotsky, was active in 1931–3. An Ukrainskyi Kliub (Ukrainian Club) functioned after 1919; in 1931, it was renamed the Shvaitsarsko-Ukrainskyi Kliub (Swiss-Ukrainian Club). However, the majority of Ukrainians who settled in Switzerland during this time did not remain there, but emigrated to other countries, such as France. It was only after the Second World War that a small community of Ukrainians reemerged in Switzerland.

Religious Life

There are no Ukrainian churches in Switzerland. The religious needs of the community are met by a visiting priest, who is Swiss-born of a Ukrainian immigrant father and a Swiss mother. Plans are under way for him to return to Switzerland as head of Ukrainian and Eastern Rite Catholics. There are some Swiss Roman Catholics who are familiar with Eastern rites and wish to practice them.

Education and Professional Life

There are no Ukrainian schools or institutions of higher learning in Switzerland, nor are there any Ukrainian supplementary Saturday schools. There are no Ukrainian professional societies or publications.

Cultural Life

The language spoken among Ukrainians is Ukrainian. In some families, Swiss-German or French is spoken.

Ukrainian arts and crafts are fostered. There is no Ukrainian press, radio, or other media.

Social and Political Life

In view of the very small number of Ukrainians living in Switzerland today and the fact that they are not concentrated in any one particular area but are dispersed throughout the country, the activity of the Ukrainian community has been remarkable. There are several gatherings per year, with an attendance of approximately fifty to sixty people, which, in percentage terms, may be a higher rate of participation than that in any other Ukrainian settlement. During a collection for the Millennium celebration, for example, only some fifteen families were able to contribute; however, the total contribution per donor averaged about US$1,400, again a sum undoubtedly surpassing the average donation in most Ukrainian communities.

There is a Tovarystvo Ukraintsiv Shvaitsarii (Association of Ukrainians in Switzerland) and a women's organization. In total, there are approximately sixty members in these organizations.

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

Some of the major concerns of Ukrainians as an ethnic group in Switzerland are the small number of Ukrainians, their dispersal throughout Switzerland, and mixed marriages. It is

interesting to note, however, that Swiss wives of Ukrainian men are active in the Ukrainian community.

Ties with Ukrainians in Other Countries

There are ties with Ukrainians living in other countries, notably through the Svitovyi Kongres Vilnykh Ukraintsiv (World Congress of Free Ukrainians) and other organizations, as well as through the Ukrainian churches.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

Among the important events occurring within the Ukrainian community in the past few years have been the following: the visits of General Petro Hryhorenko and Leonid Pliusch; observances of the January 22 Ukrainian Independence Day; and television appearances and special programs as well as numerous articles in both the Swiss and international press (40 and 120 articles, respectively) dedicated to the life and work of author Dr. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, former scholar-in-residence at the International Management Institute in Geneva.

A festive celebration planned by the Ukrainian community in Switzerland to commemorate the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine was held in April 1988. It consisted of a Pontifical Divine Liturgy celebrated by Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk of Canada, Bishop Mykhailo Hrynchyshyn of France, Bishop Platon Kornyliak of Munich, Bishop Volodymyr Didovych of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Australia and New Zealand, the representative of the Swiss Synod of Bishops, and many Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian priests. The all-male Vizantiiskyi Khor (Byzantine Choir) from Utrecht, Holland (the members of which are Dutch, singing in Ukrainian), under the direction of Dr. Myroslav Antonovych, sang the responses. The Liturgy was broadcast on Swiss, Austrian, Belgian, and German television, as well as on two Swiss radio stations.

Note

1 Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, who provided the information for this article, held the position of scholar-in-residence at the International Management Institute in Geneva, Switzerland, at the time of writing. The material was compiled, supplemented, and translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.

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UKRAINIANS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND IRELAND

Marta Jenkala

UKRAINIANS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Country Data

Official Name – United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Geographic Location – The United Kingdom is situated on a group of islands to the northwest of the European continent, between 49°10′ and 60°50′ north latitude and 1°45′ east and 8°10′ west longitude. It comprises the countries of England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. The latter shares its island territory with the Republic of Ireland. The United Kingdom is separated from the continent of Europe by the English Channel and the Strait of Dover.

Area – 94,251 sq. mi., or 244,110 sq km, of which England occupies 50,363 sq. mi. (130,439 sq km); Scotland, 30,418 sq. mi. (78,783 sq km); Wales, 8,019 sq. mi. (20,768 sq km); and Northern Ireland, 5,452 sq. mi. (14,120 sq km)

Population Density – 610.7 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 235.8 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – London

Form of Government – Constitutional monarchy with two legislative houses, the House of Lords (1,191 seats) and the House of Commons (651 seats)

Official Language – English. (Since 1967, Welsh has also been in official use in the courts and schools of Wales. Indigenous minority languages, including Gaelic, are spoken in Ireland and the Scottish Highlands.)

Population – 57,561,000 (1992). This estimate includes an adjustment of about 5 percent for underenumeration.

Ethnic Composition – The indigenous population of the United Kingdom is 85% English, 9.6% Scottish, 2.7% Irish, and 1.9% Welsh, constituting 94.2% of the total population. The remaining 5.8% breaks down as follows: 1.4% Asian Indian; 1.0% West Indian; 0.8% Pakistani; 0.2% African; 0.2% Chinese; 0.2% Bangladeshi; 0.1% Arab; 1.9% other and not stated. (1986)

Religious Affiliation – 86.9% Christian (56.8% Anglican; 13.1% Roman Catholic; 7% Presbyterian; 4.3% Methodist; and 1.4% Baptist); 1.4% Muslim; 0.8% Jewish; 0.7% Hindu; 0.4% Sikh; 8.8% nonreligious; 1.0% other (1980)

Literacy – virtually 100% (1990)

Percent Urban – 91.5% (1985)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 72.4 years; female, 78.0 years (1987–9)

Per Capita GNP – US$16,070 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in the United Kingdom

Demographic and Social Characteristics

Because census forms in the United Kingdom have not included questions on ethnic origin, and data gathered by Ukrainian organizations are incomplete, it is impossible to give accurate statistics about Ukrainians in this country. Also, it is difficult to decide who should be included in these figures, since in many cases the children of first-generation mixed marriages have themselves married non-Ukrainians. The data, therefore, have been pieced together and, in some cases, estimated on the basis of information obtained from many different sources.

According to various estimates, there are between twenty thousand and thirty-five thousand Ukrainians in the United Kingdom. The number of nationally aware Ukrainians, those who participate in religious or community life in some way, is closer to the lower estimate. The majority live in the industrial areas of Northern England and the Midlands. Approximately 30 percent live in Lancashire, mainly in Manchester; 26 percent in Yorkshire, mainly in Bradford; 26 percent in Nottingham, Coventry, Leicester, and other towns in the Midlands; 12 percent in London and the South; 4 percent in Scotland, concentrated in Edinburgh and Dundee; and 2 percent in Wales, mainly in Cardiff and Swansea.

Of the Ukrainians who came to the United Kingdom after the Second World War, many later emigrated to the United States, Canada, or Australia. Approximately thirty thousand Ukrainians remained in the country; of these, there were ten times as many men as women. Those who were allowed entry by the British authorities were mainly young and are currently in their late sixties. Because of the disparity in the sex ratio, many men married non-Ukrainians (mainly Italians, Austrians, and some Irish). Later, several thousand primarily Ukrainian women from Yugoslavia and Poland came to the United Kingdom, and many married Ukrainian men. These immigrants were not part of an organized influx, but migrated as individuals, often prompted by word of mouth. The children of this generation are now, on average, in their thirties and have families of their own, with eldest children being approximately eighteen years old. First-generation men still outnumber women, and about 40 percent are unmarried. The divorce rate is considerably lower among Ukrainians than among British couples.

Many of the older-generation Ukrainians, particularly men, are dying prematurely, in their early sixties, mainly from heart-related diseases. Although there is natural growth in families of Ukrainian origin, second- and third-generation Ukrainians are less likely to identify themselves as Ukrainians, thus making it difficult to define, let alone calculate, the "growth" of the Ukrainian population. Numerically, Ukrainian families do not differ substantially from their British counterparts.

The great majority of first-generation Ukrainians who migrated to Britain had only a primary-level education; only about 3 percent had secondary or tertiary schooling. This generation did, however, ensure that their children received a better education. Most second-

generation Ukrainians completed secondary education (which in Great Britain is compulsory to the age of sixteen) and many went on to sit for the Advanced Level General Certificate of Education examinations, at the age of eighteen. It is often stated that a higher proportion of Ukrainians than Britons continue their studies at universities, polytechnics, teacher-training, or other tertiary colleges, studying the same range of subjects as their British counterparts. It is estimated that, in 1991, approximately 1,500–2,000 second-generation Ukrainians had completed courses of higher education. There are second-generation Ukrainians in most professions. Some have risen quickly in their professions and earn very high salaries.

The income of Ukrainian families is no different from that of their British counterparts, although one should bear in mind that most Ukrainians found relatively low-paying jobs in agriculture, mining, textiles, and other industries when they migrated to Britain. Among the older generation, usually both husband and wife worked, with the wife taking time off to raise a family and often going back to work part time when the children grew up. This pattern has been repeated in the second generation, with the exception, perhaps, that mothers have returned to work sooner after their children were born and that grandparents or paid baby sitters have looked after the children in some cases.

Participation in the Economic, Political, Professional, and Social Life of the Country

The first Ukrainians to settle in the United Kingdom as a group came to Manchester in 1911, working as manual laborers and artisans and later moving to tailoring workshops. Those who came after the Second World War were first required to fulfill three-year contracts, with the men working in agriculture (45 percent), the coal mines (17 percent), factories, and as ancillary staff in hospitals, and the women in domestic service, hospitals, and the textile industry. Upon completion of their contracts, many moved to the large towns and into better occupations, a significant number gaining semiskilled jobs and posts of responsibility in their factories and other places of work. A much larger proportion than among the British community bought and now own their own homes. Ukrainians worked hard and achieved a living standard equal to, or in many cases, higher than, that of the average British worker. Of the older generation, many have already retired; of those still employed, an estimated 60–70 percent are found in blue-collar jobs and the remainder are in white-collar positions in commercial and industrial enterprises.

A contribution to the economy has also been made by a small number of Ukrainian private businesses: export agencies, cafés and restaurants, a bakery (in Bradford), travel agencies, various shops, a mink farm, a retirement home, vacation flats, a hotel, a taxi company, pharmacies, and the like. There are also several enterprises run as limited companies or as commercial outlets of Ukrainian organizations: a cooperative, importers, wholesalers and producers of foodstuffs, an export agency, a bookstore, and a printing establishment. It is worth noting that an estimated one hundred persons are employed in some capacity in the Ukrainian churches and various Ukrainian organizations.

Seventy-eight percent of first-generation Ukrainians did not, until recently, apply for British citizenship. Now, as a result of political changes and a desire to travel to Ukraine, quite a few have applied. Their children and grandchildren automatically acquired citizenship by virtue of having been born in the United Kingdom. It is difficult to say what percentage of those with citizenship exercise their right to vote, but it can safely be said that of the older Ukrainians who do so, the overwhelming majority vote Conservative. Where possible, Ukrainians have established and maintained links with members of Parliament, and an

Anglo-Ukrainian Parliamentary Group has existed since the mid-1950s. Several younger Ukrainians have been elected as councilors in local government, and Stefan Terlezki was elected member of Parliament (Conservative) for Cardiff for 1982–7.

Only a small proportion of first-generation Ukrainians entered professional life. Among those who did were a doctor, dentists, an architect, teachers, several university and college lecturers, academic librarians, engineers, economic consultants, and nurses. Their children, on completion of higher education, have entered the full range of professions. There are now many Ukrainian physicians and lawyers, an attorney, many teachers at the primary and secondary levels, nurses, scientists, architects, management consultants, engineers, journalists (such as Bohdan Nahaylo), reporters for national newspapers (such as Yuriy Bender and Askold Krushelnycky), actors (including Lesia Melnyczuk), classical musicians (including the Beznosiuk family, Pavlo Hunka, Bohdan Paraszczak, John Pawlyk); rock musicians (such as Roman Rewkniw); and others. Their ranks are steadily being swelled by students completing undergraduate and postgraduate degrees.

At the local and community levels, apart from those Ukrainians active in local government, there are several Ukrainian magistrates (justices of the peace). These honorary posts are usually filled by people who are held in high esteem and have been recommended by members of the local community.

Other contact with British society usually consists of informing people about Ukraine and the Ukrainians, which is done by local Ukrainian communities through exhibitions, the local and national press, and appearances on radio and television, although the latter are not easy to arrange. Ukrainians also take part in the cultural life of the country, through concert performances by classical musicians of Ukrainian origin and participation in local and national festivals of song and dance. Ukrainian choirs and dance ensembles have had many notable successes at the International Eisteddfod at Llangollen in Wales. Many contacts have been forged through information campaigns about the 1932–3 artificial famine in Ukraine and the 1988 Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity. Ukrainians also maintain contacts with other East European minorities in the United Kingdom, notably the Polish, Belarusian, Latvian, and Lithuanian communities.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

Although contacts between Ukraine and Great Britain have existed since the period of Kievan Rus', the first Ukrainians to settle in the United Kingdom were a group of about 150 workers from the Zolochiv region of Western Ukraine, who, in transit to the United States in 1911, found themselves stranded in Manchester because of a lack of money. They founded the Ukrainskyi Kliub (Ukrainian Social Club), which was active in the 1920s and until the Second World War.

In the 1930s, Yakiv Makohin founded the Ukrainske Informatsiine Biuro (Ukrainian Information Bureau) in London (the director of which was Volodymyr Kysilevsky). The Bureau's aim was to inform the British about Ukrainian affairs. London also became the base for a group of political adherents of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky. They published *The Investigator,* an English-language information bulletin, edited by Volodymyr Korostovets. After the fall of France in 1940, a group of Ukrainians who had served in Polish units in France came to Britain. During the Second World War, the representation of the Ukrainian National Republic was active, as was the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association.

The main influx of Ukrainians migrated to Great Britain in 1946–7, comprising approximately six thousand Ukrainian soldiers from the Second Polish Army Corps, under the command of General Anders; approximately eighty-five hundred prisoners of war from the Division Galizien, brought in from Italy by the British Government; and, in 1947–8, an estimated fourteen thousand displaced persons from the British zone of Germany, recruited for work by special commissions. This recruitment, named "Westward Ho!," had as its aim the rebuilding of the postwar economy in Great Britain. The former soldiers of the Polish army were given the same rights as British citizens; POWs from the Division Galizien, who continued to be treated as prisoners, were detained in special camps and employed as farm laborers. Upon completion of their work contracts (at the end of 1948 and the beginning of 1949), both the POWs and the displaced persons were freed.

As a result of the greatly disproportionate number of males who settled in the country, primarily from Western Ukraine, those who in the mid-1950s could not find a Ukrainian partner sent for women from other countries, first from Italy, then from Ukrainian settlements in Yugoslavia and Poland. Some two thousand women came over initially, but the practice of finding both male and female partners in this way still continues. An increasing number of second-generation Ukrainians are finding marriage partners among Ukrainians from Ukraine and from Ukrainian settlements in Poland.

In the early 1950s, many Ukrainians emigrated from Great Britain, mainly to Canada, the United States, Australia, and Argentina. To some extent, this emigration continues today, although, among members of the younger generation, it can be categorized as part of the "brain drain." The birthrate among Ukrainians was initially very low, because of the small number of Ukrainian women, but it began to increase in the 1950s.

Religious Life

The majority of Ukrainians in the United Kingdom belong to the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. There are also several small communities of Baptists.

Ukrainian Catholic Church

In 1947, Archbishop Ivan Buchko, the Apostolic Visitator for Ukrainians in Europe, sent the first priest to minister to Ukrainian Catholics in the United Kingdom. From 1950, the Ukrainian Catholic Church constituted a General Vicariate, headed by the Reverend Alexander Malynovsky. In 1957, it became an Exarchate (extended to Scotland ten years later); the first Exarch was William Cardinal Godfrey; the second, Bishop Augustine Hornyak (1961–87); and the third, since 1989, Bishop Michael Kuchmiak.

In 1988, the Ukrainian Catholic Church comprised approximately 25,000 members, of whom roughly 8,300 (8,000 in England, 100 in Wales, and 200 in Scotland) attend church regularly. There are fourteen parishes, sixteen churches, and fourteen priests, who, in addition to their parishes, serve Ukrainians in more than seventy localities where there are no Ukrainian churches. In 1968, the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in London was consecrated. Most churches are administered by trustees. Until 1975, church organizations and activities included choirs; church brotherhoods; the catechization of children in Ukrainian supplementary Saturday schools; the Ukrainian Catholic Graduate Society "Obnova" (Rebirth), in London; and the publication in London of the quarterly *Nasha Tserkva* (Our Church).

In 1975, a conflict rooted in the issue of a Ukrainian Patriarchate arose between Bishop Hornyak and the great majority of Ukrainian Catholics, with the result that, within a year

or two, as is generally estimated, 80–90 percent of the faithful left the jurisdiction of the Bishop. They were ministered to by priests assigned to them by the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Yosyf Cardinal Slipy, in Rome. In 1987, Bishop Hornyak was requested to resign by Pope John Paul II, and the Exarchate was placed under the jurisdiction of a temporary Apostolic Administrator, Bishop Mykhailo Hrynchyshyn, of France. Most of the faithful soon returned to the churches that they had left. Problems in some parishes, however, remain unresolved.

During the twelve years of conflict, the activity of the part of the Church within the Bishop's jurisdiction was severely curtailed in almost every aspect. The priests who left the Bishop's jurisdiction with the majority of the people, as well as those who, by their diplomatic behavior, prevented a rift in their parishes, continued their work, catechizing in schools, organizing pilgrimages and retreats, visiting summer camps for young people, and taking part in community activity in general. During the conflict, two of the sixteen churches involved were acquired by the faithful who had left the Bishop's jurisdiction, and a third was built.

Five nuns of the Order of Saint Basil the Great lived in Bradford for some time in the late 1950s and 1960s and ran a Ukrainian supplementary Saturday school. Several nuns have been in permanent residence at the cathedral in London since 1963.

In 1977, on the initiative of and with financial assistance from Patriarch Yosyf Slipy, the Tovarystvo Sviatoi Sofii (Ukrainian Religious Society of Saint Sophia) acquired a building in London, which houses the London College of the Ukrainian Catholic University, a hostel, and a chapel used regularly for liturgical services. The Ukrainian Religious Society of Saint Sophia has as its aim the promotion of Christian education in a Ukrainian context.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church has existed in the United Kingdom since 1948. It has about five thousand members, approximately 75 percent of whom are active. The majority are found in England, with approximately one hundred in Wales and two hundred in Scotland. There are ten priests (who, apart from their pastoral duties, have full-time civilian occupations), six churches, and a total of twenty-two communities. The Church is administered by a General Council and was under the jurisdiction of Patriarch Mstyslav Skrypnyk until his death in 1993. Since 1983, it has had two hierarchs, Bishop Volodymyr Didovych, who died in 1990, and Bishop Ivan Derevyanka, who succeeded him in 1991. It publishes a quarterly, *Vidomosti* (Church News). The Church is supported by parish councils and brotherhoods and runs the Liga Ukrainskoi Molodi (League of Ukrainian Orthodox Youth) and several church choirs. The Divine Liturgy is celebrated in the Ukrainian language on Sundays in parishes that have their own churches and at the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in London on most Sundays. Holy days are celebrated according to the Julian calendar.

In both Catholic and Orthodox churches, the majority of people attending Mass are members of the older generation. Although people from both churches belong to the same local communities and organizations and have many contacts at that level, ecumenical contact between the hierarchies is rare (and is actively eschewed by some). In recent years, however, it has become the practice to concelebrate certain services for the deceased and some services on national feast-days. It was not possible to organize a truly joint celebration of the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity in 1988, although the heads of the two churches jointly consecrated the monument to Saint Volodymyr in London.

Education and Professional Life

There is almost no provision for Ukrainian education in the mainstream British educational system at the primary and secondary levels. Although much attention is being focused at present on the education of ethnic minorities, the Department of Education and various academic bodies are, not surprisingly, interested primarily in the largest ethnic groups – the West Indians and Asians. The Ukrainian situation has, however, been under scrutiny by several bodies, including the government's Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, resulting in the publication in 1985 of the Swann Report and the University of London's Linguistic Minorities Report. In some towns with large ethnic populations, Ukrainian teachers are in contact with the local education authorities (LEAs) and are able to obtain some support in the form of reading material in local libraries, the use of LEA schools for Ukrainian classes, and similar aid. The British Broadcasting Corporation included a Ukrainian children's story in a radio series of materials for mother-tongue instruction.

Beginning in 1956, several attempts have been made to establish an independent Ukrainian secondary school, but these have not been successful. From 1954 to 1987, secondary-school pupils were able to sit for Ukrainian at the Ordinary Level ("O" Level) General Certificate of Education Examination. Altogether, until 1987, 1,297 candidates sat for this examination, with the greatest number (100) taking it in 1971–2, but with numbers falling in later years. In 1988, a new system of examination, the General Certificate of Secondary Education, replaced the "O" Levels, and Ukrainian was included as one of the subjects that could be taken. Several attempts have also been made to introduce Ukrainian at the Advanced Level, but these have failed, because a sufficient number of candidates could not be guaranteed.

From 1970 to 1991, Ukrainian was taught as a Subsidiary Subject at the University of London's School of Slavonic and East European Studies. The course comprised language, literature, and the history of the Ukrainian language. The School also organized an occasional series of Ukrainian Studies Seminars. In October 1991, a center for Ukrainian studies was set up at the School, staffed, initially, by the Peter Jacyk Lecturer in Ukrainian Studies and a Ukrainian-language lektor. Provision for higher degrees in Ukrainian studies is also made at several other British universities, and postgraduate students from Britain and abroad have completed master's and doctoral theses at the Universities of Oxford, London, and Glasgow, among others. As previously mentioned, there are several Ukrainian lecturers at British universities and polytechnics.

Ukrainian community educational provision is more extensive. The first nurseries and summer camps for Ukrainian children were organized in 1950 by Plast, Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Plast Society in Great Britain; Ukrainian Scouts and Girl Guides), soon to be followed by similar activity on the part of the Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (SUM, Ukrainian Youth Association) and the Orhanizatsiia Demokratychnoi Ukrainskoi Molodi (ODUM, Organization of Ukrainian Youth). Today, Plast and SUM continue to work with young people, although numbers have fallen since the peak years of the mid- and late 1960s (SUM membership stands at approximately 2,000–2,500; in 1988, Plast membership stood at approximately 200). They organize weekly activities, rallies, summer camps, jamborees, and festivals.

The Ukrainian language and heritage are taught primarily in the community Saturday schools. The majority of these are administered and inspected by the Soiuz Ukrainskykh Uchyteliv i Vykhovnykiv (Association of Ukrainian Teachers and Educators), which is affiliated with the Soiuz Ukraintsiv u Velykiy Brytanii (Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain,

AUGB) and which was formed in 1956, one year after the first schools were organized. The teachers' association experienced its busiest year in 1966, when 2,473 pupils attended forty-three schools run by 217 teaching staff. This number decreased continuously; by 1986, there were thirteen schools, attended by 310 pupils and staffed by 61 teachers. There has been a recent upturn, however, and, in 1990, there were sixteen schools, 448 pupils and 72 teachers. Of the latter, 57 were second-generation Ukrainians, the majority of whom had professional teaching qualifications. The content of the teaching program has also changed, with greater emphasis being placed, especially in the younger classes, on the teaching of Ukrainian as a foreign language, to cater to those pupils who have no Ukrainian linguistic background. There are very few older pupils. However, the number of children in nursery classes (third-generation Ukrainians) is growing; in 1991, there were thirteen nursery classes. The Association of Ukrainian Teachers and Educators organizes training courses for its members and publishes "Lohos" (The Word), a monthly page in the AUGB's weekly newspaper, *Ukrainska Dumka* (The Ukrainian Thought).

In addition to the aforementioned schools, others were organized by the Obiednannia Ukraintsiv u Velykiy Britanii (Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain) in Bradford and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Bradford and Bolton (1951–6).

In 1977, a branch of the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome was opened in London. Housed in premises administered by the Ukrainian Religious Society of Saint Sophia, it provides Ukrainian-language instruction for both beginners and more advanced students, Ukrainian studies seminars, and various public lectures. Students from the United Kingdom also attend summer courses at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome, the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, the Ukrainian Summer Institute at Harvard University, in the United States, and the Summer School in Kiev.

An important step in coordinating the various organizations concerned with the education of young people came in 1977, when the Ukrainian youth organizations SUM and Plast, the Association of Teachers, and the Ukrainska Studentska Hromada (Ukrainian Students' Union) formed a committee whose aim was to discuss and cooperate in the resolution of common problems. The committee mounted a campaign for the more widespread use of Ukrainian among young people, organized a joint Plast–SUM social and educational weekend, and hosted a conference. This was followed by the formation by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain of an Education Committee, which visited various communities to discuss their problems, organized a nursery teachers' course, and maintained contact with interested British educational bodies.

Since 1949, Ukrainian students have been able to obtain grants and loans from the Komisiia Dopomohy Ukrainskomu Studentstvu (KoDUS, Relief Board for Ukrainian Students) in Great Britain, which is affiliated with the AUGB and similar bodies in other countries. The Ukrainian Students' Union has been in existence since 1947, during which time it has undergone several peaks and troughs in the intensity of its activity. Ukrainian societies have also existed at London and Manchester universities. Students taking courses in London can stay at the Ukrainian Student Hostel run by the AUGB, and some accommodations are available on the premises of the Saint Sophia Society.

Apart from the Association of Ukrainian Teachers and Educators, whose members work in Ukrainian schools and organizations, one should mention the Tovarystvo Literatoriv (Association of Ukrainian Litterateurs), comprising poets, prose writers, and journalists working within the Ukrainian community. The membership of the Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Pravnykiv (Society of Ukrainian Lawyers), formed in 1987, includes lawyers and attorneys of Ukrainian origin working within the English legal system. Although the Ukrain-

ian Catholic Graduate Society "Obnova" no longer exists, there are two graduate societies active at present, the Ukrainian Graduates and Professionals Association (inaugurated in 1987), which caters to second-generation Ukrainians, and the Ukrainske Akademichne Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Graduate Society) in London (founded in 1978), which is a forum for discussion for both older and younger Ukrainians.

Cultural Life

Language Spoken

Since the majority of Ukrainians who settled in the United Kingdom emigrated from Western Ukraine and since, of all those who settled here, only roughly 3 percent had a secondary or higher education, the Ukrainian language that predominates in colloquial speech is of the rural Galician variety. It must be noted, however, that many Ukrainians from Galicia, even those who did not have access to postprimary education at home, have made an attempt to acquire a more standard language for use during formal occasions, such as meetings of organizations, or in their work with young people. The task of acquiring standard Ukrainian has not been made easier by the linguistic situation (that is, of Russification) in Ukraine or by the lack of consensus regarding language matters among Ukrainian academics in the West.

With regard to the language spoken in the home, it can be said that, in cases where both first-generation marriage partners were Ukrainian, they used Ukrainian to communicate with each other and usually, though by no means in every case, with their children. However, in the case of the large proportion of mixed marriages (mainly with non-Ukrainian wives), probably half of all households did not use Ukrainian at all, or used it only on rare occasions. It must be noted, however, that a small number of non-Ukrainian marriage partners learned excellent Ukrainian, taught the language to their children, and insisted that it be used consistently in their households. Children of Ukrainian-speaking households spoke and still speak Ukrainian with their parents, but where there was more than one child, once the first one had begun to attend British school, unless parents devoted a great amount of energy toward insisting that Ukrainian be spoken (and very few actually did this), the language of communication among siblings (and peers outside the family) rapidly changed to English.

Of second-generation Ukrainians, approximately half have never spoken Ukrainian at home or have learned only a few basic phrases; of the remaining half, most use the language only when communicating with members of the older generation. This means that when second-generation Ukrainians marry and have families, they continue, in most cases, to speak English among themselves. A significant proportion, however, do want their children to learn Ukrainian and talk to them in that language, reinforcing this by sending them to meetings of youth organizations and Ukrainian supplementary Saturday schools. The growing number of children in the primary classes of Saturday schools bears witness to this trend. Both quantitatively and qualitatively, however, the linguistic vigor of the community is indeed in decline, though at a slower rate than some had forecast fifteen or twenty years ago. The process is now being slowed down further by increased contact with Ukraine.

The Arts

Great Britain has, since the late 1940s, been home to a number of artists. First-generation artists, some of whom have since passed away, include Rostyslav Hluvko, Robert Lisovsky, Hala Mazurenko, and Vasyl Perebyinis, as well as graphic designer Ivan Woloshak. Among

second-generation Ukrainians, there are many who have completed studies in the fine arts or graphic design and who not only work as artists professionally but also exercise their creative talents within the Ukrainian community. Among them are Roma Babuniak, Roman Jackiw, and Marko Mudry. Collections of Ukrainian fine art and sculpture may be found in private homes, as well as in the Ukrainian museums in London.

Among first-generation poets, journalists, and writers residing or having resided in the United Kingdom are Vitaliy Bender, Bohdan Bora, Oleksander De, Mykhajlo Dobriansky, Hryhoriy Drabat, Sviatomyr M. Fostun, Andriy Lehit, Mykola Weres, Oleksa Woropaj, and Konstantyn Zelenko. Vera Rich, though not of Ukrainian extraction herself, has translated the works of Taras Shevchenko and many other Ukrainian writers into English. In the early 1970s, there emerged a group of second-generation Ukrainians who, for a time, were prolific in their production of Ukrainian-language poetry and prose. They included Victoria Diakivska, Marusia Jurkiw, Jaroslav Rutkovsky, Volodymyr Slez, and Jaroslav Vasyliuk. Many of these writers, of both generations, belonged or still belong to the Society of Ukrainian Litterateurs, formed in 1975.

In the field of Ukrainian folk music, vocalist and *bandura*-player Volodymyr Luciw has been an active performer since 1949, with the largest number of appearances to his credit of any Ukrainian folk musician in the United Kingdom. There are many folk choirs, dance groups, and instrumental ensembles in the country. They are sponsored by local churches and various organizations, such as the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, the Ukrainian youth organizations SUM and Plast, and the Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Zhinok (Association of Ukrainian Women). The finest choir, and one of the oldest (established in 1949), is the all-male "Homin" (The Echo), conducted by Jaroslav Babuniak. Other choirs include "Dibrova" (The Grove), from Bradford; "Rusalka Dnistrova" (Water-nymph of the Dnister) and "Trembita" (Mountain Horn), from Manchester; "Dnipro," from Oldham; "Boyan" (The Bard) and "Zahrava" (The Glow), from Nottingham; and "Verkhovyna" (The Highlands) and "Voloshky" (The Cornflowers), from Coventry. The members of these choirs are primarily second-generation Ukrainians.

Apart from the "Orlyk" dance ensemble, from Manchester, founded in 1949 and directed by Maria Babych and Dmytro Paradiuk, others that deserve mention are "Krylati" (The Winged Ones), from Bradford, and "Howerla" (Mt. Howerla) and "Chuplak," from Derby. A dance group exists in almost every Ukrainian community. Many of these choirs and dance ensembles have toured in Britain and abroad and have won prizes in both national and international festivals.

Other groups that have been active in the fields of folk music and dance have included "Konvalia" (Lily of the Valley), a vocal trio of the 1970s; "Chaban" (The Shepherd), a vocal group from Bradford; the "Zaporozhian Cossacks"; and several bandura groups, noteworthy among which is the "Kobzar Brotherhood," from Manchester. A number of these groups have produced records and tapes of their music.

Folk crafts such as embroidery, woodcarving, and Easter egg decoration are widely practiced, and examples may be seen in Ukrainian museums as well as in many homes. Folk customs associated with religious feasts and other occasions are often adhered to with enthusiasm, if not always with total authenticity.

There are three small museums displaying Ukrainian folk art, paintings, and other artifacts: the Shevchenko Museum, in London, administered by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain; the Bandera Museum, in London, on the premises of the Ukrainian Publishers; and the Alla Horska Museum, in Manchester, run by the Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Zhinok (Organization of Ukrainian Women).

The Media

Attempts made in the past to convince the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) of the necessity of broadcasting into Ukraine in Ukrainian all met with failure; in 1991, however, in the face of the dramatic events unfolding in Ukraine, the BBC instituted such broadcasts. In addition, several programs featuring Ukraine and the Ukrainian community have appeared on nationwide radio and television, and an even greater number have been broadcast on local radio. There is a Ukrainian-language program on local radio in Manchester. Ukrainian affairs occasionally figure in the national press (the independence referendum and subsequent events in Ukraine provoked an unprecedented amount of coverage in the national print and electronic media), and the activity of various local communities is often recorded in local newspapers.

A Ukrainian body that disseminates information about Ukraine to both the Ukrainian community and British institutions is the Ukrainska Informatsiina Sluzhba (Ukrainian Information Service), established in 1947. The Ukrainska Presova Agentsiia (Ukrainian Press Agency), founded in 1987, did the same until recently. The publications of the Ukrainska Vydavnycha Spilka (Ukrainian Publishers), in London, have included works by dissidents from Ukraine; literary works and memoirs by Ukrainians in the United Kingdom; informational pamphlets; and the quarterly journal *Vyzvolnyi Shliakh* (Pathway to Liberation). The Ukrainian Printers operates as both a publisher and a printer for the Ukrainian community and a commercial printing enterprise serving the general public.

The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain publishes the United Kingdom's only Ukrainian-language weekly, *Ukrainska Dumka* (circulation 2,230), which contains regular columns by the Ukrainske Kraiove Patriiarkhalne Obiednannia (Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate Lay Association), the Association of Teachers, the Organization of Ukrainian Women, and the youth organizations SUM and Plast. In addition, the AUGB publishes the English-language quarterly *The Ukrainian Review* and a pocket calendar-diary; until recently, it also published the children's magazine *Yuni Druzi* (Young Friends).

The Obiednannia Buvshykh Voiakiv Ukraintsiv (Association of Former Ukrainian Combatants) publishes an annual review entitled *Surmach* (The Bugler); the Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain issues a bulletin, as does the National Political Council of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church publishes *Vidomosti*. Since the early 1970s, several student magazines, such as *Meteor* (The Meteor) and *Svichado* (The Mirror), have been published, though none survived beyond a few issues. More recently, second-generation Ukrainians published several issues of *The Grapevine*, in English. Between 1977 and 1983, twenty issues of the Ukrainian-language journal *Vitrazh* (The Stained-Glass Window) were published by an independent group of second-generation professionals. Various other organizations, including the Ukrainian Graduates and Professionals Association, the Hutsulshchyna Society, Plast, and SUM, issue bulletins and newsletters.

Social and Political Life

Many older-generation Ukrainians are politically active in one of the factions of the Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (OUN, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists): the majority adhere to the Bandera faction and are popularly known as *banderivtsi*, and a small though significant number belong either to the OUN *melnykivtsi* (Melnyk faction) or to OUNz, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad, also known as the *dviikari*. A

number also belong to the Ukrainska Revolutsiina Demokratychna Partiia (URDP, Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party) and the Ukrainskyi Hetmanskyi Rukh (Hetmanite Movement). The fact that pluralism is a prerequisite of any democracy has not always been understood by the leaders of these political groups; the resulting dissension has, in the past, diverted people's energies from solving some of the most urgent problems of the community. This state of affairs, together with mistrust and misunderstanding among the churches, has not made for a politically and socially cohesive society and has bred apathy and disaffection among many second-generation Ukrainians (a number of others have, of course, adopted the political views and prejudices of their parents). The situation has also left its stamp on Ukrainian community and social organizations.

Apart from the Ukrainian Social Club, which existed in Manchester before the Second World War, and the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association, which was active during the war, the first community and social organization to be formed, in 1945, was the Soiuz Ukrainskykh Voiakiv u Polskykh Zbroinykh Sylakh (Association of Ukrainian Soldiers in the Polish Armed Forces). In 1947, the group was renamed the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain. In 1949, political dissension arose in the Association's ranks, and one group, swayed primarily by the adherents of the Ukrainian National Council, broke away to form the Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain.

The Soiuz Ukraintsiv u Velykiy Brytanii (Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain) is the largest Ukrainian organization in the United Kingdom; in 1990, it had sixteen thousand dues-paying members (about half of whom were active) belonging to fifty-two branches and ten sections. The executive committee carries out social, cultural, educational, information-disseminating, and public-relations work; publishes *Ukrainska Dumka* and the other periodicals already mentioned; runs a bookstore and the Shevchenko Library and Museum at its headquarters in London; and operates two homes for the elderly, in Surrey and Derbyshire. It employs thirty people, both full and part time. It has four permanent subcommittees (Education, Funds, Homes for the Elderly, Student Hostels). Affiliated with it are the Organization of Ukrainian Women, the Association of Ukrainian Teachers and Educators, and the Relief Board for Ukrainian Students. Today, both the president and secretary of the Association are second-generation Ukrainians.

AUGB branches are found in most places where there are Ukrainians. Of the fifty-two existing branches, forty-four have their own buildings, many with offices, halls, and premises for Saturday schools, youth organization meetings, and social clubs. Corporate membership in the AUGB is held by the Association of Former Ukrainian Combatants, SUM, the Ukrainian Information Service, the Ukrainian Publishers, and the Ukrainian Hetman Organization in Great Britain, which represents the Ukrainian monarchist movement.

The Obiednannia Ukraintsiv u Velykiy Brytanii (Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain), though numerically much smaller than the AUGB, is active in similar ways. It has one thousand members organized in twelve branches, with seven buildings. Affiliated with it are the Association of Ukrainian Women, the Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Federation of Young Ukrainians), and the Soiuz Ukrainskykh Buvshykh Voiakiv (Association of Ukrainian Former Soldiers).

The Ukrainian Youth Association, SUM, owns property in Derbyshire, where summer camps and other events take place. The Plast Society in Great Britain owns property in North Wales, where summer camps and other events take place. It has a support group called Plast Priyat (Friends of Plast).

Church or religious organizations include the League of Ukrainian Orthodox Youth, the

Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate Lay Association, the Saint Clement Ukrainian Catholic University (London College), and the Ukrainian Religious Society of Saint Sophia. There are two regional Ukrainian societies: Tovarystvo Boikivshchyna (Boikivshchyna Society, for former residents of the Boiko region in Ukraine), based in Manchester, and Tovarystvo Hutsulshchyna (Hutsulshchyna Society, for former residents of the Hutsul region), in Nottingham. The Peremyske Zemliatstvo v Velykiy Brytanii (Peremyshl Society, for former residents of Peremyshl [currently Przemyśl, in Poland]) was active in the 1970s. Other organizations that are or have been active include the Legion of Symon Petliura, the Ukrainian Society in Great Britain, the Society of Ukrainian Litterateurs, the Ukrainian Graduates and Professionals Association, the Ukrainian Student Union, the Ukrainian Graduate Society in London, the Ukrainian Peace Committee, and the Ukrainian Press Agency.

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

Some of the problems besetting the Ukrainian community have already been discussed. Inherent in the composition of the community is the problem of the high proportion of mixed marriages and its attendant difficulties – the problems of language maintenance and an increased assimilation rate. Although many first-generation all-Ukrainian couples made a great effort to transmit the Ukrainian culture to their children, their task was not made easier by their lack of experience in such an undertaking and by the failure on the part of Ukrainian churches and community organizations to see the urgency of the situation. In this respect, the political dissensions among Ukrainian organizations have had an adverse effect on both generations, as has the religious division between Catholics and Orthodox and the conflict within the Ukrainian Catholic Church (1975–87).

In the past, the development of a mature Ukrainian community in Great Britain was hindered by the lack of an intelligentsia. At the present time, quite a few well-educated second-generation Ukrainians are leaving the country, tempted by more favorable economic conditions in North America and Australia. As far as the political aspect is concerned, Ukrainians, as a small community, lack the numbers necessary to achieve anything significant and, apart from the individuals already mentioned, very few are interested in participating in local or central government.

It is difficult to forecast how long Ukrainians will continue to exist in the United Kingdom as a distinct community. The first generation can be dominant for another ten years at the most. Although there are second-generation Ukrainians in the present community organizations, both as rank-and-file members and at leadership levels, they are not numerous, and these organizations are likely to decrease in size within a very short time. There is evidence that second-generation Ukrainians are seeking expression in other types of organizations (such as the Ukrainian Graduates and Professionals Association), which are English-speaking in principle and in which the emphasis is more on contact with and information about the British community.

There is a minority of second-generation Ukrainians who teach their children the language and transmit the culture, but their notions of both tend to be more limited (since they are gained second-hand) than the first generation's. Although there will be some who speak Ukrainian among the third generation, the majority will not know the language. They will probably be aware of their origins, have some knowledge of Ukrainian culture, and satisfy their emotional needs through the churches, the choirs, and dance groups, which will, probably, exist longer than community organizations. It is difficult, at present, to assess

the extent to which greater contact with Ukraine could lead to the regeneration of the community.

Ties with Ukrainians in Other Countries

Many Ukrainian organizations in the United Kingdom are a part of or work with European or worldwide Ukrainian umbrella organizations. The Association of Ukrainians and the Federation of Ukrainians belong to the Svitovyi Kongres Vilnykh Ukraintsiv (World Congress of Free Ukrainians) and to the Koordynatsiinyi Komitet Ukrainskykh Hromadskykh Orhanizatsiy Evropy (Central Coordinating Committee of Ukrainian Organizations in Europe). Young people's, students', women's, veterans' and other organizations are in close contact with their headquarters or coordinating bodies in various parts of the West. The political organizations receive directives from and are in close contact with their main headquarters. Representatives of the above-mentioned organizations often travel to other countries to attend meetings of their central executives; members from other countries visit Great Britain.

Organized excursions to other countries take place frequently. Ukrainian Catholics regularly visit the centers of Ukrainian Catholicism in Rome; the Ukrainian Former Combatants frequently organize trips to war cemeteries and battlefields where Ukrainian soldiers saw action. Choirs and dance groups tour Europe and the United States, and there are reciprocal tours from those countries to Great Britain. Students attend summer courses in Rome and Munich and at Harvard University, in the United States, and young people of all ages attend the summer, winter, and ski camps organized by the Ukrainian youth organizations Plast and SUM in Germany. In the past, they also attended the Ukrainian Free University's winter courses in Mackwiller, France. European youth in turn attend Plast and SUM camps in the United Kingdom.

Many Ukrainians touring abroad meet with Ukrainians living in those countries and are visited by them in London and other towns. Contacts with Ukraine are growing steadily, with visits to and from Ukraine by private individuals, community and church representatives and theater, music and dance groups.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

Annual events with the greatest attendance are the rallies organized by the Ukrainian Youth Association in Leicester and the Association of Ukrainian Former Combatants in Lancashire, both of which attract thousands of participants from all over the United Kingdom.

Successful art exhibitions recently sponsored by British bodies were the Exhibition of Ukrainian Art in Foyles Bookshop in London (1982), a similar exhibition in Bradford in 1986, and an exhibition of the sculptures and drawings of Gregor Kruk in Cliff Castle in Keighley. Exhibitions organized by Ukrainian bodies included works by Rostyslav Hluvko, Hala Mazurenko, and Ukrainian nonconformist artists from Ukraine. A book on the engravings of Jacques Hnizdovsky was published in 1988 by Northcote House in London.

In 1983, Ukrainians commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the 1932–3 artificial Stalin-imposed famine in Ukraine by erecting a monument on the grounds of the Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in London. Robert Conquest's book on the Famine, *Harvest of Despair*, was published in London and was well received in British society.

In 1988, in common with their compatriots throughout the world, Ukrainians in Great

Britain celebrated the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, issuing and distributing information leaflets, publishing a book of English-language essays about Ukrainian Christian culture, erecting a monument to Saint Volodymyr in central London, contributing to an exhibition at the British Museum, and organizing a concert of Ukrainian choral church music at the Royal Albert Hall. A series of seminars on the subject of the Millennium was held at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, and many events took place in local communities.

The year 1990 was marked by the publication in London of Bohdan Nahaylo's and Victor Swoboda's authoritative book, *Soviet Disunion*.

In October 1991, two significant academic conferences were held in London: one on Oleksander Potebnya, at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, and one on Ukraine and European Security, sponsored jointly by the School of Slavonic and East European Studies and by King's College, London University.

Ukraine and Great Britain exchanged ambassadors in the spring of 1992: Simon Hemans was appointed Ambassador to Ukraine on April 16 and Serhii Komisarenko was named Ambassador to Great Britain on May 14.

In 1992, Queen Elizabeth II awarded Stefan Terlezki the Order of the British Empire. Terlezki, who was also named lifetime member of the Commonwealth Association and the British Parliament, received a silver jubilee medal for his service in the community and his work in sports organizations in Wales.

In February 1993, President Kravchuk of Ukraine made a state visit to the United Kingdom.

In the summer of 1993, Slavko Mykosowki of Manchester held a première art exhibit at the University of Kiev–Mohyla Academy.

UKRAINIANS IN IRELAND

In the early 1950s, a number of Ukrainian students attended Irish universities, primarily Galway and Dublin, obtaining financial assistance for their studies through the Catholic Church. All of them returned to the British mainland upon completion of their studies. Of the very few Ukrainians living in Ireland today, several are members of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain. A small number of Ukrainians, mainly from the United States and Canada, continue to come to Ireland to study.

Addresses

Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, 49, Linden Gdns., London W2 4HG

Embassy of Ukraine, 78, Kensington Park Rd., London W11 2PL

Plast Ukrainian Youth Organization, 64, King Alfred St., Derby DE3 3QJ

St. Clement Ukrainian Catholic University London College, 79, Holland Park, London W11 3SH

Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Cathedral, 1a, Newton Ave., London W3 8AJ

Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, Duke St. (off Oxford Street), London W1Y 1YN

Ukrainian Information Service, Ukrainian Publishers and Printers, 200, Liverpool Rd., London N1 1LF

Ukrainian Lawyers Association, C/O 11, Bolt Court, London EC4A 3DQ

Ukrainian Medical Association of Great Britain, 26, Kilwardby St., Ashby de la Zouch, Leics. LE6 5FQ.

Ukrainian Religious Society of St. Sophia, 79, Holland Park, London W11 3SH

Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain "Tarasivka", Weston-on-Trent, Derbys. DE7 2BU.

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UKRAINIANS IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Volodymyr Nota[1]

Country Data

Official Name – Known as the Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija (Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian); Socijalistična Federativna Republika Jugoslavija (Slovene) (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), the country was composed of six republics and two autonomous provinces that were administratively part of the Republic of Serbia. Yugoslavia rejected communism in 1990.

In 1991, the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia declared their independence; Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia followed suit in early 1992.

Geographic Location – Located in southeastern Europe, Yugoslavia was bordered by Austria and Hungary on the north; Romania and Bulgaria on the east; Greece and Albania on the south; and the Adriatic Sea and Italy on the west. It lay between 40°51′ and 46°53′ north latitude and 13°23′ and 23°02′ east longitude.

At the time of publication, Yugoslavia comprised the Republic of Serbia (with its autonomous provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina) and the Republic of Montenegro; Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, and Macedonia have declared their independence. Table 1, on pages 310–11, provides country data for the individual republics that are still part of Yugoslavia and the republics that are now independent.

Ukrainian Population in the Former Yugoslavia

Demographic and Social Characteristics

The data in this article on Ukrainians in the former Yugoslavia were gathered prior to the outbreak of civil war in the country, and therefore refer to the status of Ukrainian communities as they existed before the war. See the editor's note (pp. 321–3) for an update on the current situation in the republics.

Official government statistics place the number of Ukrainians in Yugoslavia at approximately 36,098; church records place it as high as 45,000. Wishing to preserve the ancient name of the country of their forefathers, Rus' (Ruthenia), and insisting that at the time of their emigration from Ukraine in 1745, a Ukrainian people, or nation, was not in existence, and, finally, not being nationally self-aware when the modern name *Ukraine* came into existence, more than half of the Ukrainians in Yugoslavia, 64.5 percent, consider themselves Ruthenian. The remaining 35.5 percent refer to themselves as Ukrainians. The majority of Ruthenians/Ukrainians, 67.3 percent, live in the province of Vojvodina. The remaining population resides in the following current and former republics: 16.2 percent in Croatia; 12.8 percent in Bosnia and Hercegovina; 2.7 percent in Serbia; and less than 1 percent in each of Slovenia, Macedonia, Montenegro, and the province of Kosovo. There are more than 150 villages, settlements, towns, and cities populated by Ukrainians and Ruthenians in Yugoslavia, including some 86 in Bosnia and Hercegovina, 50 in Croatia, and 11 in Vojvodina.

In many of these localities, Ruthenians coexist with other nationalities, including Serbs, Croatians, Germans, and Slovaks, but their largest concentration is in Ruski

Krstur in Bačka, in the province of Vojvodina. Ruski Krstur is an all-Ruthenian village with more than six thousand inhabitants and the most active Ruthenian religious, cultural, and economic center in all of Yugoslavia. The village is also home to the country's largest Ukrainian Catholic parish, that of Saint Nicholas (founded in 1750), where Ruthenians from all over Yugoslavia come to celebrate the annual church festival, meet with family and friends, and visit their place of origin. They come to renew their spirit and strength in this village that they perceive as their "motherland" and that they often try to imitate in their new settlements.

Because they had large families and because there was a scarcity of land, the Ruthenians began to search for new areas of settlement. Thus, although they all originated in Ruski Krstur, some migrated to other villages and towns, including Novi Sad (1780), Sid (1802), Petrovci (1834), and Durdevo (1870). Some emigrated to the United States and Canada and, more recently, some have gone to Australia.

Ruthenians usually marry within their own ethnic group. It was only after the Second World War that intermarriages became more common. Even today, marriages take place early in life, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two for men, and seventeen and twenty for women. Population growth has declined over the years: families today have an average of one or two children rather than the four to six or more that were common in the past. Many people live to be between eighty and ninety years old. Ruthenians' surnames were often Magyarized after a longer stay in Yugoslavia, so that many Ruthenians found themselves with two names, a legal name and their own, original name, by which they were known in their villages.

Today, all Ruthenians and Ukrainians receive at least eight years of schooling, more than 50 percent have a secondary-school education, and some 20–30 percent have a university education.

Participation in the Economic, Political, Professional, and Social Life of the Country

Enjoying the same rights as native Yugoslavians, Ukrainians participate freely in all economic, social, and cultural spheres of Yugoslavian life. They attend school; hold jobs; acquire new qualifications; work in all branches of production; share in all workers' rights; take part in all forms of social, political, and cultural life; and are fairly represented in government. Ukrainians make use of all the cultural channels available in their surroundings. Sharing equal rights with other nationalities, they join in all cultural manifestations and have access to all the existing media of cultural and artistic expression.

Many Ruthenians still work the land, as they did before 1945, sowing wheat, rice, corn, beets, hemp, hops, and vegetables. Those who left the villages work in the factories, in various enterprises, and as civil servants. There are many skilled workers in various fields and many intellectuals in various professions.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

Immigration to Yugoslavia from Ukraine can be divided into two distinct phases, each involving a different group of people and each related to particular historical routes and causes. The first group to migrate, in 1745, comprised Ukrainians from Transcarpathia and

Table 1 Country data for the former and current republics of Yugoslavia

Country	Area	Population density 1992	Capital	Form of government	Population 1992	Ethnic composition 1981	Religious affiliation 1991	Literacy 1981	Percent urban 1981	Life expectancy (in years) 1980–2	Per capita GNP (US dollars) 1990
Bosnia and Hercegovina	19,741 sq. mi.; 51,129 sq km	222.7 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 86.0 inhabitants per sq km	Sarajevo	Multiparty republic with bicameral legislature, the National Assembly (240 seats)	4,397,000	39.5% Bosnian; 32.0% Serb; 18.4% Croat; 0.3% Montenegrin; 0.2% Gypsy; 9.6% other	Predominantly Sunnī Muslim, Serbian Orthodox, or Roman Catholic	85.5%	36.2%	Male, 68.0; female, 73.0	$2,454
Croatia	21,829 sq. mi.; 56,538 sq km	220.2 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 85.0 inhabitants per sq km	Zagreb	Multiparty republic with a two-chamber legislature, the Chamber of Districts (n.a.) and the Chamber of Deputies (138 seats)	4,808,000	75.1% Croat; 11.6% Serb; 0.6% Magyar; 0.5% Slovene; 0.5% Bosnian; 11.2% other (1981)	76.5% Roman Catholic; 11.1% Eastern Orthodox; 1.2% Muslim; 11.2% other, incl. a significant minority of Croatian Old Catholic Church adherents, and small Protestant Christian and Jewish minorities	94.4%	50.8%	Male, 67.0; female, 74.0	$4,399
Macedonia	9,928 sq. mi.; 25,713 sq km	206.5 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 79.7 inhabitants per sq km	Skopje	Multiparty republic with unicameral legislature, the Assembly (120 seats)	2,050,000	67.0% Macedonian; 19.8% Albanian; 4.5% Turkish; 2.3% Serb; 2.3% Gypsy; 2.1% Bosnian; 2.0% other	Predominantly Christians; Eastern Orthodox majority, with some Macedonian Orthodox and Roman	89.1%	53.9%	Male, 68.0; female, 72.0	$2,399

							Catholic; also a substantial Islamic minority and a small Jewish minority				
Slovenia	7,821 sq. mi.; 20,256 sq km	253.9 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 98.0 inhabitants per sq km	Ljubljana	Multiparty republic with two legislative houses, the State Council (40 seats) and the State Assembly (90 seats)	1,985,000	90.5% Slovene; 2.9% Croat; 2.2% Serb; 0.7% Bosnian; 0.5% Magyar; 3.2% other	Predominantly Christian; Roman Catholic majority, with substantial Slovene Old Catholic, Protestant, and Eastern Orthodox minorities; also, small Islamic and Jewish minorities	99.2%	48.9%	Male 67.0; female, 75.0	$10,312
Yugoslavia (Montenegro and Serbia)	39,449 sq. mi.; 102,173 sq km	263.5 inhabitants per sq. mi.; 101.7 inhabitants per sq km	Belgrade	Federal multiparty republic with two legislative houses, the Chamber of Republics (40 seats) and the Chamber of Citizens (138 seats)	10,394,000	62.6% Serb; 13.5% Albanian; 5.5% Montenegrin; 3.9% Magyar; 3.0% Bosnian; 1.6% Croat; 1.1% Gypsy; 8.8% other	Predominantly Serbian Orthodox, with Muslim, Roman Catholic, and Protestant minorities	89.2%	48.0%	Male 68.2; female, 73.2	$3,093

Source: "1993 Britannica World Data" in 1993 *Britannica Book of the Year.*

the Priashiv region. This group settled in Bačka and, later, Srem and Slavonia. To this day, they refer to themselves as "Ruthenians." The second group came much later, at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. These were Ukrainians from Galicia, who settled in Bosnia and Slavonia in 1898 and, after 1945, migrated from these regions to Srem and Bačka. The members of this group think of themselves as Ukrainians.

After reclaiming Bačka, Banat, and Srem from the Turks in the eighteenth century, the Austro-Hungarian Empire began to populate these desolate and empty regions with various nationalities from its vast empire – Hungarians, Germans, Slovaks, Romanians, Bulgarians, and Carpathian Ruthenians (Ukrainians). According to 1981 government statistics, there are more than 23,320 Ruthenians in Yugoslavia; according to church statistics, they number more than 30,000. Although they identify themselves primarily as Ruthenians, some call themselves Rusnaks and a few, especially among the intelligentsia, consider themselves Ukrainians. Their language is known as Ruthenian, and the adjective used in reference to their church and their faith is *Ruska*.

The first Ruthenians settled in what is now known as Ruski Krstur in 1745 (a few families had arrived two or three years earlier): there were eleven families from the foothills of the Carpathian and Beskid mountains, in the former Zemplin Komitat. The year 1751 saw the arrival of more immigrants, and by 1756, there were more than four hundred Ruthenian settlers. After that period, Ruthenians continued to migrate into the area, but in smaller numbers. They settled in Kucura in 1756, arriving from the former Borszod Komitat. Many came from areas in Slovakia, Poland, and Ukraine. Ruthenian baptismal certificates from Ruski Krstur and Kucura often reveal Magyarized, Slovenized, or Polonized surnames. It should be noted that these people use the name "Ruthenian" exclusively in reference to themselves; they refer to people from other regions of Ukraine as Carpatho-Ruthenians, Galicians, Lemkos, Hutsuls, Ukrainians, or Muscovites (Russians). Among themselves, they differentiate between Keresturians and Kocurs.

In order to better understand the causes and circumstances of the second wave of immigration, that of Ukrainians from Galicia, a bit of historical background is necessary. The Austro-Hungarian Empire occupied large territories of many Slavic nations, from the Carpathians to the Adriatic Sea. Included in this Empire were the northwestern sections of Ukraine, among them Galicia. The population of Galicia lived in near-feudal conditions as capitalism began its rapid spread. Villages started to disintegrate, and well-to-do farmers and tradesmen began to increase their wealth and holdings through the exploitation of poor peasants and landless people. In order to feed their families and pay their taxes, the peasants were forced to obtain loans, which soon left them without land or house and at the mercy of the usurers. The only alternatives to this miserable existence under the Austro-Hungarian regime were to join the hired help or to migrate in search of a better life. Many chose the latter, creating an emigration wave by the end of the nineteenth century. Its destinations, initially, were Argentina, Brazil, Canada, and the United States, and, later, Belgium and France.

Conditions in Bosnia, in Yugoslavia, were very different. During the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bosnia was sparsely populated, and the government needed a large supply of cheap labor to exploit the natural wealth of the region. The officials were determined to obtain the manpower they needed by resettling people from the more densely populated regions of the Empire. The government frowned upon the emigration of Ukrainians and other nationalities to the Americas, because it resulted in a loss of valuable labor. In an effort to relocate the unhappy peasants to Bosnia, the government began a planned propaganda campaign to discourage emigration to America and to encourage immigration to Bosnia. Another, noneconomic, reason for the Austro-Hungarian Empire's wish to relo-

cate the Ukrainian population was its determination to hold on to the northwestern sections of Ukraine, which it had forcibly seized from the Tsarist Russian Empire. There was a danger that the deprived and economically exploited and oppressed masses might return to the part of their mother country that was under Tsarist Russia. Knowing that it could not completely stifle the yearnings for a united Ukrainian territory, Austria wished at least to dim that dream by making the prospect of migration to Bosnia appealing and uncomplicated.

Migration to Bosnia was uncomplicated to the extent that resettlement within the borders of a single empire obviated the need for formalities such as passports. The government's propaganda campaign included promising potential migrants prosperity and offering them free transportation, free land, financial aid, and assistance in building homes. The campaign was waged among all nationalities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; thus, Bosnia was settled by various groups, including Germans, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, and Ukrainians, as countless numbers sold all their property and possessions and left their homelands.

The migrants fared relatively well, having their travel expenses paid and receiving financial help, good parcels of land, and the opportunity to purchase more land inexpensively. After a short time, however, the benefits began to wane. First, financial aid was terminated because of a deterioration in the prevailing economic conditions and government mismanagement and because migrants would often return to their native land after a period of stay in Bosnia. Also withdrawn was the benefit of free land: the early immigrants received land of good quality, but those who arrived later were given second-rate parcels, with rocky terrain and dense thickets or forests. The immigrants who arrived last, in the twentieth century, were not given land at all, but had to purchase it themselves.

The migration took place over more than a twenty-year span, from the early 1890s to the outbreak of the First World War, with the largest group arriving in 1898. Before and after 1898, people migrated in smaller groups or as individual families.

The large group that arrived in 1898 settled in Prnjavor (Bosnia), where they had to wait until the government distributed the land on which they were to live. The government did not rush to do this, since it had already distributed the fertile land and had only rough, untilled land to divide among the immigrants. In the meantime, the native Bosnians were unhappy with the new settlers and complained increasingly to Sarajevo. The unrest on the part of the local populace, combined with the impatience of the newcomers waiting for land, caused the authorities to encourage the latter to return back to their home countries, with all expenses paid. Some took advantage of the offer and returned home, while others decided to remain where they were, since they had sold all their possessions and no longer had homes to which they could return.

The migrants waited three years for the promised land, during which time they were forced to live at the mercy of other people, with no knowledge of the language and having to work as hired help, washing dishes and cleaning, or clearing the forests. After three years, government officials started to measure and stake the land, a process that took another two years. It was only when all the measuring was completed that the migrants were finally allowed to settle with their families.

Once settled, they began the difficult task of building homes and setting up housekeeping, then clearing the land, chopping and uprooting trees and burning shrubs. After a few years of hard work, hunger, and poverty, the settlers finally managed to normalize their lives and stand on their own feet. Skilled crafts and trade slowly began to develop. Some settlers looked for work in the neighboring towns.

It is very difficult to determine the exact number of Ukrainians who immigrated to

Yugoslavia from Galicia. They came over a number of years and settled in various cities and towns; some then returned home, while others moved from city to city. To our knowledge, no official record of the migrants was kept. Partial data are available from surveyors' records, land deeds, church records, and court registers. In 1901, for example, the Roman Catholic Franciscan priest Reverend Mirko Shestych mentioned in a report that there were thirty-two towns in which Ukrainians lived at the time. In 1908, Reverend Yurii Kolodiy, a Ukrainian Catholic priest, noted that some 8,000 Ukrainians lived in Bosnia. Government statistics for 1910 stated that there were 1,487 Ukrainians in Prnjavor and vicinity; 1,126 in Devetina and vicinity; 1,272 in Stara and Nova Dubrava and vicinity; 145 families in Banja Luka, Chelynats, Bosanska Gradyshka, Prjedor, and Bosanska Dubitsia; and several thousand people in Zavydovichi.

The great majority of Ukrainians settled in villages (usually creating new ones) and engaged in agriculture. Emigrating from a more advanced country than Bosnia gave them an advantage in their new life. They tilled the land using contemporary methods, and thereby surpassed the natives in agriculture. The settlers introduced new agricultural crops: they grew wheat, rye, barley, and potatoes and developed orchard growing and beekeeping. They built typical Ukrainian homes and agricultural buildings. There were plenty of skilled workers among them, including shoemakers, cabinetmakers, wheelwrights, tailors, and blacksmiths. Widely used goods were available even in the villages. There was trade as well as the beginnings of industrialization.

In some villages, especially the newer ones, Ukrainians built their houses close to one another, creating separate enclaves. In others, their houses were mixed in among those of other nationalities, so that Ukrainians lived alongside Czechs, Poles, Italians, Serbs, Croatians, and Muslims. The villages that consisted exclusively of Ukrainian people became regional centers of Ukrainian social, religious, and cultural life. Shared language, culture, customs, and faith were the factors that made Ukrainians stay together as a group. The church had an extraordinary task in this regard, for the parish was not only the center of faith and spiritual life but of community life in general, and of cultural life in particular. It must be noted that, especially in the early years of settlement, Ukrainian Catholic priests were instrumental in preserving the group's ethnic identity as well as the Ukrainian language, literacy, culture, and customs, not to speak of the moral support they provided during the hardest days in the new environment. In the beginning, spiritual work was carried on by the Reverend Andrii Segedi, as missionary of the Bishop of Križevci, and later by Metropolitan of Lviv and Galicia Andrii Sheptytsky, who sent his priests and Studite monks to Yugoslavia. The monks established a monastery in Kamenica, where they received their education. Churches were built and parishes established in the larger villages.

Ukrainians had to develop a relationship with other nationalities and learn Serbian, the language of their new surroundings. Although they could use their native language at home and among their compatriots, trade necessitated the use of a common language. Those who were involved in industry, a skilled craft, or trade were among the first to learn Serbian. The Studite monk Yosyf Hrodsky wrote in 1908 that everyone spoke Serbian very well, especially the young people who worked in the factories: "That is why they forget their own native language, because they rarely come home, only once a week. And when they go to Zavydovychi, they do not come home for several months at a time." Older people and those who had little contact with members of other nationalities did not know the new language as well. Thus, how well Ukrainians learned the language of their new surroundings depended on the extent of their interaction with those surroundings.

Because there were no schools with Ukrainian-language instruction (with the exception of the school of the Studite monks in Kamenica), children began to attend Croatian and Serbian schools. Ukrainian families made certain, however, that their members spoke the mother tongue at home. At first, no literature in the Ukrainian language was available, but, with the strengthening of ties with the native land, newspapers, journals, and books started to come into the region and were passed from person to person. Reading rooms were established in Kamenica and Prnjavor with the help of the Studite monks. Ukrainians began to demand that Ukrainian be taught in the schools, but the government failed to deliver on its promise to honor those demands. Individual villages offered literacy courses.

The fate of Ukrainians during the First World War was no different from that of the other nationalities living under Austrian occupation. Young men were mobilized and were usually sent to the Russian front. Families were left without their men, so old people, women, and often even children tended the fields.

Even though the actual fighting did not take place on Bosnian territory, the Ukrainian population suffered greatly. Many Ukrainians were killed or captured. Many others went into captivity willingly, to fight against the Austrian occupational army. In many cases, possessions were lost, fields lay barren, and families became poor; households had to be built anew, with few resources.

Ukrainians did not fare better under the rule of the Serbs, Croatians, and Slovenians than they did under Austria-Hungary. They acquired no new rights. Austrian capitalism was simply replaced by a Serbo-Croatian version, and Ukrainians continued to be economically, socially, and ethnically oppressed. But in a country in which even entire nations – namely, the Macedonians and the Montenegrins – went unrecognized, one could not dare to hope for national rights for minorities such as the Ukrainians, Czechs, Italians, and Poles.

Cultural and educational life became stagnant to the point of regression. Formerly very active ties with Galicia weakened considerably. During the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, it was not only possible but even easy to maintain ties, by virtue of being within the boundaries of a single country. With the collapse of the Empire in 1918, however, northwestern Ukraine was divided up among new occupiers (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania) and its ties with Bosnia were interrupted. Ties with the Ukrainian SSR were not possible at all.

Social and cultural life continued to be concentrated around the church, which remained instrumental in the preservation of the native language and customs. It was the church that had religious instruction in the Ukrainian language introduced into the schools.

With time, the ties with Galicia that had been interrupted were renewed, and newspapers, journals, and books once again began to enter into Bosnia. Some villages established cultural-educational societies, the largest being Prosvita (the Enlightenment Society) in Prnjavor, modeled on the Galician organization of the same name. Other villages opened reading rooms. Youth socialized at church festivals as well as at weddings and dances. Almost every village had an orchestra, and many had choirs. On the sociopolitical front, it should be noted that Ukrainians, especially those who worked in industry, were influenced by the growing labor movement.

The Fascist occupation of Yugoslavia in 1941 left Ukrainians torn between defending two homelands, the one in which they currently found themselves, which had not welcomed them warmly, and the motherland, which they had been forced to leave in search of a better life. The absolute majority of Ukrainians were on the side of the national-liberation struggle, and, by 1941, many had already begun to prepare for a rebellion; they later joined partisan

detachments. In 1942, all able-bodied men and many women left their villages to fight the invader.

The civilian population suffered greatly under the Serbian monarchists, or chetniks, enduring mass executions, plundering, looting, and burning. The Ukrainian nation gave up its best sons and daughters to the national-liberation struggle, including one who became a Yugoslavian national hero – Ivan Seniuk-Vuiko, from Slobodnica. (In 1988, the Soiuz Rusyniv i Ukraintsiv [Union of Ruthenians and Ukrainians] produced a monograph about Seniuk-Vuiko, which was published in three languages.) Documents show that there were more than three thousand Ukrainian casualties in the fight for freedom.

Until the end of the Second World War, the Ukrainians of Yugoslavia had not moved from the villages in which they had settled at the turn of the century. They had remained in them, working the land or making a living as skilled workers and tradesmen. A small number of Ukrainians lived in the cities, working in factories and mines, on the railroads, or in other, similar, occupations. After the first few years of freedom, however, the population began to migrate to the cities in greater numbers. Some went in order to help rebuild the war-torn land (and never returned to their villages), while others went to work in the factories. The youth enrolled in city schools. Soon afterward, entire families migrated, primarily to Vojvodina and Slavonia. They sold their possessions and bought land in Croatia and Vojvodina, where they decided to remain permanently, forming new Ukrainian settlements, both large and small. The once-large Ukrainian population in Bosnia continued to decline, leaving only a few Ukrainian families in many of the villages.

Religious Life

With the exception of a few Orthodox families, most Ukrainians and all Ruthenians in Yugoslavia belong to the Ukrainian (also known as Greek) Catholic Church of the Eparchy of Križevci, established in 1777 in the city of Kryževci in Croatia, roughly thirty-seven miles (sixty kilometers) north of Zagreb. In fact, it was under the condition that they profess the Ukrainian Catholic faith that the Austro-Hungarian government allowed the Ruthenians to settle in the Empire. A few families had converted to Orthodoxy (joining the Serbian Orthodox Church) and to Protestant sects but returned to the Catholic faith after a short time.

The Ruthenians had been under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Archbishop until 1777, when the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy was founded in Kryževci. Today, the seat of the Eparchy of Kryževci, which serves all of Yugoslavia, is in Ruski Krstur. The total number of Ruthenian/Ukrainian faithful is approximately forty-five thousand (thirty thousand Ruthenians and fifteen thousand Ukrainians), in addition to ten thousand Croatians and five thousand Macedonians. With the exception of the parish in Ruski Krstur, which observes the Gregorian calendar, the faithful adhere to the Julian calendar.

The first Ruthenian parish was founded in Ruski Krstur in 1750, and the first church was built there in 1753. A second church was built in Kucura in 1792, and, after that, churches began to appear in villages and towns inhabited by Ruthenians throughout the region. According to a recent study of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the diaspora, the total number of parishes in Yugoslavia today is fifty-four.

The Eparchy of Kryževci is served by three bishops: the Most Reverend Slavomyr Miklovsh, the Most Reverend Auxiliary Dr. Yoakym Segedi, and a Roman Catholic bishop, the Most Reverend Dr. Joachim Herbut, the Apostolic Visitator. There are more than sixty priests, approximately twenty of whom help in various eparchies and exarchates in Belgium,

France, Germany, Italy, Argentina, Canada, and the United States. There is a very large calling to the priesthood and the religious life among the Ruthenian and Ukrainian faithful.

Among the monastic orders in Yugoslavia are the Basilian Fathers (with two priests), who have a monastery and a parish (founded in 1956) in Kula (Bačka). The Studites had their own monastery from 1908–1924, when they were expelled by the Yugoslav government. Women's monastic orders include the Basilian Sisters and the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate. The Basilian Sisters have monasteries in Kryževci (Croatia), founded in 1915; Sid (Srem), founded in 1920; Mikluševci (Srem), founded in 1936; and Osijek (Croatia), founded in 1939; as well as those founded since the Second World War, in Novi Sad, Vukovar, Devetina, Slavonski Brod, and Prnjavor. The total number of Basilian Sisters is thirty-five. The Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate have residences in Križevci (Croatia), founded in 1906; Kucura (Bačka), founded in 1915; Ruski Krstur (Bačka), founded in 1927; Durdevo (Vojvodina), founded in 1941; Titov Vrbas (Vojvodina), founded in 1955; Novi Sad (Bačka), founded in 1956; Banja Luka (Bosnia), founded in 1980; and Zagreb (Croatia), residence of the bishop. There are thirty-eight Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate.

There are only a few Orthodox families in Yugoslavia today. In 1930, a small group of Ukrainian Catholics converted to the Serbian Orthodox Church and had their own two priests, who are now deceased.

Education and Professional Life

In order to raise the level of knowledge of the mother tongue, Ukrainians in Yugoslavia found it necessary to organize a system of education. In 1957, a teacher, Slava Bilenka, wrote the first Ukrainian primer, *Bukvar* (A Primer), published by Svjetlost (The Light) in Sarajevo. In about 1960, Ukrainian-language instruction began to be offered in organized classes in Prnjavor, Lishnja, Khorvachany, and Ternopil. The students who attended these classes tended also to be very active in cultural and artistic work in Ukrainian organizations.

The 1978 education laws in the Republics of Croatia and Bosnia and Hercegovina, as well as in Vojvodina province, placed great emphasis on the use of minority native languages in schools, even in places with only a few pupils of a given nationality. The Ukrainian community made certain that education laws guaranteeing native-language instruction were taken advantage of, by providing the necessary financing, teaching materials, and instructors. Even before 1978, Ukrainian teachers and professors had prepared excellent textbooks for Ukrainian-language instruction. Among the textbooks that appeared after the 1957 publication of *Bukvar* were *Ridna Mova* (The Native Language), a reader for third and fourth grades, by Slava Bilenka and Vasyl Strekhaliuk; *Mosty* (The Bridges), a reader for the fifth and sixth grades, by Mykhailo Kovach and Ivan Terliuk; and *Vinok* (The Wreath), a language and literature textbook for the seventh and eight grades, by Vasyl Strekhaliuk and Mykhailo Kovach. In 1972, Prof. Evhen Kuleba taught Ukrainian in Kula and published a children's magazine, *Soloveiko* (The Nightingale), of which, unfortunately, only two issues appeared.

When the Carpathian Ruthenians settled in Bačka and later in Srem, they came with their priests and teachers, who taught their children in the Ruthenian language. Records indicate that the first school was established in 1756, in Ruski Krstur. Other villages and cities also had their own schools. At first, schools were affiliated with churches, but in 1899, they were placed under the jurisdiction of the government and the language of instruction was Hungarian until 1918, when a new country emerged, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Only Kucura retained its church school until the year 1918. From 1899 to

1918, Ruthenian children did not dare to speak their native language either in school or on the street. After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ruthenians received their own elementary schools in the Slavic country, Yugoslavia. Conditions improved further after 1945 in Tito's Yugoslavia, when the Ruthenians received their own elementary schools, their own secondary school in Ruski Krstur, and Ruthenian-language instruction at the first level of postsecondary education. There were Ruthenian teachers, provosts, principals, and professors. More than three thousand pupils now attend the elementary schools, some seven hundred attend the secondary schools, and approximately three hundred study in the various departments of the universities. Approximately three hundred youngsters are enrolled in Ukrainian kindergartens.

Ruthenians very readily send their children to school. There is a network of schools in the villages and larger cities, so there is no problem of availability of native-language instruction. There are Ruthenian kindergartens in all the villages and cities where Ruthenians live. There is also a Chair of Ruthenian Language and Literature at the university in Novi Sad.

Publications

In 1979, the Sveučilišna Naklada "Liber" ("The Book" University Publishing House) published a large Ukrainian–Croatian–Serbian dictionary and a Croatian–Serbian–Ukrainian dictionary by Dr. Antitsi Menats (a Croat) and Prof. Alli Koval (from Kiev). There is also a Serbo-Croatian–Ruthenian–Ukrainian dictionary by Professor Mykola Kochysh, published in Novi Sad in 1972 by Ruske Slovo (The Ruthenian Word). Today, Ukrainian books are commonly seen in Ukrainian homes. There are private libraries as well as libraries affiliated with Ukrainian organizations. The Union of Ruthenians and Ukrainians has its central library in the city of Vukovar.

The Union of Ruthenians and Ukrainians has published several literary and scholarly works, including *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (The Tale of the Host of Ihor), the heroic epic of the twelfth century, prepared by Mykhailo Petriv-Hardiv and published in Vukovar in 1980; *Zbirnyk prats I. naukovoi narady Rusyniv i Ukraintsiv Khorvatii* (Collection of Works from the First Scholarly Conference of Ruthenians and Ukrainians of Croatia), published in Vukovar in 1981; and *Monohrafiia Ivan Seniuk-Vuiko* (A Monograph on Ivan Seniuk-Vuiko), about the Ukrainian national hero of Yugoslavia (1920–44), by Stepan Domankushich and Antun Miletych, published in Ukrainian, Ruthenian, and Croatian in Vukovar in 1988.

The Ruthenian Word in Novi Sad published *Pod Chervenu Zastavu: Khronika o uchastvovaniu Rusnatsokh–Ukraintsokh u Narodnooshlebodytelnei Borby Uhoslavyi* (Under the Red Flag: Chronicle of Ruthenian and Ukrainian Participation in the National Liberation Struggle of Yugoslavia), by Volodymyr Kostelnyk, in 1971. A similar work by the same author was published in Croatian in 1987 by the Union of Ruthenians and Ukrainians.

Cultural Life

Language Spoken

Ukrainians in Bosnia preserved the language of their forebears, the Galicians who immigrated to the region at the end of the nineteenth century. However, the Ukrainian language in Bosnia failed to develop over time. The dialect of the migrants was adapted to the social, economic, and political conditions of nineteenth-century village life in Galicia. But

while the language in Galicia developed over the course of the twentieth century, that in Bosnia remained stagnant. Some of the immigrants began to speak Croatian or Serbian. Instead of evolution, there was stagnation and even decline.

After the Second World War, there was no opportunity for organized instruction of the Ukrainian language and culture. It was only with an increase in the number of educated professionals that it became possible to organize cultural activity among Ukrainians.

Ruthenians have their own language, which includes many Polish, Slovak, Hungarian, and Serbo-Croatian words. In 1923, the Reverend Havryil Kostelnyk, a native of Ruski Krstur and a noted theologian, writer, and, later, scholar of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, published a grammar of the Ruthenian language.[2] With his work, Kostelnyk, often considered the "father of Bačka Ukrainian literature," provided the Ruthenian dialect with a scholarly basis for its existence and use as a literary language. After 1945, educated Ruthenians formed a new Slovak language, a "Ruthenian literary language of Bačka-Srem Ruthenians," which has become quite far removed from the Ukrainian literary language. It is this new language that is currently used in Ruthenian newspapers, journals, and books; taught in the elementary and secondary schools; and used in radio and television broadcasts. In Vojvodina, this language is accepted as an official language, along with Serbian, Hungarian, Slovak, and Romanian.

The Arts

Since the Second World War, the nationwide Festival of Culture of Ruthenians and Ukrainians has been held annually in Ruski Krstur. An annual theatrical tribute to stage producer Petro Ryznych, who worked among the Ruthenians from 1918 until his death, in 1966, also takes place in Ruski Krstur.

Ukrainian national costumes are worn on various religious and national holidays. Ukrainian embroidery has been very popular since the First World War, in part because of the influence of the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate and the Basilian Sisters.

The Media

Between the two world wars, the Ruthenian organization Ruske Narodne Prosvitne Druzhtvo (Ruthenian National Educational Society) published approximately one hundred books and various newspapers, journals, and calendars. After the Second World War, the publishing house Ruske Slovo (The Ruthenian Word) was founded in Ruski Krstur; in 1967, it was moved to Novi Sad, although the printing shop itself remained in Ruski Krstur. Its publications include the following: the weekly *Ruske Slovo*, since 1945, with the monthly *Dodatok na Ukrainskii Movi* (Supplement in the Ukrainian Language); *Pyonyrska Zahradka* (The Pioneer Garden), since 1947, a children's journal that appears ten times a year; *Mak: Molodist, Aktyvnist, Kreatyvnist* (The Poppy: Youth, Activity, Creativity), since 1972, a journal for youth that appears ten times a year; *Shvetlosts* (The Light), since 1952, a literary-cultural and social-issues journal that currently appears six times a year; *Narodny Kalendar* (The National Calendar), since 1946. Ten to fifteen books on various subjects appear annually. There is a separate publishing house, Zavod za Vydavannia Pidruchnykiv dlia Shkil Pochatkovykh i Serednykh (The Elementary and Secondary School Textbook Publishing Enterprise), which has published more than two hundred textbooks to date.

The Union of Ruthenians–Ukrainians of Croatia in Vukovar has published *Nova Dumka* (The New Thought), a bimonthly sixty-four page, large-format journal, since 1971, and an annual children's magazine called *Venchyk* (The Wreath).

The Vojvodina Vicariate has published *Khrystyianskyi Kalendar* (The Christian Calendar) since 1969, in both the Bačka-Srem dialect and the Ukrainian literary language. It also publishes catechisms and has translated the Bible into Ruthenian.

Since 1975, the Druzhtvo za Rusky Yazyk y Lyteraturu (Society for the Ruthenian Language and Literature) in Novi Sad has published the annual journal *Tvorchosts* (Creations). The Ruthenians have had great success in the areas of education, book and journal publishing, radio and television broadcasting, and other areas of cultural activity.

The oldest Ukrainian radio broadcast is a half-hour program on Radio Banja Luka that has aired every other Sunday since 1967. There are radio broadcasts in Slavonski Brod, Vukovar, and Zagreb as well.

Social and Political Life

In an effort to preserve their national heritage, Ukrainians in Yugoslavia established Kulturno-Osvitni Tovarystva (Cultural and Educational Societies) in villages and cities with larger concentrations of Ukrainians, including Banja Luka, Prnjavor, Lishnja, Khorvachany, Derventa, and Ternopil. These groups, in which young and old alike gather to foster Ukrainian culture, have folkloric and drama sections and, in some cases, orchestras and choirs as well. They give concerts and amateur performances in various parts of the country. The Cultural and Educational Societies work together and strengthen ties with similar organizations of Ukrainians and Ruthenians and other nationalities in Croatia and Vojvodina. The societies are also places where one can improve one's knowledge of the Ukrainian language.

After the migration of Ukrainians to the cities took the youth away from the villages, the organizations ceased their work. Only the Taras Shevchenko Cultural and Educational Society in Banja Luka remains, successfully continuing its activity. In 1986, it celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its founding.

In addition to reading rooms, agricultural organizations, credit unions, singing ensembles, and religious organizations, the Ruthenians of Yugoslavia also founded the Ruske Narodne Prosvitne Druzhtvo (Ruthenian National Educational Society), in August 1919, in Novi Sad, with headquarters in Ruski Krstur. It was patterned after the Galician Prosvita (Enlightenment Society). The goal of this organization was to broaden education and interest in the mother tongue and to publish newspapers, journals, calendars, and books, particularly school textbooks. The organization, which had branches in the villages and cities, was active until the Hungarian occupation of April 1941. After 1945, in the new Yugoslavia, Ruthenian cultural activity blossomed in all areas. New organizations were founded, such as the Domy Kultury (Homes of Culture), notably in Ruski Krstur, Kucura and Titov Vrbas, but they were no longer influenced by the church, because priests were forbidden to take part in cultural activity, which, until that time, they had led. The leadership was turned over to lay people who were influenced by the teachings of Marxism and Communism.

The Soiuz Rusyniv–Ukraintsiv Khorvatii (Union of Ruthenians–Ukrainians) was established in 1968 in Croatia. Even though Croatia has the smallest number of Ukrainians (more than 3,000 and an equal number of Ruthenians), it appears that the community is most active in this Republic. The Union teaches the native language, songs, dances, and customs in its summer schools and seminars for young people. Its publication *Nova Dumka* appears in three languages (Ruthenian, Ukrainian, and Croatian) and serves both students and older people as an excellent "textbook" for learning their own language, history, literature, and folklore. In addition to its children's magazine, *Venchyk*, the Union has also published several scholarly books.

The Druzhtvo za Rusky Yazyk y Lyteraturu (Society for the Ruthenian Language and

Literature) in Novi Sad has more than five hundred members. It publishes an annual journal.

Editor's Note: The Current Situation in the Former Yugoslavia

Ukrainians in Yugoslavia are among the ethnic minorities caught in the bitter conflict that has arisen over the independence of the member republics. Vukovar, in eastern Croatia, the center of Ukrainian life in Yugoslavia, was razed by Serbian Communist troops.[3] According to an eyewitness account of the conflict, fighting continued day and night, and cannons, artillery fire, tanks, planes, and machine guns could be heard constantly. Everything was torn down, including homes, hospitals, schools, churches, and factories. People hid in underground shelters; those who left them generally perished. Women, children, and the elderly were among those who were killed. Many people fled. Those who were still alive when the Serbian army arrived were deported.[4]

A special report issued by the Republic of Croatia's Ministry of Information on April 22, 1992, confirmed that the Ukrainians and Ruthenians who remained in certain towns in the occupied Vukovar district of Croatia live in camplike conditions, with restricted freedom of movement and daily maltreatment. Vasylii Sikorsky, President of the Union of Ruthenians–Ukrainians in Croatia, noted that Ukrainians and Ruthenians are experiencing beatings, rapes, looting, and food shortages, as well as pressure by the Yugoslav Army and Serbian irregular units to abandon their homes. Deported Ukrainians and Ruthenians report murder and torture at the hands of the army.[5]

The warring factions in Yugoslavia have used national minorities, including Ukrainians and Ruthenians, to aid in the fighting. As a result, there are Ukrainians and Ruthenians among those who have died in battle. Many who survived the fall of Vukovar were taken to Serbian concentration camps. War crimes have been committed against captured soldiers as well as civilians. To further their goal of driving non-Serbs from the territory and obliterating all traces of their existence, Serbian aggressors killed or deported the population in Vukovar, Petrovci, Mikluševci, and other parts of Eastern Croatia. They captured Ukrainian and Ruthenian villages and destroyed churches, monasteries, and schools. Thus, these areas, which were home to some four thousand Ukrainians and Ruthenians since 1834, were wiped out, their inhabitants killed or exiled and all traces of their age-old settlements erased as part of the Serbs' "ethnic cleansing" campaign.[6]

The war in Croatia spread, in an even more brutal guise, to the territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina. As of May 1992, the most frequent fighting was occurring in Bosnia in areas settled by Ukrainians, including Derventa, Prnjavor, Bosanska Gradyshka, and Banja Luka. As in Croatia, where Serbs drafted Ukrainians and Ruthenians from the autonomous province of Vojvodina (administratively part of Serbia) to fight those who were defending their homes in Croatia, so too in Bosnia, Serbs mobilized Ukrainians from Prnjavor and other towns of the so-called Serbian Bosnian Country to fight Croats and Ukrainians who were protecting their families. Ukrainians who did not join the Serbian army were killed. The majority of the exiled and refugees are scattered throughout Croatia, especially in Zagreb and along the Adriatic. Some have fled to Slovenia, Austria, Italy, and Germany, and others have been given shelter by Ukrainians in the Czech and Slovak republics and Poland, as well as in Canada and the United States.[7]

More than five hundred of the estimated nine hundred ethnic Ukrainians living in the vicinity of Prnjavor in Northern Bosnia have been killed since the fighting began. Eighty percent of Ukrainian men were forcibly conscripted into the federal army; those who refused were tortured. Non-Serbs were forced from their homes, which were then occupied by

Serbian families displaced from Croatia and Bosnia. The local Ukrainian Catholic Church in Prnjavor was destroyed by explosives planted by Serbian forces; the church in Banja Luka has also been destroyed.[8]

The Union of Ruthenians–Ukrainians of Croatia and the Ukrainian Catholic Church aid Ukrainians and Ruthenians who have fled their homes and are left without possessions. The Union organized the Kraiovyi Shtab Rusyniv–Ukraintsiv Khorvatii (Regional Headquarters of Ruthenians–Ukrainians of Croatia). After the destruction of Vukovar, the organization moved to Zagreb and was temporarily housed on the premises of the Cheska Besida (Czech Club); the Czechs in Croatia had very favorable relations with the Ukrainian–Ruthenian minority for many years. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, having suffered greatly in the war, is actively involved in humanitarian aid by taking up collections and helping those in need. Bishop Slavomyr Miklovsch of the Eparchy of Križevci has given a full report to church authorities describing the atrocities and destruction that have taken place. Activists within the Union of Ruthenians–Ukrainians in Yugoslavia (in Vojvodina) protested the actions of Serbian authorities; as a result, they were repressed by the Serbian government. They also organized meetings and sent aid to needy Ukrainians and Ruthenians under Serbian occupation until they themselves were exiled.[9]

The Ukrainian press, radio, and television in Ukraine report on the suffering of Ukrainians and Ruthenians in former Yugoslavia, but the government and the Red Cross of Ukraine are very cautious in dealing with the issue, for every act of defense brings forth increased repression of Ukrainians and Ruthenians by the Serbs. Ukrainians and Ruthenians, who are found in large numbers in Ruski Krstur, Kucura, Kula, Vrbas, Novi Sad, Sid, and other areas of Vojvodina, are threatened with collective exile from Serbia. The newspaper *Ruske Slovo* as well as radio and television in Serbia are forced to report what the government wants the public to hear, even though at times they boldly present information that has not been approved by the Serbian government. The Ukrainian journal *Nova Dumka*, of Vukovar, has moved to Zagreb, but it has no premises at present and its journalists have been dispersed.[10]

In 1992, the Union of Ruthenians–Ukrainians of Croatia provided the following data on atrocities committed against Ukrainians and Ruthenians:[11]

- *Vukovar* (home of 2,000 Ukrainians–Ruthenians): 115 perished; 15 killed or shot; 270 wounded; 200 sent to concentration camps after being robbed of all possessions; 500 exiled after the occupation; 100 refugees; 200 disappeared, whereabouts unknown.
- *Petrovci* (home of 1,200 Ukrainians–Ruthenians): 9 perished; 3 killed or shot; 2 hung; 15 wounded; 100 beaten and maltreated; 10 sent to concentration camps after being robbed; 761 exiled during the occupation and 200 exiled after the occupation, for a total of 961 exiled; 50 refugees; 50 disappeared, whereabouts unknown.
- *Mikluševci*: 3 perished; 1 killed or shot; 10 wounded; 50 beaten and maltreated; 120 sent to concentration camps after being robbed; 295 exiled during the occupation and 415 exiled after the occupation, for a total of 710 exiled; 15 refugees; 10 disappeared, whereabouts unknown.
- *Novska* (home of 400 Ukrainians–Ruthenians): 3 wounded, 60 exiled, 15 refugees.
- Other localities (Vinkovci, Zupanja, Osijek, Djakovo, Slavonski Brod, and Zagreb): 10 perished; 15 wounded; 20 sent to concentration camps after being robbed; 20 beaten and maltreated; 200 exiled; 100 refugees; 50 disappeared, whereabouts unknown.

A general summary of Ukrainian–Ruthenian casualties yields the following statistics: 410 casualties among Ukrainians serving in the Croatian military forces (in proportion to their number in Croatia, Ukrainians had the highest participation rates of all minorities); 30

perished while serving in the Croatian national guard; 123 civilian war casualties; 18 killed or shot; 5 massacred; 2 hung; 113 wounded in the national guard; 242 sent to concentration camps after being robbed; 242 beaten and maltreated during the occupation; 1,080 exiled immediately after the occupation and 1,055 exiled during the occupation, for a total of 2,135 exiled; 280 refugees from the occupied territory; and 310 disappeared, whereabouts unknown.[12]

Refugees from the front report that members of national minorities are forced to remain in the front rows and are followed by Serbian troops, who shoot anyone who does not follow orders.[13]

In May 1993, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry denounced the brutal abuses by Serbs against ethnic Ukrainians living in the former Yugoslavia. It reported that hundreds of Ukrainians are found in concentration camps, and that Ukrainian churches, monasteries, schools, libraries, and many individual homes have been demolished.[14]

Notes

1 Volodymyr Nota passed away prior to the publication of this work. Translated and updated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.
2 *Editor's note:* After the Second Occupation of the Bolsheviks, Kostelnyk, under pressure, joined the "Initiative Group," which was instrumental in the liquidation of the Catholic Church in Western Ukraine.
3 "Yugoslavia's Ukrainians Suffer," *Ukrainian Weekly* (Jersey City, NJ), 26 January 1992, 2.
4 Rev. Dmytro Stefaniuk, "O. Stefaniuk pro zhakhittia u Vukovari, Yugoslavia" [The Reverend Stefaniuk on the atrocities in Vukovar, Yugoslavia], *The Sower* (Stamford, CT), 12 April 1992, 13.
5 "Deported Ukrainians and Ruthenians Report Murder, Torture, and Labor Camps," *America* (Philadelphia, PA), 30 April 1992, 1, 3.
6 Volodymyr Khromysh, "Strazhdannia Ukraintsiv u buvshiy Yugoslavii" [The suffering of Ukrainians in the former Yugoslavia], *Ameryka* [America], 2 June 1992, 1, 3.
7 Ibid.
8 Christopher Guly, "Hundreds of Ukrainian Bosnians Killed in War," *Ukrainian Weekly*, 30 August 1992, 4; Kate Pipkin, "Fear Expressed That Worst May Not Be Over in Bosnian Fighting," *The Sower*, 30 August 1992, 1, 17.
9 Khromysh, 1, 3.
10 Ibid.
11 Volodymyr Khromysh, "Trahichni podii u kolyshniy Yugoslavii i dolia Ukraintsiv" [Tragic events in former Yugoslavia and the fate of Ukrainians], *Svoboda* [Liberty] (Jersey City, NJ), 1, 2, 3 September 1992, 2.
12 These statistics are as of March 1992; since that time, the numbers of Ukrainian–Ruthenian casualties in the area have increased.
13 Khromysh, "Trahichni podii."
14 "Newsbriefs on Ukraine–Kyyiv," *Ukrainian Weekly*, 16 May 1993, 2.

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7
Ukrainians in North America

UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

Wsevolod W. Isajiw and Andrij Makuch

Country Data

Official Name – Canada

Geographic Location – Located in North America, Canada lies between 41°40′ and 83°10′ north latitude and 52°40′ and 141° west longitude. It is bordered by the Beaufort Sea, the Arctic Ocean, and Baffin Bay on the north; the Atlantic Ocean on the east; the United States on the south; and the Pacific Ocean and Alaska on the west.

Area – 3,849,672 sq. mi., or 9,970,610 sq km

Population Density – 7.8 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 3.0 inhabitants per sq km (based on land area of 3,558,096 sq. mi., or 9,215,430 sq km (1992)

Capital City – Ottawa

Form of Government – Federal multiparty parliamentary state with two legislative houses, the Senate (110 seats, as of 1992) and the House of Commons (295 seats). The country consists of ten provinces and two territories.

Official Languages – English, French

Population – 27,737,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – Single ethnic origin: 22.8% French; 20.8% British; 3.4% German; 2.8% Italian; 2.2% Chinese; 1.7% Aboriginal Peoples (North American Indian, Métis, and Inuit); 1.5% Ukrainian; 1.3% Dutch; and 14.6% other. Multiple ethnic origin: 28.9%. (1991)

Religious Affiliation – 46.5% Roman Catholic; 41.2% Protestant; 1.5% Eastern Orthodox; 1.2% Jewish; 0.4% Muslim; 0.3% Hindu; 0.3% Sikh; 7.4% nonreligious; 1.2% other (1981)

Literacy – 95.6% (1975)

Percent Urban – 77.1% (1990)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 73.3 years; female, 80.0 years (1985–7)

Per Capita GNP – US$20,450 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Canada

Demographic and Social Characteristics

The 1991 census of Canada listed a total of 1,054,300 persons of Ukrainian origin.[1] Of these, 406,645 reported only Ukrainian as their ethnic origin, and 647,650 reported a second or multiple ethnic origin. Of the total, 522,400 were males and 531,900 were females. The largest number of Ukrainians resides in the province of Ontario (275,435), followed by Alberta (266,220), British Columbia (177,915), Manitoba (165,955), Saskatchewan (131,105), Quebec (23,825), and Nova Scotia (6,920); the remaining provinces have smaller Ukrainian populations. The largest concentrations in metropolitan areas were in Edmonton (121,300), Winnipeg (105,890), Toronto (91,480), Vancouver (78,970), Calgary (52,365), Saskatoon (31,590), Regina (24,115), Hamilton (22,745), Montreal (19,930), Thunder Bay (18,165), St. Catharines–Niagara (18,150), Ottawa–Hull (15,535), Victoria (12,300), Windsor (10,030), Oshawa (8,850), London (8,790), Kitchener (8,295), Sudbury (6,860), and Halifax (3,495).

In general, the Ukrainian population in 1991 was slightly younger than the overall Canadian population, with the following age distribution: 27 percent under 15 years of age, 15 percent between 15 and 24 years of age, 32 percent between 25 and 44 years of age, 15 percent between 45 and 64 years of age, and 11 percent 65 years of age and over, as compared with 21, 14, 34, 20, and 11 percent, respectively, for the general Canadian population.

Of the total Ukrainian population in 1986, 47 percent were single, which is somewhat higher than the figure for the general Canadian population (42 percent). The size of the divorced population (3 percent) was the same for all of Canada as for the Ukrainian minority. Four percent of Ukrainians were widowed, compared with 5 percent of Canadians overall.

In 1986, only 8 percent of Ukrainians were born outside Canada. Of the 76,500 Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, 27,890 arrived before 1946; 30,810 between 1946 and 1955; 7,950 between 1956 and 1966; and 9,850 between 1967 and 1986. The majority of those arriving in the last two periods came from the United States and the United Kingdom. Since the late 1970s, however, an increasing number of Ukrainian immigrants have come from Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania.

In the 1991 census, 201,315 people, or 19 percent of all Ukrainians in Canada, reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue. The vast majority reported English as their mother tongue. Ukrainian was the mother tongue for 46 percent of the 406,645 Ukrainian Canadians who reported single ethnic origin and, significantly, for only 2 percent of the 647,655 Ukrainian Canadians who reported multiple ethnic origins. In both categories, more women than men reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue.

Of those who reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue, 20 percent stated that it was the language used at home in 1991. Overall, only 4.7 percent (49,995 persons) of the total Ukrainian population in Canada reported Ukrainian as the language used at home. In 1986, 90 percent of Ukrainian Canadians (864,845) reported English as the language used at home;

Table 1 Number and percentage distribution of Ukrainians in Canada by religious denomination, 1931–81

Religious denomination	1981	1971	1961	1951	1941	1931
Ukrainian Catholic	191,300	186,460	157,559	164,765	152,907	130,534
	33.1%	32.1%	33.3%	41.7%	50.0%	58.0%
Orthodox	103,700	116,700	119,219	111,045	88,874	55,386
	18.0%	20.1%	25.2%	28.1%	29.1%	24.6%
Roman Catholic	100,600	88,835	79,638	56,650	37,577	25,781
	17.4%	15.3%	16.8%	14.3%	12.3%	11.5%
United	68,800	80,790	59,825	28,190	9,241	3,667
	11.9%	13.9%	12.6%	7.1%	3.0%	1.6%
Anglican	20,000	26,950	19,140	10,082	3,131	755
	3.5%	4.6%	4.0%	2.6%	1.0%	0.3%
Presbyterian	6,300	7,725	5,483	4,521	2,919	1,823
	1.1%	1.3%	1.2%	1.1%	1.0%	0.8%
Lutheran	7,800	10,175	6,590	3,435	1,686	1,180
	1.4%	1.8%	1.4%	0.9%	0.6%	0.5%
Baptist	7,900	8,250	6,113	3,723	2,439	1,262
	1.4%	1.4%	1.3%	0.9%	0.8%	0.6%
Pentecostal	8,400	5,545	3,372	0	1,241	105
	1.5%	1.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.4%	0.1%
Mennonite	500	1,195	711	465	657	385
	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%
Other	60,400	48,035	15,687	12,167	5,257	4,235
	10.5%	8.3%	3.3%	3.1%	1.7%	1.9%
Total	575,700	580,660	473,337	395,043	305,929	225,113
	99.9%	100.0%	100.0%	99.9%	100.1%	100.1%

Note: Some columns do not add up to 100 percent, because of rounding.
Source: *Canada Census*, 1931–81, compiled by Oleh Wolowyna.

significantly more women than men (25,545 compared with 21,810) reported Ukrainian as the language used at home.

Table 1 presents the percentage distribution of Ukrainian Canadians by religion from 1931 to 1981. Of the 575,700 persons who reported their religious affiliation in 1981, the largest group was made up of Ukrainian Catholics (33 percent), followed by Protestants (19 percent), Orthodox (18 percent), Roman Catholics (17 percent), and Fundamentalists (4.5 percent). The largest concentration of Ukrainian Catholics was in Winnipeg (28,350); of Protestants, in Edmonton (13,800); of Orthodox, also in Edmonton (17,250); of Roman Catholics, in Winnipeg (12,000); and of Fundamentalists, in Edmonton (2,950).

Table 2 (page 330) presents the educational level of Ukrainian Canadians aged fifteen and older. It shows that 10 percent of all Ukrainians have a university degree and another 10 percent have had at least some university education. These are virtually the same percentages as those for Anglo-Canadians, but much lower than those for Jewish Canadians (29 and 15 percent, respectively) and those for Chinese Canadians (18 and 12 percent, respectively). At the other end of the educational scale, Ukrainians have a significantly higher percentage of persons with less than a Grade 9 education than do other groups in Canada.

The largest single category of occupations in which Ukrainians were engaged in 1986 was clerical, followed by the professions and the social categories (managerial, sales, and service) (see Table 3). This is much the same pattern as that of the Canadian labor force as a whole, except that the percentages of Ukrainians working in all three of these types of occupations

Table 2 Ukrainians in Canada by highest level of schooling, 15 years of age and older, 1986

Schooling	Number	Percent
Less than grade 9	114,390	16
Grades 9–13:		
Without secondary certificate	206,925	29
With secondary certificate	81,035	11
Trades certificate or diploma	15,715	2
Other nonuniversity education only:		
Without certificate	47,105	7
With certificate	106,205	15
University:		
Without degree	72,135	10
With degree	70,135	10
Total (single and multiple ethnic origin)	714,205	100

Source: Statistics Canada, *1986 Census*, vol. 93–154, *Profile of Ethnic Groups*, table 2–20.

Table 3 Occupational distribution of the Ukrainian labor force in Canada, 1986 (single and multiple ethnic origins combined)

Occupational category	Number	Percent
Managerial	49,045	10
Professional	81,840	17
Clerical	96,970	20
Sales	48,330	10
Service	58,420	12
Primary	38,055	8
Processing	21,075	4
Product fabrication	28,720	6
Construction	28,995	6
Other	40,895	7
Total (experienced labor force)	492,345	100

Source: Statistics Canada, *1986 Census*, vol. 93–154, *Profile of Ethnic Groups*, table 2–22.

are slightly higher than those for the total labor force. Thus, 20 percent of the Ukrainian labor force is found in clerical occupations, as compared with 18 percent of the Canadian labor force as a whole; 17 percent of Ukrainians are found in professional occupations, as compared with 16 percent of Canadians overall; and 10 percent of Ukrainians are found in managerial occupations, as compared with 8 percent of Canadians overall. A slightly higher percentage of Anglo-Canadians (11 percent) is found in upper-level managerial occupations.

Participation in the Economic, Political, Professional, and Social Life of the Country

Ukrainians in Canada are relatively integrated into Canadian society. The fact that they arrived in large numbers in the three Prairie provinces at the time when Canada was settling the virgin lands of the West allowed them to play an important role in defining the nature of at least one region of the country: Ukrainian Canadians regard themselves as a founding people of western Canada. This has enabled them to press for social recognition and policies that reflect the ethnic diversity of the Canadian population. The public sector has responded

by creating or supporting institutions that meet some of the broader needs of the community, particularly in the field of education.

The Canadian-born or -raised generations of Ukrainians are usually fully fluent in the English language, with accents or traces of accents evident only in some of the rural areas of western Canada. Dress and dietary patterns run largely along North American lines, with some variations during ceremonial occasions, most notably Christmas, Easter, and weddings. Even among a significant part of the postwar arrivals, Canada is genuinely regarded by Ukrainians as their homeland. Ukrainians are distinguished largely by the nature of their family and social interactions and by their religious affiliations, civic involvements, and sense of communal affiliation and shared history.

In the realm of economics, Ukrainians played a vital role in the development of the Canadian Prairies by opening up large tracts of agricultural land and contributing much labor to the building of the region's infrastructure, including the road system and early industry. In the interwar era, Ukrainians entered the professions or opened businesses and called upon their compatriots to "support your own" (*sviy do svoho*), an appeal that proved relatively effective. Since the Second World War, Ukrainians have joined in a spectrum of economic activities that is largely the same as that in which the Canadian population as a whole participates. Ukrainian professional and business people have continued to appeal to their countrymen for support, although they are not as dependent on that support as they once were. Even though Ukrainians have advanced considerably in economic terms since their arrival in Canada, they have still not penetrated the country's economic elite.

A number of Ukrainians have excelled in Canadian business. Among them are William Teron, an Ottawa builder who built the town of Kanata, near Ottawa, and became the first Ukrainian Canadian to head a crown corporation, the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC); Walter Curlook, president of the major metal producer Inco Ltd.; Vladimir N. Mackiw, mining executive; Roman Cholkan, one of Ontario's major realtors; Mark Smerchanski, mining executive and geology consultant; Peter Jacyk, businessman and philanthropist; and Erast Hutsulak, pharmacist, businessman, and philanthropist.

Ukrainians became politically enfranchised not long after their settlement in Canada. Their concentration in specific areas made it possible for them to vote effectively as a bloc. They gained a presence in the various levels of government, and today, they retain a significant number of elected representatives in the Prairie ridings. Now, however, their political strength lies largely in their participation and influence within party structures and their election through campaigns that appeal to a variety of specific issues rather than to nationality.

The first Ukrainian member of the federal Parliament was Michael Luchkovich, from Alberta, who held office from 1926 to 1935 and who, in 1933, presented to Parliament a brief on the Great Famine in Ukraine and appealed for action by the Canadian government. The first member of a provincial Parliament was Andrew Shandro, in Alberta, who was elected in 1913. In the 1970s, there were nine Ukrainian members of federal Parliament and twenty-three members of provincial legislatures in the three Prairie provinces and Ontario. Among those of Ukrainian background holding prominent positions in Canadian government on the federal level have been Ray (Ramon) Hnatyshyn, Governor General of Canada (1990–); Michael Starr, Minister of Labour in the Diefenbaker government and the first Ukrainian Canadian in the federal Cabinet; Senator Paul Yuzyk, who introduced the word and the concept of multiculturalism to Parliament in 1963; Don Mazankowski, federal Minister of Finance and Deputy Prime Minister in the Mulroney government; Andre Harvie, House Leader and Cabinet minister in the Mulroney government; and Norman Kafik, who held the

post of Minister for Multiculturalism. On the provincial level, among those of Ukrainian background who have held prominent positions have been Gary Filmon, who served as Premier of Manitoba; Roy Romanow, Premier of Saskatchewan; Stephen Worobetz and Sylvia Fedoruk, both Lieutenant Governors of Saskatchewan; John Yaremko, the first Ukrainian member of provincial Parliament and Cabinet minister in Ontario; and Lawrence Decore, Liberal leader in Alberta and mayor of Edmonton. Also, on the municipal level, Steve Juba was mayor of Winnipeg for a long period of time, and William Hawrelak was mayor of Edmonton.

Some Ukrainians have become prominent in the legal profession, most notably John Sopinka, Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada, and the late Walter Tarnopolski, who was Justice of the Appelate Court of Ontario.

Ukrainians have gained a significant degree of social acceptance in Canada relative to the prejudice and discrimination they faced in the early part of the century. The shift reflects, in part, the extent to which Ukrainians have integrated into Canadian life, especially in the Prairies, and, in part, a change in the prevailing Canadian attitude toward ethnicity since the 1960s. Ukrainians have become very much a part of the fabric of Canadian life. This is particularly true in the Prairie provinces, where some elements of Ukrainian culture can be seen in everyday life, as, for example, in the widespread popularity of Ukrainian fast-food outlets, the extension of Ukrainian New Year's (Malanka) celebrations to the general public (in much the same way that Octoberfest has become a popular and not exclusively German event in much of Canada), and the participation of Ukrainian dance ensembles in official greetings of dignitaries and at other special events, most notably in the opening ceremonies of the 1988 Winter Olympics in Calgary.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

Ukrainians arrived in Canada in three major waves of immigration – pre–First World War, interwar, and post–Second World War. The first two waves consisted almost exclusively of farmers and laborers from Galicia and Bukovyna, who left their homeland for economic reasons. The third wave was also dominated by Galicians, but included a substantial number of emigrants from Eastern Ukraine as well. This immigration wave comprised mostly displaced persons or refugees, who had a highly developed sense of national consciousness and civic obligation. A significant portion of the third wave consisted of people with professional skills. Since 1960, Ukrainians have continued to arrive in Canada, albeit in numbers insufficient to constitute a "wave." Nevertheless, they have had an impact on the nature of Ukrainian-Canadian life and represent a unique addition to the community.

The first wave of immigration spanned the years 1891–1914. Ivan Pylypiw and Wasyl Eleniak, from the village of Nebyliv near Kalush in present-day Ivano-Frankivske oblast in Ukraine, are commonly accepted as the first Ukrainians to have arrived in Canada. They came in 1891 and became the first of several groups of Galician Ukrainians to settle in the Edna-Star region of Alberta. A more significant number of immigrants began to arrive after 1896 as a result of the efforts of Dr. Josef Oleskow, an agronomist from Lviv who was instrumental in redirecting mass Ukrainian emigration from Brazil to Canada. Large numbers of Ukrainians continued to arrive in Canada until the outbreak of the First World War.

The majority of Ukrainians who arrived in the earliest wave of settlement (1896–1905) were farmers who took up lands in the aspen parkbelt of the Prairie region, which stretched

from north of Winnipeg to near Edmonton. They were drawn by the offer of 160 acres (approximately 64.5 hectares) of land for a nominal registration fee and a set of specified requirements for improvements to the land. Their settlement patterns were shaped to a large degree by Canadian immigration officials, who steered incoming immigrants toward newly bloc-designated settlement areas. Thus, a string of Ukrainian "colonies" was established. The largest settlement areas included Edna-Star, in Alberta; Hafford-Krydor, Cudworth-Wakaw, Preeceville, and Yorkton-Canora, in Saskatchewan; and Dauphin-Ethelbert, Rossburn (Riding Mountain), Gimli (Interlake), and Stuartburn, in Manitoba.

Many of the earliest Ukrainian immigrants to Canada arrived without sufficient capital to establish viable farming operations. Consequently, entire families were often forced to seek supplementary sources of income through seasonal labor as harvesters, miners, forestry workers, laborers, and domestics.

After 1905, Canadian immigration policy changed in order to attract a greater number of laborers into the country. Many Ukrainians arriving after this date came as common laborers and settled in the cities of western Canada, particularly Winnipeg, and in the frontier regions of northern Ontario and southeastern British Columbia, areas that had until that time been, for the most part, the preserve of seasonal workers. Within the cities, Ukrainians tended to live in areas adjacent to railroad yards or manufacturing districts, in ethnic enclaves that were typically lumped together in ghettos. By the First World War, many Ukrainian farmers had succeeded in developing their farms sufficiently that they no longer needed to hire themselves out as seasonal laborers. At the same time, a significant number of Ukrainian laborers began to migrate to Ontario, the burgeoning industrial heartland of central Canada, where previously only a small number of immigrants had settled.

It is estimated that the first wave of immigrants brought as many as 250,000 Ukrainians to Canada, almost exclusively from Galicia and Bukovyna. Approximately 170,000 stayed in Canada, while the remainder – primarily those who had sought only temporary labor or who were disillusioned with conditions in the New World – chose to return to their homeland. From 1914 to 1924, there was little Ukrainian immigration to Canada.

Immigration resumed in the period 1924–39, bringing an additional 65,000–70,000 Ukrainians to Canada. Together with the earlier wave of immigration and a natural increase in the population, the new influx brought the number of Ukrainians in Canada to approximately 305,900 by 1941, making them the fourth-largest ethnic group in the country, after the Anglo-Celts, the French, and the Germans. The interwar wave of immigration was again predominantly economically motivated and consisted largely of newcomers from Galicia and Bukovyna.

Because most of the "free" lands available for agricultural settlement had already been granted to earlier immigrants, the incoming population tended not to establish themselves as farmers. A substantial number settled in the Prairie provinces and worked as farm hands, while some took advantage of land grants being offered in the northern Peace River region of Alberta. Eventually, some of these immigrants did start up their own farming operations in and around the main areas of Ukrainian settlement. The majority of Ukrainians in this second wave, however, worked as laborers in the mining and forestry regions of northern Ontario and in the cities of central Canada and the Prairies. A small portion of the incoming immigration consisted of individuals with a higher level of education than that possessed by the earlier immigrants, affording them the opportunity to exact a different entry-level status. Among this group were skilled individuals who could assume critical positions in the Ukrainian press and the community's cultural-educational institutions.

Two of the major demographic trends among Ukrainian Canadians that were to become

particularly evident after the Second World War – urbanization and migration out of the Prairie provinces – began in the late 1930s. By that time, the rural townships settled by Ukrainians no longer had the capacity to employ their growing populations, a situation that resulted from the shortage of new land available for farming and the increasing mechanization of agriculture. Large numbers of Ukrainians now started to migrate to central Canada and, to a lesser extent, to British Columbia and the cities of the Prairie provinces. This trend accelerated during the Second World War, when many Ukrainian Canadians moved to new parts of the country to work in war-related industries, and after the war, when those who had served in the armed forces resettled in new locations upon their return to Canada.

The third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada brought approximately 37,500 new people into the community during the period 1947–55. The majority of them were refugees or forced laborers who found themselves in Germany at the end of the war and had settled temporarily in displaced persons (DP) camps. Several thousand veterans, mainly from the Second Polish Corps and the Division Galizien, were also among the new arrivals. A significant number of the displaced persons were people with professional skills. About half of the postwar immigrants settled in Toronto, and most of the remainder established themselves in other large Canadian cities, particularly in Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Montreal.

This influx of Ukrainians into Canada had a great impact on the community, providing an infusion of new energy into the existing organizational structures, particularly at the leadership level, and introducing a new set of organizations. The integration of the new immigration into Ukrainian-Canadian society did not go as smoothly as might have been expected, however, as cultural and political differences with members of the earlier immigrations became increasingly evident.

Most of the third-wave immigrants to Canada had arrived by the mid-1950s. A small number continued to arrive after that time, mainly émigré Ukrainians transmigrating from countries in Europe, particularly Germany and Great Britain, or South America, particularly Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela. Ukrainian immigration to Canada then came to a virtual standstill until the late 1970s, when a steady influx of Ukrainians began to arrive from Poland and, since the mid-1980s, from Ukraine. Toronto has been by far the preferred destination of the new arrivals. It is estimated that, by 1991, approximately ten thousand immigrants from Poland and Ukraine had arrived in Canada.

Internal Migration

By the 1980s, the internal migration of Ukrainians within Canada that had begun before the Second World War and the demographic influences of the postwar immigration completely transformed the nature of the Ukrainian community. By 1981, the Ukrainian population of the three Prairie provinces constituted only 60 percent of the total Ukrainian community in Canada. That situation stood in marked contrast to the one that had prevailed fifty years earlier, in 1931, when the proportion was 84 percent. The major destinations of the internal migration were Ontario (where the resident proportion of the total Ukrainian-Canadian population rose from 10.9 percent in 1931 to more than 27 percent in 1981) and British Columbia (where the proportion rose during the same period from 1.1 percent to more than 10 percent). (See the preceding Demographic and Social Characteristics section for 1991 provincial population data).

During the same period, a major shift was also taking place in the urban–rural balance of the Ukrainian-Canadian population. In 1981, urban dwellers represented 76 percent of the total Ukrainian population, as compared with 29.5 percent in 1931. (Conversely, rural dwellers represented only 24 percent of the total population in 1981 as compared with 70.5 percent in

1931.) This change was attributable to the outmigration of the rural population, resulting from the increasing pace of farm mechanization and agribusiness after the Second World War and the upward shift in the educational levels of the younger generations, as well as to the settlement of postwar Ukrainian immigrants almost exclusively in the cities.

The internal migration of Ukrainians both interprovincially and from rural to urban centers resulted in the presence of substantial new concentrations of Ukrainians in several cities. For many years, Winnipeg had easily had the largest Ukrainian population of any city in Canada, affording it the unrivaled title of "Canada's Ukrainian capital." Since the end of the Second World War, however, both Edmonton and Toronto have matched or surpassed Winnipeg in size and influence within the Ukrainian community in Canada.

The change in the demographic distribution of Ukrainians in Canada was complemented by a substantial internal urban migration from city-core areas, where Ukrainians had initially settled, to the suburbs. Such movements usually occurred along an axis extending outward from the first area of settlement. In Edmonton, for example, many Ukrainians first settled in the Norwood region, on the northeastern periphery of the downtown core, and later moved in large numbers to suburban areas such as Londonderry, Capilano, and Beverly. In Toronto, the flow of Ukrainians toward the suburbs went out from the Bathurst–Queen core to the Bloor–Jane area, Etobicoke, and then Mississauga. In rural locations, the isolation that had previously helped Ukrainians to preserve or develop a distinctive identity and well-defined communities had disappeared by the 1980s, broken down by full electrification, the development of all-weather roads, and the advent of radio, telephone, and television.

Religious Life

The religious affiliation of the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians who first emigrated to Canada was Ukrainian Catholic (Eastern Rite Uniate). In Ukraine as a whole, the predominant religion was Ukrainian Orthodoxy, but in Galicia, the region of origin of the majority of the first-wave immigrants, Ukrainian Catholicism effectively constituted a national religion. The immigrants who came from Bukovyna, approximately 15 percent of all the first-wave Ukrainian immigrants to Canada, were Orthodox.

The religious situation among Ukrainian Canadians was initially extremely chaotic, as the arrival of Ukrainian Catholic clergy lagged far behind the arrival of the settlers. The shortage of priests also resulted, in part, from the decree issued by the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, in deference to its celibate clergy, prohibiting married clergy of the Eastern rite from serving in North America. The decree had the effect of limiting the pool of priests who could minister to the spiritual needs of the Ukrainian immigrant population in Canada to about sixty men, or roughly 3 percent of all the Ukrainian Catholic priests in Galicia, where married clergy were the dominant cultural norm. As a result, the Ukrainian population in Canada was initially served by unmarried Ukrainian clergy based in the United States who were willing to undertake what amounted to missionary work. They were joined in 1902 by a small contingent of Basilian monks and several nuns from the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate, who established a base in Mundare, Alberta. Several years later, a group of Redemptorists made Yorkton, Saskatchewan, their home. The Redemptorists were Belgian priests who had converted to the Eastern rite and learned the Ukrainian language in order to serve the Ukrainian faithful. The Ukrainian Catholic Church established itself on a firm footing only in 1912, when it was constituted as a separate diocese and received its own bishop, the Reverend Nykyta Budka.

The appointment of the Reverend N. Budka as bishop did not, however, end the religious

problems plaguing Ukrainians in Canada; it simply ushered in a new phase. Earlier, there had been difficulties with attempts by Russian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Baptist, Presbyterian, and other clergy to claim the Ukrainian fold as their own. The more substantial challenge to Ukrainian Catholic hegemony, however, came from the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Canada, which was extremely dissatisfied with the episcopal charter establishing the church in Canada. A debate over the need to maintain a "national" character in the church emerged in the pages of the press, notably in the weekly *Ukrainskyi Holos* (The Ukrainian Voice), and eventually spilled over onto other issues. In 1918, the differences between Bishop Budka and the intelligentsia reached the point where the latter decided to establish the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada as a national institution. Since then, the Catholic and Orthodox churches have been the two major religious denominations of Ukrainians in Canada.

The nascent Orthodox Church spent much of its time and energy developing its infrastructure and establishing its canonical legitimacy. By 1951, it had resolved many basic issues and placed itself on the surer footing of autocephaly. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, notwithstanding the challenge posed by the creation of the Orthodox Church, managed to assert its authority over a majority of the immigrant population.

As of 1991, the Ukrainian Catholic Church consists of five eparchies. With their respective bishops and constituent priests and deacons, they are as follows: (1) the Archeparchy of Winnipeg, headed by Archbishop and Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk, with thirty-six priests (four of whom are retired) and nineteen deacons; (2) the Eparchy of Toronto, headed by Bishop Isidore Borecky, with eighty-seven priests (nine retired) and eighteen deacons; (3) the Eparchy of Saskatoon, headed by Bishop Basil Filevich, with twenty-six priests (eight retired) and two deacons; (4) the Eparchy of Edmonton, headed by Bishop Myron Daciuk, with thirty priests (seven retired); (5) Eparchy of New Westminster, headed until 1992 by Bishop Jerome Chimy, with fourteen priests (one retired) and four deacons. In December 1992, the Vatican announced the appointment of the Very Reverend Michael Bzdel as Metropolitan of Ukrainians in Canada and the Reverend Roman Danylak as apostolic administrator of the Eparchy of Toronto, with the authority and powers of the Bishop of Toronto, replacing Canada's two most senior Ukrainian Catholic bishops, Metropolitan Hermaniuk and Bishop Borecky, both eighty-one years old.

There are also religious orders of priests and nuns. In the early 1990s, they include the Basilian Fathers, with forty-three priests, and with centers in Edmonton, Mundare, and Vegreville (Alberta), Vancouver, Winnipeg, and Toronto; the Redemptorist Fathers, with twenty-eight priests, and with centers in Yorkton and Saskatoon (Saskatchewan), Roblin and Winnipeg (Manitoba), and Toronto; the Studite Fathers, with four priests, in Woodstock, Ontario; the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate, with centers in Yorkton (Saskatchewan), Winnipeg, and Ancaster (Ontario); the Sisters of Saint Basil the Great; the Sisters of Saint Josaphat; the Missionary Sisters of Christian Charity; and the Studite Sisters.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church operates the Holy Spirit Ukrainian Catholic Seminary in Ottawa, as well as the Metropolitan Andrey Sheptyckyj Institute, affiliated with Saint Paul University, also in Ottawa. The religious orders operate a number of secondary schools (see the section headed Ukrainian Private Education).

The Church has no single official publication, although several newspapers and journals cover church news, notably, *Ukrainski Visti* (Ukrainian News), in Edmonton; *Postup* (Progress), in Winnipeg; and *Nasha Meta* (Our Goal), in Toronto.

The Orthodox Church consists of three eparchies: the Eastern Eparchy (Ontario), with Bishop Yurij Kalishchuk as acting bishop in 1992; the Central Eparchy (Manitoba and Saskatchewan), headed by Bishop John Stinka; and the Western Eparchy (Alberta and

British Columbia), headed by Bishop Yurij. Overseeing the structure is Archbishop of Winnipeg and Metropolitan of All Canada, Wasyly Fedak. There are approximately ninety-seven Ukrainian Orthodox priests. The Church operates a seminary in Winnipeg, at Saint Andrew's College, and sponsors four student residences: Saint John's, in Edmonton; Mohyla Institute, in Saskatoon; Saint Andrew's College, in Winnipeg; and Saint Vladimir Institute, in Toronto. It publishes *Visnyk* (The Herald) as its official organ.

Ukrainian Roman Catholics have no separate church organization of their own; they fall under the jurisdiction of the Canadian Roman Catholic Church. Generally, they participate little in the organized Ukrainian-Canadian community. Ukrainian Anglicans also have no independent religious center. Ukrainian members of the United Church, however, established the Ukrainian Evangelical Union of North America in 1922 and publish their own biweekly, the *Evangelical Morning* (previously, the *Canadian Morning*). Similarily, the Independent Ukrainian Evangelical Church in Saskatoon publishes a monthly (*Slovo* [The Word]), as do the Ukrainian Presbyterians in Toronto (*Evanhelska Pravda* [The Evangelical Truth]), the Ukrainian Baptists in Winnipeg (*Khrystyianskyi Visnyk* [The Christian Herald]), and the Ukrainian Pentecostalists in Toronto (*Evanhelyst* [The Evangelist]).

A major problem facing both the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada is declining membership. The figures in Table 1 reflect the gradual increase in transference of religious allegiances over time to other denominations, particularly Protestantism and Roman Catholicism and, more recently, fundamentalist religions.

Both churches also face issues connected with the social role they have traditionally played as "national" religions. The Orthodox Church has had difficulty reconciling its role as a religious institution with its members' expectations of it as the offspring of a particular social movement. The recent affiliation of the Church with the Patriarch of Constantinople and the decision by the Tovarystvo Ukraintsiv Samostiinykiv (TUS, Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association) to be officially recognized as a lay association seem to indicate a shift on the part of the Church to a more confessional role. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, in turn, faces such issues as the growing observance of the Gregorian rather than the Julian calendar (the Gregorian calendar was introduced around 1940, to the objections of many); ambiguities with respect to the observation of traditional Eastern-rite practices; and the particularly vexing problem of the right of the clergy to be married. The discussion of these issues was stimulated in part by the arrival in Canada after the Second World War of a large number of European-born Ukrainian Catholic clergy, many of whom were married, and the elevation of Bishop Yosyf Slipy to the position of Cardinal after his release from Soviet prison in 1963. Other issues since then have included the movement to create a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate and efforts to reestablish the Catholic and the Autocephalous Orthodox churches in Ukraine.

Education and Professional Life

Ukrainian-Language Education in Canada's Public Schools

At the time of the pioneer settlement, the level of literacy among Ukrainians was low. Nevertheless, efforts to acquire some education and, above all, to give children some Ukrainian schooling began almost immediately after settlement. Pioneer teachers usually had little advanced schooling; completion of Grade 8 was the norm, followed by four months at normal school. With the frontier's insatiable demand for labor, average daily school attendance was low, "half-year" schools were common, and only 2 to 3 percent of the school population went on to high school.

Reading associations (the popular *Chytalni*, or Reading Halls, that were already familiar

to the settlers) were the first form of Ukrainian education in Canada. First established in Edna-Star, in 1899, and in Winnipeg, in 1900, the Reading Halls had modest libraries in private homes. The Reading Hall teachers were settlers who had attended secondary schools in Galicia, some having reached the upper levels. A number had already become teachers in Galicia, and some even knew English, or quickly acquired a knowledge of it.

In March 1897, the first language legislation in Manitoba's history declared that "When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language, or any language other than English as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English upon the bilingual system." Under this legislation, the first Ukrainian school district, called Galicia, was formed in 1899, with Wasyl Cichocky in charge as teacher. Schools were not easy to organize, but it was noticed that attendance improved when teachers spoke Ukrainian. The isolated locations of some school districts made it difficult to obtain qualified teachers. In 1905, the government opened the Ruthenian Training School in Winnipeg to complement pedagogical and theological courses offered at Manitoba College. Teachers were frequently attacked for their Ukrainian nationalism or their pedagogical incompetence. In 1907, at their first convention in Winnipeg, the Ukrainian teachers formed the Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Uchyteliv (Ukrainian Teachers' Association) and discarded the archaic name "Ruthenian." A committee to lobby for bilingual textbooks was formed; it consulted the famous Ukrainian writer and poet Ivan Franko, in Lviv, about the books.

Opposition to bilingual education in Manitoba resulted in its abolition in 1916. As a result, English remained the language of instruction in all public schools. Trustees could, however, authorize the study of other languages during periods in the school day intended for religious instruction or second-language instruction, or before or after school. Ukrainians were able to introduce the teaching of a number of Ukrainian-language courses under these provisions.

Changes in provincial school legislations came only in the 1970s, as a result of the efforts of Ukrainian lobbying groups, notably the Soiuz Ukrainskykh Profesionalistiv i Pidpryiemtsiv (Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation). In 1971, the Alberta government amended the school legislation to permit instruction in a language other than English or French for up to 50 percent of the school day. This set the precedent for Manitoba, which enacted similar legislation in 1978, and for Saskatchewan, which followed suit in 1979. (In 1974, Saskatchewan passed preliminary legislation permitting instruction in other languages for up to 20 percent of the school day).

In Ontario, the Catholic Separate School system responded to parental pressure by allowing Ukrainian to be taught as a subject during regular school hours for half an hour every day, from kindergarten through grade eight, in three schools: Saint Josaphat's (1961), in Toronto; Holy Spirit (1966), in Hamilton; and Saint Demetrius (1975), in Weston.

On July 1, 1977, the Ontario Heritage Languages Program for all languages other than English and French allowed public school boards to offer classes after school or on non-school days up to a maximum of two and a half hours per week.

Ukrainian Private Education

The education of Ukrainians in their native language was not confined to public schools. Privately organized instruction supplemented the public schools and, during the pioneer period, often preceded them. Among the most significant private efforts were those by the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Roman Catholic home missionaries, followed in time by a loose network of *ridni shkoly* (literally, native schools) and *bursy* (student residences), with a Catholic or Orthodox parish base and/or a political-cultural orientation. A number of full-time secondary schools that included substantial programs in Ukrainian were also estab-

lished. Ukrainian private schools evolved with the Ukrainian community and have survived, in various forms, into the 1990s.

The Ridna Shkola *Movement*

At the grass-roots level, wherever there were a sufficient number of pupils, a willing teacher, and parental interest, Ukrainians established part-time schools to teach their children the Ukrainian language and, if possible, the literature, history, geography, and cultural tradition of the homeland. Before the First World War, Ukrainian laborers in Sydney and Dominion, in Nova Scotia, operated two such schools; the Tovarystvo imeny M. Drahomanova (Drahomanov Society) sponsored one school within the Protestant system in Montreal. The *ridni shkoly* came into their own only after Ukrainian was banned in the public school systems of the Prairie provinces. Where Ukrainian groups did not own their own building in which classes could be held, concerned individuals opened their homes or obtained permission to use the local public school after hours or on Saturdays. Summer schools were organized by the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate in Ituna, Dauphin, Winnipeg, Regina, Komarno, and Mundare. Between 1930 and 1940 in the Mundare area alone, the Sisters instructed 514 children in eighty-two locations. By 1937, a total of 3,916 pupils were attending *ridni shkoly* across Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Ontario.

The first *ridna shkola* teachers were also teachers in the state school system. At a Ukrainian teachers' convention in Manitoba in 1923, they formed the General Committee for Ukrainian Schools, an interprovincial, nonsectarian, nonpartisan group with a mandate to coordinate and promote Ukrainian schools. The Committee was unable, however, to unite all the schools. In addition to coordinating language teachers, the Committee also tried to bring together teachers of choral singing, handicrafts, music, and theater arts.

In 1946, the first steps to develop a uniform method of teaching Ukrainian and of training Ukrainian teachers within the Orthodox community were taken by the Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon. Since 1957, the Ukrainian Educational Council of Canada has provided textbooks, guides, teaching aids, and advice to ensure a fairly uniform approach to instruction in all Ukrainian schools in Orthodox communities across Canada. With time, other groups that sponsored *ridni shkoly* also established their own coordinating bodies. In 1967, the Kraiovyi Tsentr Ukrainskykh Shkilnykh Rad (Coordinating Centre of Ukrainian School Councils) was formed to coordinate the work of all the exisiting coordinating bodies. Since the 1970s, the Educational Council of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians has topped the coordinating structure, issuing directives and attempting to stimulate publication of materials to make the teaching of Ukrainian subjects more uniform.

In 1975–6, a total of 114 Ukrainian schools were in operation in the four Western provinces, Ontario, and Quebec. Of those, 50 were located in Ontario, with 3,652 students. Manitoba had 25 schools, with 1,505 students; Alberta had 15, with 831 students; and Saskatchewan had 7, with 341 students. In Quebec, 656 students were enrolled in 9 schools, and in British Columbia, 248 attended 8 schools. A total of 568 teachers were employed, almost half of them (282) in Ontario. Since that time, the number of students has decreased somewhat, but has nevertheless remained significant. In the 1980s, the majority of Ukrainian private schools continued to operate at the elementary level, teaching the Ukrainian language to children seven to twelve years of age.

Secondary Education

Several Ukrainian Catholic religious orders have established secondary schools in Canada – three for boys and three for girls – with full-day programs from the ninth to the thirteenth grade, as follows: Saint Joseph's College in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, for boys, established in

1920 by the Christian Brothers (it ceased to operate in 1972; Saint Vladimir College for boys in Roblin, Manitoba, established by the Redemptorist Fathers; Saint Basil the Great College for boys in Toronto, established by the Basilian Fathers in 1962; Sacred Heart of Christ Academy for girls, in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, established by the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate in 1916; Immaculate Heart of Mary Academy for girls, in Winnipeg, established by the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate in 1957; Immaculate Virgin Mary Academy for girls, in Ancaster, Ontario, established by the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate in 1962.

In addition to these schools, secondary-level courses in Ukrainian language, history, geography, art, and culture (*Kursy ukrainoznavstva*, or Ukrainian-studies courses), often organized into four- or five-year programs, have been sponsored by churches and a number of community organizations. The best-known programs of this type have been those sponsored by the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainske Natsionalne Obiednannia (Ukrainian National Federation), the Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (SUM, Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada), and the urban branches of the Kongres Ukraintsiv Kanady (Ukrainian Canadian Congress). During the 1980s, there were approximately twenty-two such programs in various locations across Canada. Since the Second World War, the best Ukrainian programs for secondary school students have been in the cities where the postwar immigration has provided the majority of students.

The Bursa *Movement*

The roots of the *bursa* movement predate the First World War, but it was the abolition of bilingual schools on the Prairies during the war that gave the movement new impetus, especially once the Instytut imeny Petra Mohyly (Petro Mohyla Ukrainian Institute) was founded in Saskatoon in 1916. The *bursy* were a logical extension of the *ridni shkoly*, designed to cap the education of those who aspired to a higher level of education or were attending universities. Many of those who studied at the *bursy* later became leaders in the Ukrainian community.

In October 1918, the Instytut imeny Mykhaila Hrushevskoho (Mykhailo Hrushevsky Institute) was established in Edmonton, primarily by students and teachers in the Tovarystvo imeny Adama Kotska (Adam Kotsko Society). It opened with an enrollment of thirty-five students. In 1939, it published Dmytro Doroshenko's *Istoriia Ukrainy* (History of Ukraine). In 1949, the Institute was purchased by Robertson College and became the Saint John's Institute, keeping its ties to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The Metropolitan Sheptytsky Bursa opened in St. Boniface in 1917, but closed in 1924 for lack of support. The Instytut imeny Tarasa Shevchenka (Taras Shevchenko Institute) was established in Edmonton in 1918, but closed in 1922. The Markiian Shashkevych Bursa, affiliated with the Ukrainian Catholic Church, was established in Saskatoon in 1934, was renamed the Instytut imeny Mytropolyta Andriia Sheptytskoho (Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky Institute) in 1936, and has functioned successfully since then.

The most extensively developed *bursa* is Saint Vladimir's Institute. The first *bursa* in eastern Canada, it was organized in Toronto in 1945, in affiliation with the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. In 1962, it purchased buildings near the University of Toronto and, in 1980, the premises were expanded to include a library and archives, a museum, an art gallery, a theater, a large lecture and meeting hall, and several study, rehearsal and reading rooms. Since 1983, it has also housed the Ukrainsko-Kanadskyi Doslidcho-Dokumentatsiinyi Tsentr (Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre) and, since 1991, the headquarters of the Kanadske Tovarystvo Prykhylnykiv Rukhu (Canadian Friends of Rukh).

The Ukrainian *ridni shkoly* and *bursy* became inextricably linked with Ukrainian-Canadian efforts to preserve the Ukrainian language and culture in Canada by supplementing the formal education of the young. Today, the level of the *ridni shkoly* ranges from the very elementary to the highly sophisticated. The future of the Ukrainian schools depends on many factors, not least of which is their ability to recapture and hold the allegiance of nearly one million Ukrainians, many separated from their Ukrainian roots by three, four, or five generations and by ethnically mixed parentage.

Higher Education and Scholarship

From the end of the 1950s, efforts were undertaken to establish Ukrainian courses and programs at Canadian universities in cities with large concentrations of Ukrainians. In the 1960s and 1970s, a number of programs in Ukrainian language and literature were established at such institutions of higher learning as the University of Manitoba, the University of Alberta, the University of Saskatchewan, the University of Toronto, York University and the University of Ottawa. In 1976, the Kanadskyi Instytut Ukrainskykh Studiy (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies) was established at the University of Alberta, under the directorship of Manoly R. Lupul. The Institute undertook a vigorous publishing program of Ukrainian scholarly works. The second director of the Institute, Bohdan Krawchenko, a political scientist, is on leave in Ukraine (1991–5); Frank Sysyn is acting director.

Also in the 1970s, a partially endowed program in Ukrainian literature was established at the University of Ottawa, with Constantine Bida as its first director. In 1980, the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto was established, with Paul R. Magocsi as its first holder. In 1989, the University of Alberta established the Hutsulak Chair of Ukrainian Culture and Ethnography, with Bohdan Medwidsky as its first holder.

In 1978, the Toronto office of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies became editorial headquarters for the publication of the English-language version of the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*. The first general editors of the *Encyclopedia* were Volodymyr Kubijovyc, in Sarcelles, France, and George Luckyj, at the University of Toronto, who also established the first program in Ukrainian language and literature at the University. The current editor-in-chief is Danylo Husar Struk, professor of Ukrainian literature at the University of Toronto.

Many Ukrainians have pursued successful careers in the Canadian academic world, especially in the area of Ukrainian and East European studies. In addition to those already mentioned, among the distinguished professors active during the 1970s and 1980s were Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj, professor at the University of Manitoba, who stimulated the development of Ukrainian studies in Canada in the postwar years; Yar Slavutych and Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytsky, in Ukrainian literature and Ukrainian history, respectively, at the University of Alberta; Jaroslav Rozumnyj, in Ukrainian literature at the University of Manitoba; Orest Subtelny, in Ukrainian history at York University; Valerian Revutsky, in Ukrainian theater at the University of British Columbia; and Roman Serbyn, a historian and specialist on the famine of 1931–3 in Ukraine, at L'Université du Québec à Montréal.

There have also been many Ukrainian academics who have specialized in disciplines other than Ukrainian studies, although many of them, through their work, have maintained a close association with Ukrainian studies or the activities of the Ukrainian community. Walter Tarnopolsky served as Dean of the Law School at the University of Windsor, Vice President of York University, and, later, judge of the Appelate Court of Ontario. He was known for his writings and other work in the area of human rights. Radoslav Zuk, professor of architecture at McGill University, in Montreal, has designed many churches for Ukrainian communities in Canada, combining traditional Ukrainian and modern styles. Bohdan Bociurkiw, political

scientist at Carleton University, in Ottawa, and Peter Potichnyj, political scientist at McMaster University, in Hamilton, have made contributions to East European studies. In 1990, Wsevolod Isajiw, sociologist at the University of Toronto and specialist in the study of ethnic identity retention in the Ukrainian-Canadian and other ethnic groups, was appointed Professor and Director of the newly established R.F. Harney Professorship and Program in Ethnic, Immigration and Pluralism Studies at the University of Toronto. He previously served as President of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, a position to which Natalia Aponiuk, specialist in Ukrainian-Canadian literature at Saint Andrew's College, University of Manitoba, was elected in 1991. Also in the early 1990s, Ivan Jaworsky was appointed director of the newly created center for East European studies at the University of Waterloo, in Waterloo, Ontario.

Other distinguished Ukrainian scholars in Canadian institutions include Bohdan Klymasz, an ethnologist, who served as director of the Slavic Division at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa; Yurij Darewych, nuclear physicist at York University; Peter Smylski, professor of dentistry at the University of Toronto and inventor of new oral surgery techniques; Walter Bobechko, orthopedic surgeon who invented the hip brace for crippled children; and Wasyl Janischewskyj, professor of electrical engineering at the University of Toronto, whose research on harnessing the electricity produced by lightning is known throughout the world.

Scholars in the field of Ukrainian studies meet at the annual conferences of the Canadian Association of Slavists. The Association includes a chapter on Ukrainian Studies, which contributes its own program to the meetings of the Association. A number of Ukrainian scholars have served as presidents and members of the executive of the Association, and many publish scholarly articles in the Association's journal, *Canadian Slavonic Papers*. Many scholars have also participated in the work of the Ukrainska Vilna Akademiia Nauk (UVAN, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences) and the Naukove Tovarystvo imeny Shevchenka (Shevchenko Scientific Society) in Canada. Some are also members of the American-based Ukrainske Istorychne Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Historical Society) and the Ukrainska Asotsiiatsiia Universytetskykh Profesoriv (Ukrainian American Association of University Professors). In 1990, a number of Ukrainian-Canadian scholars joined the newly established Mizhnarodna Asotsiiatsiia Ukrainistiv (International Association of Ukrainists), with headquarters in Kiev.

Cultural Life

Language Spoken

The use of Ukrainian as the language of communication among Ukrainians in Canada has been decreasing and will probably continue to do so. The impact on the community has been obvious, as English has increasingly become the primary language in organizations and churches. The Ukrainian language has assumed a certain symbolic value: conversations and public addresses often begin, and sometimes end, in Ukrainian, and English speech is occasionally accented with Ukrainian words of particular significance, such as, *hromada* (community), *Ukraina* (Ukraine), *dido* (grandfather), *baba* (grandmother). The practical, everyday use of Ukrainian, however, has been much curtailed. Nonetheless, this reality has not resulted in an abandonment of the Ukrainian language in Canada; rather, it has stimulated efforts, through structures such as the bilingual and Saturday-school programs or in conjunction with some of the youth organizations, to ensure at least a solid core of Ukrainophones in Canada. The influx of Ukrainians from Poland in the 1980s did not contribute substantially to an invigoration of Ukrainian language use, since most of these immigrants tend to

communicate among themselves in Polish. The emergence of an independent Ukraine in 1991, however, has stimulated a renewed interest in the knowledge and use of Ukrainian among many young people.

The Arts

The larger Ukrainian communities in Canada sponsor festivals, concerts, commemorations, and art exhibits on a routine basis. Ukrainian festivals are held annually in different parts of the country and provide an important venue for performing troupes and for the exhibition and sale of folk art and fine art. Many of these events take place in the context of the general, English-speaking Canadian milieu. Ukrainians participate in a variety of interethnic festivals, including Heritage Days, in Edmonton; Folkfest, in Saskatoon; Mosaic, in Regina; Folklorama, in Winnipeg; and Caravan, in Toronto. In addition, they stage a number of their own festivals, such as the Pysanka Festival, in Vegreville; the Vesna Festival, in Saskatoon; and the Ukrainian National Festival, in Dauphin.

Folk arts and crafts are particularly popular among Ukrainian Canadians. In fact, traditional Ukrainian handicrafts and folk arts are often regarded with reverence. By far the most widely practiced folk arts are embroidery and the making of *pysanky* (Ukrainian Easter eggs). The latter, in fact, has started to gain popularity among the general population in western Canada (and to a lesser extent, in central Canada) as a craft activity.

The most popular performing groups among Ukrainian Canadians are folk-dancing troupes and choirs. In the mid-1980s, there were estimated to be approximately two hundred Ukrainian dancing troupes in Canada, involving as many as ten thousand people. The vast majority of these groups are in the Prairie provinces, where they have been organized into provincial dance associations. Some of the larger Ukrainian dancing groups, such as Shumka, of Edmonton, and Rusalka, of Winnipeg, operate on a semiprofessional level. There is also a large number of Ukrainian choirs in Canada. The Vesnivka girls' choir, directed by Kvitka Zorych-Kondracki, won first prizes in a Canadian national competition of choirs. The Ukrainian choirs are organized nationwide in the Ukrainian Choral Federation of Canada. Ukrainian popular music ensembles can also be found throughout the country, commonly playing either in a country-and-western-influenced style or in a style reminiscent of the contemporary *estradna* (stage) music common in Ukraine.

Several Ukrainian Canadians have become radio and television entertainers popular with the general Canadian public. A contemporary entertainer is Luba Goy, an actress and comedian who stars in the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's radio (and, currently, television) program "Royal Canadian Air Farce." From the 1950s to the 1970s, "Juliette" (Juliette Sysak [Cavazzi]), Canada's first singer–television star, achieved enormous popularity.

A number of Ukrainians have become prominent in the area of classical music, including composers George Fiala, Lubomyr Melnyk, and Zenoby Lawryshyn; orchestra conductors Volodymyr Kolesnyk and Orest Kovaliw; violin virtuoso Stephen Staryk, a professor of music and first violin with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra; pianists and music professors Ireneus and Luba Zuk; piano virtuoso Christina Petrowska; and Roxolana Roslak, opera singer with the Canadian Opera Company. Classical music groups include the Lysenko Opera Chorus, the Musicus Bortnianskii group in Toronto, and the Ukrainian Canadian Opera Association.

Ukrainian theater in Canada has had an uneven history. Before the Second World War, amateur theater groups were widespread in a largely immigrant and Ukrainian-language milieu. After the arrival of the post–Second World War immigrants, Ukrainian-language theater became somewhat more professional, while purely amateur theatrical activity declined. Unable to sustain itself on a permanent basis, this new activity remained sporadic for several

decades. Some English-language work has recently been undertaken, notably by Ted Galay. In the late 1980s, a group of young people established the Avant-Garde Ukrainian Theater in Toronto. In the general Canadian theatrical milieu, Peter Boretski and Lubomyr Mykytiuk became known for their work as actors and directors.

Ukrainian-Canadian writers worked almost exclusively in the Ukrainian language until after the Second World War. The acknowledged masterpiece of this early era of literature is the epic, three-volume, *Syny zemli* (Sons of the Soil), by Illia Kiriak, which deals with the lives of the first immigrant settlers. After 1945, a number of writers, most of them members of the Slovo (The Word) literary society, continued to write in Ukrainian. Notable among them were Ulas Samchuk and Oleh Zujewskyj. A substantial body of English-language literature on Ukrainian-Canadian themes has also emerged during this period, by authors such as poet Andrew Suknaski; playwright George Ryga; novelists and short-story writers Janice Kulyk Keefer, Vera Lysenko, and Gloria Kupchenko Frolick; and writers Maara Haas and Myrna Kostash.

There have been many painters and sculptors among Ukrainian Canadians. William Kurelek, a painter, is considered one of Canada's artistic geniuses, and Leo Mol (Molodozhanyn), a sculptor, achieved renown both in Canada and internationally. Others who have achieved recognition are painter and graphic artist Myron Levytsky, painter Peter Shostak, painter Natalka Husar, and architect Radoslav Zuk. The work of Ukrainian artists is supported in part by exhibits at galleries such as the Kanadiisko-Ukrainska Mystetska Fundatsiia (Canadian Ukrainian Arts Foundation), in Toronto; the Oseredok Ukrainskoi Kultury i Osvity (Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre "Oseredok"), in Winnipeg, and the Ukrainskyi Muzei Kanady (Ukrainian Museum of Canada), in Saskatoon, as well as by private dealers.

Ukrainian Canadians are also engaged in film production. A number of Ukrainian-language feature films were prepared in the postwar era under the auspices of Walter Wasik, of Oshawa, including *Nikoly ne zabudu* (I Shall Never Forget) and *Marichka*. Greater artistic success was realized in short works by film-makers such as Halya Kuchmij, in her *The Strongest Man in the World* and *Laughter in My Soul*, and John Paskievich, in his *Ted Baralyk's Grocery*. A particularly noteworthy effort in the documentary field is *Harvest of Despair* (1984), which deals with the Great Famine of 1932–3 in Ukraine. Produced by Slavko Nowytsky and Yuri Luhovy under the sponsorship of the Ukrainian Famine Research Committee, the film received nine first prizes in national and international film competitions. The number of Canadian films with Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian themes or Ukrainian protagonists, such as *Something about Love* and *Getting Married in Buffalo Jump*, has been growing and is likely to continue to grow. Among Ukrainians who have excelled in the general Canadian film industry is Roman Kroitor, film producer and director, who coproduced the famous multiscreen film *Labyrinth* and helped to develop IMAX.

Sports

Ukrainian Canadians have fully participated in sports in Canada, both actively and as spectators, and have left their imprint on the Canadian sports record. Canadian hockey players of Ukrainian background who are included in the Hockey Hall of Fame are Terry Sawchuk, all-time great hockey goalie; Bill Mosienko, who scored the three fastest goals in hockey history; John Bucyk; Mike Bossy; and goalie John Bower.

In other sports, Michael Slipchuk was the Canadian Men's 1992 Figure Skating Champion; Orest Meleschuk, Ed Lukowich, and Ed Werenich were all World Champions in curling; Steve Podborski was World Champion downhill skier; football kicker Zenon Andrusyshen

set Canadian records; Jerome Drayton was one of Canada's best marathon runners; and Bill Werbeniuk was the 1973 North American snooker champion.

In 1972, Ukrainian-Canadian Donna Sawicky won the title of Miss Canada.

The Media

The Ukrainian-Canadian community has produced a wide variety of periodical publications. In the period of about one hundred years since Ukrainians first settled in Canada, at least 235 Ukrainian periodicals, including weeklies, biweeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, and so on, have appeared in this country. Many are the organs of institutions, such as churches and organizations, particularly political-ideological organizations or groups affiliated with them. Many of these periodicals existed for only a short time. In addition, numerous circulars, newsletters, and bulletins have been published by parishes and other local groups; some have survived for many years, but others disappeared after brief runs.

The largest of the Ukrainian-Canadian periodical publications, which, with only one exception, have survived into the 1990s, are as follows (in the order of their first publication dates): *Kanadiiskyi Farmer* (Canadian Farmer), the first Ukrainian weekly published in Canada, since 1903, in Winnipeg. It was amalgamated with the *Ukrainskyi Holos* (Ukrainian Voice) in 1981. The latter first appeared in 1910, and became associated with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church as the official organ of the pro-Orthodox Soiuz Ukraintsiv Samostiinykiv (SUS, Ukrainian Self-Reliance League). *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* (Ukrainian Workers' News) began publication in 1919 in Winnipeg and served as the official organ of the communist Tovarystvo Ukrainskyi Robitnycho-Farmerskyi Dim (TURF Dim, Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association), which later became the Tovarystvo Obiednanykh Ukraintsiv Kanady (TOUK, Association of United Ukrainian Canadians). It was succeeded after the Second World War by two publications, produced in Toronto, that merged into *Zhyttia i Slovo* (Life and Word), and then, in 1992, by the bilingual weekly *Ukrainskyi Vistnyk* (Ukrainian Herald). *Kanadiiskyi Ranok* (Canadian Morning), a biweekly published by the Ukrainians of the United Church of Canada, first appeared in 1920 in Winnipeg and was renamed the *Evanhelskyi Ranok* (Evangelical Morning) in 1961. *Holos Spasytelia* (The Redeemer's Voice), a monthly, has been published since 1923 by the Redemptorist Fathers in Yorkton, Saskatchewan. *Novyi Shliakh* (New Pathway), a weekly, began publication in Edmonton in 1930 as the organ of the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF), but later moved to Saskatoon, Winnipeg, and then Toronto; an English-language section, with its own editor, is published monthly. *Ukrainski Visti* (Ukrainian Herald), a Ukrainian Catholic weekly, first appeared in 1931 in Edmonton; an English-language section, with its own editor, is published once a month. *Svitlo* (The Light), a biweekly, has been published by the Basilian Fathers since 1937, first in Mundare, Alberta, and later in Toronto. *Evanhelska Pravda* (Evangelical Truth), a monthly, has been published since 1940 by the Ukrainian Presbyterian Church in Toronto. *Homin Ukrainy* (Ukrainian Echo), a weekly, has appeared since 1948, published by the Liga Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine) in Toronto; it too has an English-language section with its own editor. *Nasha Meta* (Our Aim), a weekly, has been published since 1949 by the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy in Toronto. *Zhinochyi Svit* (Woman's World) a monthly published by the Ukrainian Women's Organization (UWO), first appeared in 1950, in Winnipeg. The weekly *Vilne Slovo* (Free Word) has been published in Toronto since 1956. *Promin* (The Ray) has been published monthly since 1960 by the Soiuz Ukrainok Kanady (SUK, Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada) in Winnipeg. The weekly *Postup* (Progress), published by the Ukrainian Catholics of the Winnipeg Archeparchy, first appeared in 1963. *Nasha Doroha* (Our Way), a monthly, has

been published since 1969 by the Liga Ukrainskykh Katolytskykh Zhinok (Ukrainian Catholic Women's League) in Winnipeg.

Many Ukrainian Canadians also read the Ukrainian-American daily *Svoboda* (Liberty), founded in 1893 in Jersey City, New Jersey, and its English-language publication, *The Ukrainian Weekly*.

Ukrainian Canadians in Edmonton, Winnipeg, and Toronto are served by daily radio broadcasts; weekly programs are offered in other parts of the country. A number of weekly television programs have been broadcast over the years on community cable networks; notable among them have been Toronto's children's program, *Titka Kvitka* (Aunt Kvitka), which ran for almost two decades, and, currently, two programs of news and interviews – *Svitohliad* (The Viewpoint), broadcast on Toronto's multilingual television channel, and *Kontakt* (Contact), broadcast on Toronto's City TV.

Among those who have excelled in the general Canadian media are Ivan Fecan, Vice President of CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) Television; Victor Malarek, host-journalist of the CBC's *The Fifth Estate* and writer for the national daily newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*; Halya Kuchmij, producer of religious programming for the CBC; and Christina Pochmursky, business news commentator on the CBC network.

Social and Political Life

The dynamics of the Ukrainian Canadian community derive in large part from the organizations its members have founded over the course of the twentieth century, most of them associated with religion and political ideology. The organizational structure of the community developed around five major religious and ideological blocs: Catholic, Orthodox, liberal nationalist, nationalist, and pro-communist. Table 4 plots these dominant ideological and religious blocs alongside their affiliated organizations and their major official or unofficial publications.

Altogether, there have been more than one hundred various Ukrainian organizations and associations in Canada, and many of them have had local chapters. The categorization of these groups is not easy because their religious, ideological-political, and other associations often overlap. Nevertheless, they can be classified roughly under the following headings: ideological-political, religious and church-related, women's, youth, students', educational, scholarly, general cultural, professional, community service, veterans', coordinating or umbrella organizations, and others. What follows is not an exhaustive list, but a sampling of the major organizations in each category. It should be noted that some of these organizations no longer exist.

Ideological-political organizations include the following: the original nationalist organization, Ukrainske Natsionalne Obiednannia (UNO, Ukrainian National Federation); the postwar nationalist organizations, including Liga Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine), the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Orhanizatsiia Oborony Chotyriokh Svobid Ukrainy (Organization for the Defense of the Four Freedoms of Ukraine), and Canadian Friends for the Liberation of Ukraine; democratic nationalist groups originating in Eastern Ukraine, including Soiuz Ukraintsiv Zhertv Rosiiskoho Komunistychnoho Teroru (Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror); the supporters of monarchical rule, Soiuz Hetmantsiv Derzhavnykiv (United Hetman Organization); communist organizations, including the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (interwar) and the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (TOUK, its post–Second World War successor).

Religious and church-related associations include the Bratstvo Ukraintsiv Katolykiv Kanady

Table 4 Organizational structure of the Ukrainian-Canadian community, selected examples

Major blocs	Main group	Affiliated organizations: Women's affiliate	Affiliated organizations: Youth wing	Major publication
Catholic	Bratstvo Ukraintsiv Katolykiv Kanady (BUK, Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood)	Liga Ukrainskykh Katolytskykh Zhinok (LUKZh, Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada)	Ukrainske Katolytske Yunatstvo (UKIu, Ukrainian Catholic Youth)	*Postup; Ukrainski Visti*
Orthodox	Soiuz Ukraintsiv Samostiinykiv (SUS, Ukrainian Self-Reliance League)	Soiuz Ukrainok Kanady (SUK, Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada)	Soiuz Ukrainskoi Molodi Kanady (SUMK, Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association)	*Ukrainskyi Holos*
Liberal nationalist	Ukrainske Natsionalne Obiednannia (UNO, Ukrainian National Federation)	Orhanizatsiia Ukrainok Kanady (OUK, Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada)	Molod Ukrainskoho Natsionalnoho Obiednannia (MUNO, Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada)	*Novyi Shliakh*
Nationalist	Liga Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (LVU, Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine)	Obiednannia Zhinok Ligy Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (OZhLVU, Women's Association of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine)	Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (SUM, Ukrainian Youth Association)	*Homin Ukrainy*
Pro-Communist	Tovarystvo Obiednanykh Ukraintsiv Kanady (TOUK, Association of United Ukrainian Canadians)	—	—	*Ukrainskyi Vistnyk*

(BUK, Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood), the pro-Orthodox Soiuz Ukraintsiv Samostiinykiv (SUS, Ukrainian Self-Reliance League), and the Ukrainska Samostiina Yevanhelska Hromada (Ukrainian Independent Evangelical Council; Protestant).

Women's organizations include the following; the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (formerly "Committee") Women's Council; Soiuz Ukrainok Kanady (SUK, Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada); Orhanizatsiia Ukrainok Kanady (OUK, Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada); Obiednannia Zhinok Ligy Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (OZhLVU, Women's Association of the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine); Liga Ukrainskykh Katolytskykh Zhinok (LUKZh, Ukrainian Catholic Women's League); Zhinochyi Viddil Soiuzu Hetmantsiv Derzhavnykiv (Women's Division of the United Hetman Organization); and the Ukrainian Professional Women's Association.

Youth organizations include the following: Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (SUM, Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada); Plast, Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Plast, Ukrainian

Youth Association); Molod Ukrainskoho Natsionalnoho Obiednannia (MUNO, Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada); Rada Ukrainskoi Molodi Kanady (RUMK, Ukrainian Canadian Youth Council); Ukrainske Katolytske Yunatstvo (UKIu, Ukrainian Catholic Youth); Soiuz Ukrainskoi Molodi Kanady (SUMK, Ukrainian Canadian Youth Association); and Orhanizatsiia Demokratychnoi Ukrainskoi Molodi (ODUM, Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association).

Students' organizations include the following: Soiuz Ukrainskykh Studentiv Kanady (SUSK, Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union); Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Studentiv imeny Mikhnovskoho (TUSM, Ukrainian Student Organization of Mikhnovsky); Ilarion, Obiednannia Pravoslavnykh Studentiv (Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Student Organization "Ilarion"); Ukrainske Katolytske Akademichne Tovarystvo "Obnova" ("Rebirth" Association of Ukrainian Catholic Students); Obiednannia Ukrainskykh Akademichnykh Tovarystv "Zarevo" ("The Dawning" Association of Ukrainian Academic Societies); "Alpha-Omega"; and Ukrainske Studentske Tovarystvo "Kameniari" ("The Stone-cutters" Ukrainian Student Association of Saskatoon).

Among educational associations are the Obiednannia Ukrainskykh Pedahohiv Kanady (OUP, Ukrainian Teachers' Federation of Canada); Obiednannia Uchyteliv Ukrainskoi Movy Derzhavnykh Shkil Kanady (Association of Public School Teachers of the Ukrainian Language); Eparkhiialna Shkilna Rada u Vinnipegu (Eparchial School Council of Winnipeg of the Ukrainian Catholic Church); Zahalna Ukrainska Shkilna Rada Ukrainskoi Hreko-Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy (General Council of the Ukrainian School of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church); and Ukrainske Uchytelske Tovarystvo (Association of Ukrainian Teachers) in Toronto.

Scholarly associations include the Naukove Tovarystvo imeny Shevchenka (NTSh, Shevchenko Scientific Society of Canada); Ukrainska Akademiia Nauk (UVAN, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences); Ukrainsko-Kanadskyi Doslidcho-Dokumentatsiinyi Tsentr (Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre; formerly the Komitet Doslidzhennia Holodu v Ukraini [Ukrainian Famine Research Committee]), in Toronto; the Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation; and Instytut Doslidiv Volyni (Research Institute of Volyn).

General cultural associations include the following: Soiuz Ukrainskykh Narodnykh Domiv (Ukrainian National Home Association); Ukrainskyi Kanadiiskyi Instytut Prosvity ("Enlightenment" Canadian Ukrainian Institute); Oseredok Ukrainskoi Kultury i Osvity (Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre), of Winnipeg; Obiednannia Ukrainskykh Pysmennykiv v Eksyli, Slovo ("The Word" Association of Ukrainian Writers in Exile).

Among professional associations are the following: Ukrainske Likarske Tovarystvo Pivnichnoi Ameryky (Ukrainan Medical Association of North America); Obiednannia Ukrainskykh Inzheneriv i Tekhnikiv (Ukrainian Association of Engineers and Technicians of Canada); Obiednannia Veterynarnykh Likariv (Ukrainian Veterinary Medical Association); Ukrainske Tekhnichne Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Technical Society of Canada); Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Pravnykiv (Association of Ukrainian Lawyers); Spilka Ukrainskykh Zhurnalistiv Kanady (Ukrainian Journalists' Association of Canada); Obiednannia Ukrainskykh Bibliotekariv Kanady (Association of Ukrainian Librarians of Canada); and Soiuz Ukrainskykh Profesionalistiv i Pidpryiemtsiv (Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation).

Community-service associations include the following: Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Soiuz (UNS, Ukrainian National Association [UNA]); Fond Dopomohy Ukraintsiv Kanady (Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund); Suspilna Sluzhba Ukraintsiv Kanady (Ukrainian Canadian Social Services; Kanadska Ukrainska Imigratsiina Sluzhba (Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society); Zapomohove Tovarystvo Sviatoho Mykolaia (Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of Saint Nicholas; Ukrainskyi Bratskyi Soiuz (Ukrainian Fraternal Association; Ukrainske Tovarystvo Vzaiemnoi Pomochi v Kanadi (Ukrainian Fraternal Society of Canada);

Robitnycho-Zapomohove Tovarystvo (Workers' Benevolent Association); and Kanadske Tovarystvo Prykhylnykiv Rukhu (Canadian Friends of Rukh).

Banking and money-lending associations include the Soiuz Ukraintsiv Samostiinykiv (SUS Ukrainian Self-Reliance League); Fundatsiia "Prometei" (Prometheus Foundation); and Fundatsiia Soiuzu Ukraintsiv Samostiinykiv (SUS Foundation of Canada).

There are also various associations of Ukrainian veterans, such as the Soiuz Ukrainskykh Kanadskykh Veteraniv (Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association); Korolivskyi Kanadskyi Legion – Ukrainskyi Viddil (Royal Canadian Legion – Ukrainian Branch); Ukrainska Striletska Hromada (USH, Ukrainian War Veterans' Association); Bratstvo Karpatskykh Sichovykiv (Brotherhood of the Carpathian Sich); Tovarystvo Buvshykh Voiakiv UPA (Society of Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army); Bratstvo Kolyshnikh Voiakiv Pershoi Dyvizii Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Armii (Brotherhood of Former Soldiers of the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army); and Obiednannia Buvshykh Voiakiv Polskykh Zbroinykh Syl (Union of Ukrainian Veterans of the Polish Armed Forces).

There are many other associations as well. Some reflect regional interests, such as the Obiednannia Lemkiv Kanady (Canadian Lemko Association) and Tovarystvo Volyn (Volyn Association); others are sports-related, such as the Sportove Tovarystvo "Ukraina" ("Ukraine" Sports Association) and the Ukrainsko-Kanadiiske Sportove Tovarystvo "Tryzub" ("Trident" Ukrainian Canadian Sports Association).

These organizations (with the exception of the Association of the Ukrainian Canadians) are represented officially by the Ukrainian Canadian Congress (UCC; formerly the Ukrainian Canadian Committee), with headquarters in Winnipeg and an information bureau in Ottawa. The UCC is itself a member of the Svitovyi Kongres Vilnykh Ukraintsiv (SKVU, World Congress of Free Ukrainians), which coordinates the activities of Ukrainian organizations in all countries of settlement. Many individual organizations also have international coordinating structures, for example, the Svitova Federatsiia Ukrainskykh Zhinochykh Orhanizatsiy (SFUZhO, World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Associations), the Kraiovyi Tsentr Ukrainskykh Shkilnykh Rad (Coordinating Centre of Ukrainian School Councils), the Tsentralnyi Soiuz Ukrainskykh Studentiv (TSeSUS. Central Union of Ukrainian Students), and others.

The major religious and ideological blocs maintained strong nationwide structures into the 1970s, and represented the major focal points for the community activities of that period. More recently, however, they have had difficulty sustaining the dynamism that had initially fueled their growth and attracted young members. Consequently, with the death of older members, their ranks have begun to thin out. New organizational growth within the Ukrainian community has occurred mainly in nonsectarian and nondenominational groups such as the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation and the Ukrainian Canadian Social Services. In the late 1970s and 1980s, this trend became particularly obvious with the creation of dance groups and cultural societies that had only marginal ties with mainstream Ukrainian organizations. This period also saw the growth of activity-specific community groups, such as Manitoba's Batkivskyi Komitet Spryiannia Ukrainskoi Movy (Parents for Ukrainian Education), the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society, the Albertske Tovarystvo Ukrainskoho Tantsiu (Alberta Ukrainian Dance Association), the Canadian Friends of Rukh, and others.

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

Many of the recent developments and changes within the Ukrainian community in Canada have been in direct or indirect response to long-standing concerns. Some of the major issues

facing Ukrainians in Canada are presented below, along with an indication of the community's response to them.

Language Retention

The connection between language and identity has long been appreciated by Ukrainians in Canada. Accordingly, they have made great efforts to establish and maintain structures that foster language retention.

In the earlier part of the century, bilingual schools were established in the Prairie provinces, but by the end of the First World War, following a wave of nativist hostility throughout Canada, they were all closed. As discussed earlier, their function as an agency for teaching the Ukrainian language was subsequently taken over by a network of Saturday schools known as *ridni shkoly*. From the 1920s to the 1950s, the *ridna shkola* was a standard component of the programming of almost every Ukrainian organization. Since the 1960s, the schools have experienced significant declines in number and attendance. The postwar immigration established new Saturday schools and revitalized Ukrainian-language instruction, but this affected only the larger cities and did not reverse the declining trend among the schools established in the prewar period. In the 1940s and 1950s, some cities saw the introduction of Ukrainian-language instruction at the secondary school and university levels. A particularly significant development in language-maintenance efforts was the reintroduction of Ukrainian–English bilingual education in the public school systems of the Prairie provinces in the 1970s. With Ukrainian as the language of instruction for half the school day, the bilingual program has been successful in developing the linguistic skills of a new generation of Ukrainian speakers. The program, however, has managed to attract only a portion of Ukrainian-Canadian children of school age, and its success has been limited, since the use of Ukrainian is typically not reinforced at home. There is no comparable program in Ontario. No efforts have been made to establish Ukrainian–French bilingual schools in Quebec (specifically, in Montreal), in spite of informal signals from the Parti Québécois administrations of the 1970s and 1980s that they would support such an undertaking.

It is widely recognized that although the bilingual-school program and, to a lesser extent, the Saturday-school program have provided an institutional base for learning the language, Ukrainian-language use as a widespread means of communication in Canada has declined dramatically and will probably continue to do so. The resulting impact on the community has been obvious, as English is used increasingly within organizational and church structures. Nevertheless, many individuals and sectors of the community have managed to retain their Ukrainian identity, maintaining that this is possible without a knowledge of the language. Still, the *ridni shkoly*, the Saturday schools, secondary school and university courses, and other educational programs developed over the years by the three waves of Ukrainian immigration, combined with the arrival of new immigrants from Eastern Europe since the 1980s and a renewed interest in Ukraine since it became independent, have made possible the pockets of Ukrainian-language development and creative activity that are currently evident in Canada, particularly in Toronto.

Immigration and Social Services

Ukrainian Canadians have always sought to assist their fellow countrymen in concrete ways. One of the most long-standing efforts has been the offer of assistance to potential immigrants. During the interwar period, the Tovarystvo Opiky nad Ukrainskymy Pereselentsiamy imeny Sviatoho Rafaila v Kanadi (Saint Raphael Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Association) was active in this regard. After the Second World War, the Ukrainske Tsentralne

Dopomohove Biuro (Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau, CURB) also offered help to Ukrainians seeking to emigrate to the West. At the same time, organizations such as the Ukrainskyi Zolotyi Khrest (Ukrainian Gold Cross) aided Ukrainians in crisis situations. Two groups emerged after the Second World War to deal specifically with such issues: the Ukrainian Canadian Social Services, established in 1962, which succeeded CURB, and the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society, established in 1974 and incorporated in 1977. The Social Services organization has sent relief, primarily in the form of clothing and food, to former Gulag prisoners and their families, to Chornobyl disaster victims, and to refugees from the former Yugoslavia. They have also provided new immigrants with counselling and social services in the Ukrainian language. The Immigrant Aid Society acts as a sponsoring agency for Ukrainian immigrants coming to Canada. It has also lobbied the Canadian government for policy changes regarding Ukrainian refugees and immigration to Canada. One of the main resolutions passed at the annual convention of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress in 1992 mandated the UCC to set up a special committee and to allocate additional funds to provide assistance to Ukrainian refugees from the former Yugoslavia.

Ukrainian Canadians have also demonstrated great concern for the increasing number of elderly people in the community. Church and community groups have built a sizable number of apartment facilities and nursing homes for senior citizens.

Multiculturalism

Ukrainians were instrumental in having multiculturalism established as a state policy in Canada. After the official proclamation of the policy at the federal level in 1971, multicultural policies were also developed at the provincial and municipal levels. Ukrainians have been forceful spokespersons for multiculturalism and have voiced their concerns that the policy be actively applied and enforced. Although the policy has generated positive results, Ukrainians have also noted a number of shortcomings in its implementation. First and foremost is that multiculturalism, as a philosophy and a policy, has not been fully integrated into the mainstream structures of Canadian society. In addition, it is feared that the tendency on the part of multiculturalism officials, evident since the 1980s, to focus primarily on race relations may erode the programs dealing with heritage maintenance. Funding for multicultural programs by all three levels of government was capped or rolled back during the 1980s as budgets were tightened. Finally, Ukrainians are concerned by attacks on multiculturalism by such bodies as the Spicer Commission and by individuals and groups who believe that a pluralistic social policy is not beneficial for Canada.

Community and Organizational Development

Concerns about the vitality and relevance of existing Ukrainian community structures have led to criticism and reevaluation of the nature of the organizational activities of the Ukrainian community, particularly of the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. The Ukrainskyi Komitet Suspilno-Hromadskoho Rozvoiu (Ukrainian Community Development Committee) has proposed a basic reshaping of the UCC and new or rejuvenated UCC Provincial Councils in the western provinces. In 1992, several youth organizations succeeded in having the annual UCC congress accept a resolution to modify its structure in order to allow younger representation and greater democratization.

Public Image

Ukrainians have always been sensitive to the manner in which they are regarded by mainstream Canadian society. This concern developed in the early period of Ukrainian settlement

in Canada as a response to vitriolic attacks by nativist Canadians, who charged that Ukrainians were unsuitable immigrant stock and that their presence in Canada would lead to some form of cultural debasement. Ukrainian leaders stressed the commitment of their people to Canada, educating their children to become good Canadians and to improve themselves materially and spiritually. In the interwar era, Ukrainians were suspect within Canadian society because of existing affiliations with Bolshevism, both in the Old World, with the formation of the Ukrainian SSR, and in Canada, where some Ukrainians maintained a high profile within the Communist Party of Canada and the pro-communist Ukrainian Labour–Farmer Temple Association, which actively promoted Bolshevist ideals. Ukrainians again stressed their loyalty to Canada and Canadian ideals and ostracized the radicals among them. Prior to, during, and after the Second World War, Ukrainian nationalists in Canada were accused of harboring pro-Fascist and pro-German sympathies. Ukrainians responded again by citing their loyalty to Canada and by attempting to explain the complexities of the contemporary Ukrainian political situation.

The general social acceptance of Ukrainians in Canada improved substantially in the 1950s and 1960s. Ukrainians had by and large been economically integrated into Canadian society and were generally regarded as stalwart peasants who had done well for themselves in Canada. Their leaders could point to numerous "success stories" as evidence of their progress in the New World. Moreover, during the Cold War period, the Ukrainian community's strongly anti-Soviet posture was proof of its commitment to democracy.

The community, however, came under scrutiny in the late 1970s by a Canadian-born Ukrainian, Myrna Kostash, in her book *All of Baba's Children*, for many of its self-serving and uncritical attitudes.The book opened the doors for a general reassessment of Ukrainian life in Canada. This process was accelerated in 1985, when the Ukrainian community exploded in anger and protest following the creation of a Royal Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals (the Deschênes Commission). At the crux of the controversy surrounding the Commission were indiscriminate charges that up to three thousand war criminals and Nazis were being sheltered by the Ukrainian community in Canada. The situation precipitated the examination of a host of sensitive and complicated issues, such as Ukrainian–Jewish relations, the social and political orientation and activities of Ukrainians during the 1930s and 1940s, events in Ukraine during the Second World War, and the actual record of the Division Galizien. The final report of the Commission eventually confirmed what the community had maintained from the start – there were only a handful of Ukrainians in Canada who might even be suspected of potential war criminality, and none of the charges could be substantiated. By that time, however, public perception had been skewed by indiscriminate and inaccurate media reports.

Ties with Ukrainians in Other Countries

Since the beginning of their settlement in Canada, Ukrainians have maintained some form of ties with Ukraine and with their compatriots in other lands. Before the First World War, Ukrainian Canadians relied on Western Ukrainian sources to supply them with Ukrainian-language publications and newspapers, as well as with models for how to establish their community organizations. Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky toured the Ukrainian settlements in Canada in 1910.

Ukrainians in Canada also interacted with Ukrainians in the United States, the latter supplying the first Ukrainian priests to come to Canada as well as the newspaper *Svoboda* (Liberty), which served the pioneer settlers in Canada until they began to publish their own newspapers. In addition, in the early part of the century, a number of Ukrainian Americans

moved from mining and industrial centers in the United States to resettle on farmlands in Canada. There was no comparable transmigration by Ukrainian Canadians, although some passed through the United States as migrant laborers, attempting to raise capital for farming operations in Canada.

In the interwar era, Ukrainian Canadians continued to look to Western Ukraine for information, literature, and publications. At the same time, they supplied moral and, particularly, financial assistance to Ukraine. In addition to sending money to family members, they raised funds for a war invalids' hospital in Lviv, supplied aid for humanitarian needs, and assisted various causes, both overt and clandestine, such as Ukrainian schools and the Ukrainska Viiskova Orhanizatsiia (UVO, Ukrainian Military Organization) in Western Ukraine. Some attempts were also made by Ukrainians in Ukraine, most notably by Ukrainian nationalists, to develop influence among Ukrainian Canadians. In 1928 and 1929, Yevhen Konovalets, leader of the Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), toured Canada, and, later, several of his subordinates played a key role in helping to establish the Ukrainian National Federation. Also in 1928, the Ukrainska Partiia Sotsiialistiv-Revoliutsioneriv (Ukrainian Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries) sent Mykyta Mandryka to Canada as an organizer, but his efforts met with only modest success. The Ukrainian monarchists similarly sought to extend their influence throughout Canada and sent Hetman Danylo Skoropadsky there in 1937. The Ukrainian-Canadian communist Left had a substantially different relationship with Ukraine. It received literature, music, and films from the Ukrainian SSR for its organizational use and occasionally sent delegations to view the progress of the so-called Ukrainian workers' state. At the same time, it sponsored the Tovarystvo Dopomohy Vyzvolnomu Rukhovi na Zakhidniy Ukraini (TODOVYRNAZU, Society for the Aid of the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine), a support group for the communist Left in Galicia and Volhynia.

During the Second World War, the Soiuz Ukrainskykh Kanadskykh Voiakiv (Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association, UCSA) established a club in London, England, which became an important center for Ukrainians in Europe at that time. After the war, the UCSA members were instrumental in organizing relief efforts for Ukrainian refugees in Western Europe and in helping them to emigrate to Canada.

Ukrainian Canadians have participated in international Ukrainian organizations in a meaningful way only in the postwar period. In 1951, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress became one of the founding members of the Pan-Amerykanska Ukrainska Konferentsiia (Pan-American Ukrainian Conference) and delegated the Reverend Wasyl Kushnir to be its president. Ukrainian Canadians have also played an important role in the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations.

One of the major ways in which Ukrainian Canadians have sought to help their countrymen is through the cultivation of favorable public opinion in Canada for Ukrainian political aspirations in Ukraine and through lobbying efforts to promote Canadian diplomatic action on human rights and humanitarian issues in Ukraine. Over the course of this century, Ukrainian Canadians have staged political campaigns in connection with the Ukrainian independence struggle (1917–20); the Polish "pacification" of Ukrainians in Galicia (1930); the annexation of Western Ukraine by the USSR (1939 and 1945); the Soviet suppression of intellectual freedoms and religious rights, particularly during the 1970s and early 1980s; and the aftermath of the nuclear accident at Chornobyl in 1986. In addition, in 1991–2, they lobbied internationally for intervention on behalf of the Ukrainian minority in the former Yugoslavia.

Formal and informal ties between Ukrainian Canadians and Soviet Ukrainians had been growing since the 1960s, as the Ukrainian SSR became more open to tourism, study, and

trade, and increased dramatically with the onset of perestroika. Soviet Ukrainian painters had their works exhibited and sold in Canada at a time when exhibiting or selling art with strong Ukrainian themes was still forbidden by the Soviet regime.

Canadian cities that are formally "twinned" with cities in Ukraine (Sister Cities) include Vancouver, with Odessa; Regina, with Poltava; Winnipeg, with Lviv; and Toronto, with Kiev. Academic exchange programs exist between the University of Saskatchewan, in Saskatoon, and the University of Chernivtsi, as well as between the University of Alberta, in Edmonton, and the University of Lviv. A substantial number of Ukrainian dancers from Canada have studied at the Virsky School in Kiev.

The era of Ukrainian independence has seen an increase in tourism, an expansion of economic and institutional ties, academic connections and exchanges, exchanges of performing groups and cultural activists, and the formation of organizations such as the Canadian Friends of Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine, and the International Association of Ukrainists, with headquarters in Kiev. Some organizations that had been proscribed during the Soviet period and reestablished in Canada and the United States, such as the Shevchenko Scientific Society and Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization, have now been revived in Ukraine. A number of publications that were being produced in Canada and the United States during the Soviet period are now being published in Ukraine. As Ukraine continues to develop its independent state, one can expect such ties and joint activities to increase.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

The events that have taken place in the Ukrainian-Canadian community since 1982 testify to both the community's viability and its changing character. Among the most important events was the commemoration, in 1983, of the fiftieth anniversary of the artificially created Great Famine of 1932–3: it conveyed to the Canadian public the extent of the horror suffered by Ukraine in the twentieth century. In this respect, the documentary film *Harvest of Despair*, produced in Canada in 1984, was of special significance. It was shown on national television in Canada, the United States, and several other countries, and was aired nationally in Ukraine a few days before the country's referendum on independence in 1991.

Other significant events included several Community Development Conferences in the Prairie provinces, which looked to broaden the scope of the Ukrainian community by encouraging the development of activity-specific groups over adherence to the ideological-bloc approach to community structure. At the Second Wreath conference in Toronto, Ukrainian-Canadian women considered new approaches to their ethnicity.

The creation in 1985 and the subsequent proceedings of the Deschênes Commission inflamed passions in the Ukrainian community, but forced it to work together politically in the general Canadian political context. It was also at this time that Ray (Ramon) Hnatyshyn was appointed Governor General of Canada and that John Sopinka was appointed to the Supreme Court of Canada.

Throughout the 1980s, a number of former dissidents from Ukraine, some of whom had spent nearly thirty years in the Gulag, visited Canada. The Ukrainian community welcomed them with banquets, helped them financially, and arranged public appearances. The latter included meetings with government officials, which helped to strengthen the Canadian government's intervention in defense of human rights in Soviet Ukraine. Among the dissidents who visited Canada were Danylo Shumuk, a writer and the longest-imprisoned dissident; Yosyf Terelia, a Catholic activist; Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk, an Orthodox priest and religious activist; Mykola Rudenko, the head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group; Viacheslav Chornovil, a journalist; Mykhailo and Bohdan Horyn, members of the Helsinki Monitoring

Group; and Levko Lukianenko, a constitutional lawyer who was imprisoned for proposing sovereignty for Ukraine. In previous years, other former dissidents had visited Canada; they included Valentyn Moroz, for whose release the Ukrainian community had organized a vast international effort; Petro Grigorenko, one of the generals who had helped to win the Second World War for the Soviets and who was subsequently imprisoned for many years in psychiatric institutions for his criticism of the Soviet government; Nadia Svitlychna, a philologist and writer; Nina Strokata, a microbiologist, and her husband Sviatoslav Karavansky, a poet and writer; and Leonid Pliushch, a mathematician and writer.

A number of significant institutions have been established within the last ten years, including the Informatsiine Biuro Kongresu Ukraintsiv Kanady (Ukrainian Canadian Congress National Information Bureau), in Ottawa, founded by the Congress in 1987; the Ukrainian Research and Documentation Centre, in Toronto; the Canadian Friends of Rukh; the Ukrainian Resource and Development Centre at McEwan Community College, in Edmonton; and the Hromada Housing Co-op in Edmonton, which represents a unique experiment in ethnic community life. The Canadian government established a consulate, and later an embassy, in Kiev; and the Ukrainian government, with the aid of funding from the Ukrainian Canadian community, particularly from businessman Erast Hutsulak, established an embassy in Ottawa. In 1992, Levko Lukianenko, the former dissident, was appointed the first Ukrainian Ambassador to Canada.

Two of the most significant commemorations by the Ukrainian-Canadian community in recent times have been the commemoration of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, in 1988, and the observance of the centenary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, in 1991–2. Both events occasioned conferences, newspaper articles, and books, and provided an opportunity for reviewing the past and looking forward to the future of Ukrainian Canadians in the light of recent developments in Ukraine.

In March 1992, the first volunteers of Korpus Myru, modeled on the U.S. Peace Corps, were sent to Ukraine. Individuals were placed in the Ukrainian ministries of the environment, finance, foreign economic relations, and health, as well as in government and parliamentary commissions and institutes in Kiev. Funds are provided by the Canadian Friends of Rukh.

In July 1993, Metropolitan Wasyly Fedak, Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, was appointed to the Order of Canada by Governor General Ray Hnatyshyn.

Notes

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1 There is a rounding inconsistency in the census. The total number of Ukrainians in Canada obtained by adding together the single and multiple ethnic origin categories is 1,054,295. However when the single and multiple ethnic male and female categories are added up, the total is 1,054,300.

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UKRAINIANS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Daria Markus and Oleh Wolowyna

Country Data

Official Name – United States of America

Geographic Location – Located in North America, the United States of America is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean on the east; the Pacific Ocean on the west; Canada on the north; and Mexico and the Gulf of Mexico on the south. The contiguous states lie between 25°10′ and 49° north latitude and 67° and 124°45′ west longitude. Alaska lies between 54°25′ and

71°20′ north latitude and 141° and 168°10′ west longitude; Hawaii is found between 18°58′ and 22°15′ north latitude and 154°45′ and 160°15′ west longitude.

Area – 3,679,192 sq. mi., or 9,529,063 sq km

Population Density – 69.4 inhabitants per sq. mi. or 26.8 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Washington, DC

Form of Government – Federal republic with two legislative houses, the Senate (100 seats) and the House of Representatives (435 seats).
The United States consists of fifty states and the District of Columbia, site of the federal capital.

Official Language – English

Population – 255,414,000 (including military personnel residing overseas) (1992)

Composition by Race – 80.3% white; 12.1% black; 7.6% other (1990)

Religious Affiliation — 86.5% Christian (52.7% Protestant, 26.2% Roman Catholic, and 7.6% other Christian); 1.9% Muslim; 1.8% Jewish; 7.5% nonreligious; 2.3% other (1990)

Literacy – 95.5% (1980)

Percent Urban – 75.2% (1990)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 71.5 years; female, 78.3 years (1990)

Per Capita GNP – US$22,540 (1991)

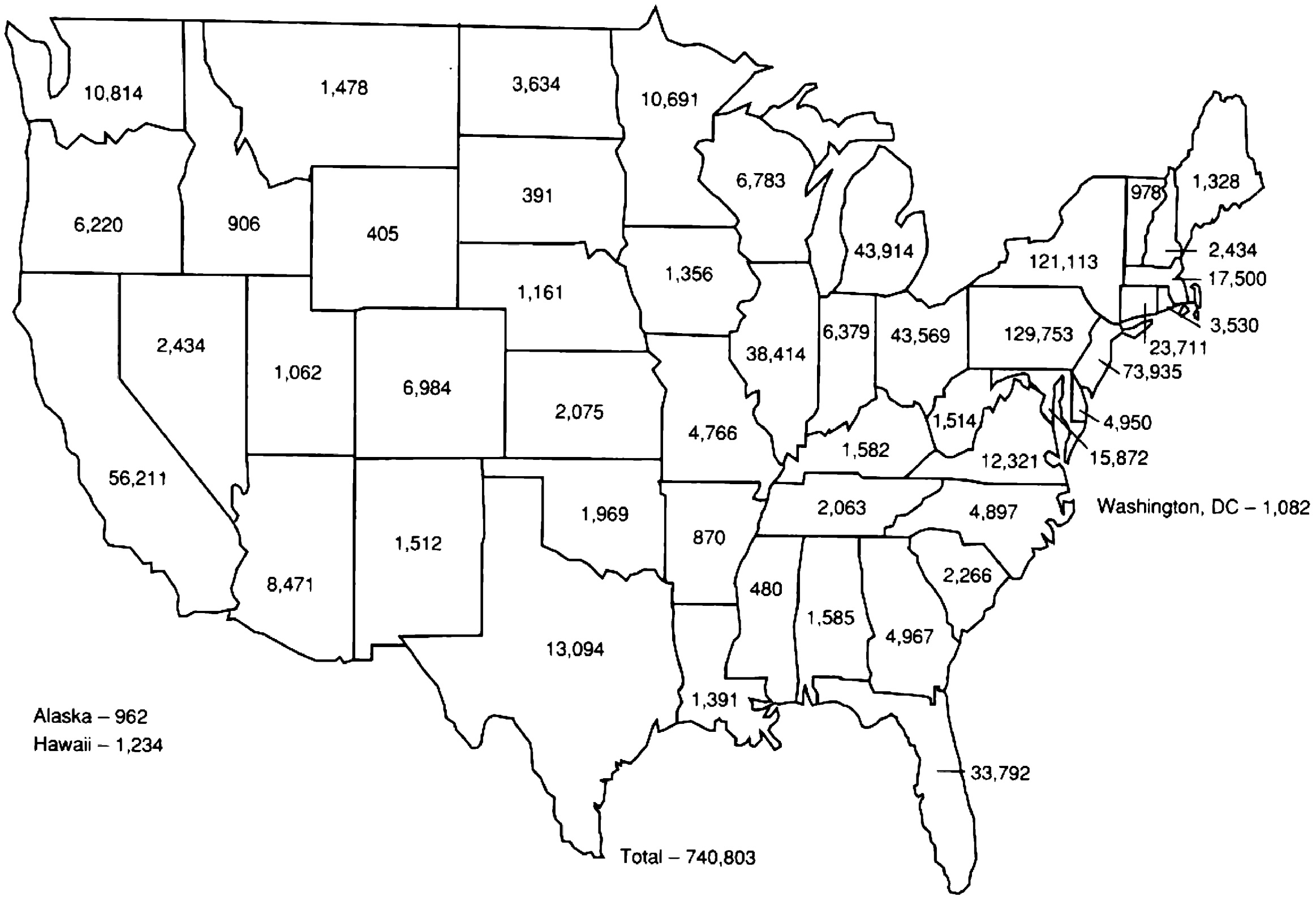
Ukrainian Population in the United States of America

Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics

The 1990 ancestry data for the U.S. population, nationally and by state, became available from the Census Bureau after this article was submitted for publication. According to those data, 740,803 persons identified themselves as being partially or exclusively of Ukrainian ancestry. The small growth represented by this figure is likely attributable not only to natural increase, but also, in small part, to immigration and an increased ethnic awareness as a result of recent events in the former Soviet Union. The states with the largest Ukrainian populations were Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, California, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Florida, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. Map 1 shows the distribution of Ukrainians in the United States in 1990, by state.

Because the percentage of Ukrainians in relation to the total U.S. population is so small (approximately 0.3 percent), demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of Ukrainians in the United States are not published separately. Such information, which would enable researchers to provide a more detailed analysis of the Ukrainian population, is available only

Map 1 Ukrainians in the United States, by state, 1990



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Ethnic and Hispanic Branch, 1990 Census Special Tabulations, "Ancestry of the Population in the United States" (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1992).

on the Public Use Sample Tapes (computer tapes with complete information for a representative 20 percent sample of the total U.S. population). The Public Use Sample Tapes from the 1980 census have been used to study the Ukrainian population; to date, however, no comparable analysis has been made on the basis of the most recent, 1990, census data. Consequently, the following discussion is based on 1980 U.S. census data.

Reliable statistical data on all the Ukrainians in the United States have, until recently, been almost nonexistent. The first nationwide set of statistics was presented by the 1970 United States Census of Population and Housing, which asked the question: "What language other than English was spoken in the person's home when he/she was a child?" This so-called mother-tongue question provided information about a subset of all Ukrainians in the United States, namely, those who reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue.

The mother-tongue question inadequately differentiates Ukrainian Americans from other Americans. Because Ukrainian Americans have experienced notable language assimilation in the United States, many people who could have claimed Ukrainian *descent* in 1970 could not claim Ukrainian mother tongue. Furthermore, since the extent of language assimilation increases with time, those Ukrainian Americans who did report Ukrainian as their mother tongue were not a representative sample of all Ukrainian Americans in 1970, but rather over-represented those Ukrainian Americans whose families had been in the United States for the shortest length of time – that is, families who had immigrated after the Second World War. As some of the data to be presented in this section are for 1970, these limitations should be kept in mind.

The 1970 Census reported 249,351 "mother tongue" Ukrainians in the United States. These data were analyzed in detail in the book *Ethnicity and National Identity: Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Persons with Ukrainian Mother Tongue in the United States*, edited by O. Wolowyna in 1986. With the aid of a computer tape with a representative 2 percent sample of complete census records of all "mother tongue" Ukrainians, a group of Ukrainian and American scholars analyzed the following aspects of this subgroup of Ukrainians in the United States: age and sex distribution, geographical distribution, fertility, mortality, migration, family structure, education, labor-force status, income, and residential and housing characteristics. Such a detailed analysis would not have been possible if one had had to rely solely on tabulations published by the Bureau of the Census.

The 1980 Census provided the first opportunity in the history of the United States to make a more representative estimate of the number of Ukrainians in the country and to specify their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, as well as to measure the language-assimilation process and its consequences. Two relevant questions were asked in the 1980 Census: (1) "What is the person's ancestry?" and (2) "Do you speak a language other than English at home?" Up to two answers were allowed in the ancestry question. The analysis of these answers provides further insights into the extent of the assimilation process, specifically where it results from intermarriage, as this information indicates what proportion claimed single Ukrainian ancestry and what proportion claimed Ukrainian and another ancestry.

Almost three-quarters of a million people (730,056, to be exact) declared "Ukrainian" to be their first or second ancestry. The approach taken in this census represents a self-reporting concept of ethnicity, in that only those persons who reported "Ukrainian" as their ancestry were counted as Ukrainians. A broader concept of ethnicity is based on the notion of *descent*. After careful analysis, Fulton[1] has estimated that, in 1970, there were approximately 1,171,000 persons of Ukrainian descent in the United States. If we assume that the rate of natural increase was the same for Ukrainians as for the total United States popula-

tion, there should have been about 1,268,000 persons of Ukrainian descent in the United States in 1980. Based on that estimate, roughly 42 percent of all descendants of Ukrainians appear to have been completely assimilated, as they chose not to report "Ukrainian" as either their first or their second ancestry. Henceforth, then, the term *Ukrainian* will refer to persons of Ukrainian ancestry, not to persons of Ukrainian descent.

As indicated in Table 1, only slightly more than half of the 730,056 Ukrainians are of single Ukrainian ancestry, and, hence, almost half are of mixed ancestry. This relatively high degree of assimilation among Ukrainians is put into perspective by the data in Table 2. In general, the percentage of those with single ancestry in an ethnic group is related to the group's migration history: the more recent the migration, the higher the percentage with

Table 1 Persons of Ukrainian ancestry in the United States, by combinations of first and second ancestry, 1980

First ancestry	Second ancestry	Number	Percentage
Ukrainian	None	376,709	51.6
Ukrainian	Other	140,171	19.2
Other	Ukrainian	213,176	29.2
Total		730,056	100.0

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *U.S. 1980 Census of Population and Housing*, and 1980 Census 5 percent Public Use Sample Tape.

Table 2 Ancestry of selected ethnic groups in the United States, 1980

Ancestry	Number	Percentage of U.S. population	Single ancestry Percentage	Single ancestry Rank
Total U.S.	188,302,438	100.0	–	–
Selected major groups:				
German	49,224,146	26.1	36.5	10
French	12,892,246	6.9	23.8	12
Italian	12,183,692	6.5	56.5	2
Dutch	6,304,499	3.4	22.3	13
Swedish	4,345,392	2.3	29.6	11
Portuguese	1,024,351	0.5	60.2	1
Selected Eastern European groups:				
Ukrainian	730,056	0.4	52.2	3
Czech	1,892,456	1.0	41.7	8
Hungarian	1,776,902	0.9	40.9	9
Lithuanian	742,776	0.4	45.7	7
Polish	8,228,037	4.4	46.3	6
Russian*	2,781,432	1.5	49.6	4
Slovak	776,806	0.4	46.5	5

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Ancestry of the Population by State: 1980*, Supplementary Report PC80-S1-10 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1983), Table 2.
*Includes "Russian," "Great Russian," "Rusyn," "Georgian," and other related European and Asian groups.

single ancestry. Thus, among the "old" ethnic groups, such as the Dutch or Germans, the percentage with single ancestry varies between 22 percent and 37 percent, whereas among groups such as the Italians and Portuguese, whose numbers increased significantly after the Second World War, the percentage reporting single ancestry is roughly 60 percent.

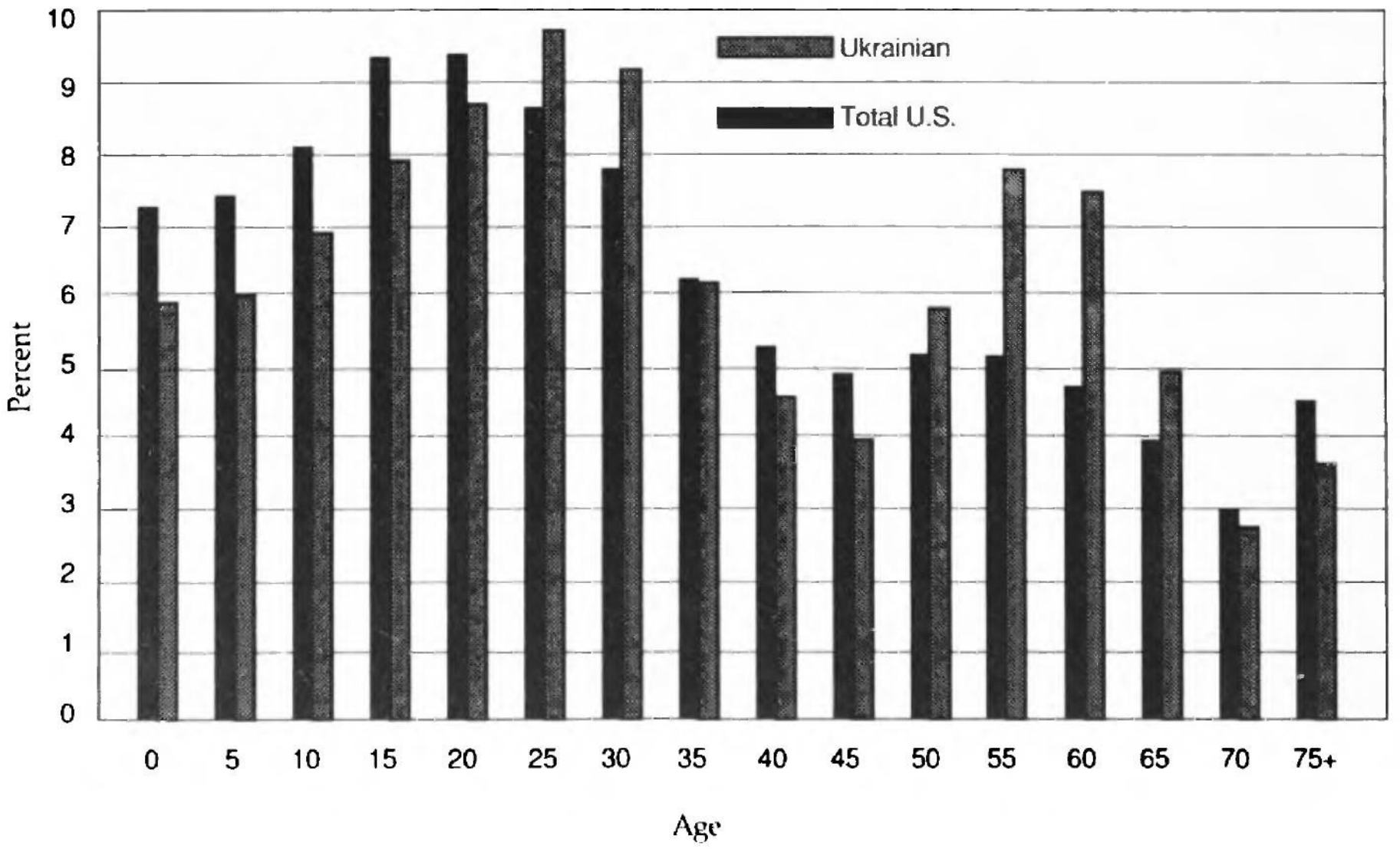
Among Eastern European ethnic groups, Ukrainians have the highest percentage with single ancestry, in spite of the fact that they constitute only 0.4 percent of the total U.S population. It seems that, despite their relatively small number, Ukrainians compensated for the lack of freedom in their mother country by developing a relatively stronger commitment to their culture and language than that which characterizes other groups. At least in terms of ethnic self-identification, Ukrainians in the United States are much less assimilated than members of other Eastern European ethnic groups.

It should be pointed out that the statistics given here and the references to Ukrainians in the United States do not include the approximately 500,000 descendants of Transcarpathian/ Ruthenian/Rusyn immigrants, who prefer to use the derivative of the ancient name for Ukraine, "Rus'," which was abandoned by their nationally conscious compatriots in other parts of Ukraine in favor of the modern name, "Ukraine."[2]

Age and Sex Distributions

The age distribution of Ukrainians is quite different from the age distribution of the total U.S. population. As can be seen in Figure 1, compared with the total U.S. population, there is a significant deficit of Ukrainians at the younger ages (0–24) and a moderate deficit of Ukrainians at ages 35–49 and 70 or more. The proportions of Ukrainians at ages 25–34 and 50–69, by contrast, are significantly higher than the respective proportions for the total U.S. population. This very irregular age structure is the result of two processes. First, immigrants arrived in several waves at different periods in the past, and their age-structure was quite different from that of the general population. Second, the assimilation process is not uni-

Figure 1 Age distribution of total U.S. population and of Ukrainian-American population, 1980



Source: Tables A-1 and A-2 (see Appendix, pages 410–12).

Table 3 Age distribution of total U.S. population and of persons of Ukrainian ancestry, by nativity, 1980

Age	Total U.S. population (percent)	Ukrainian population Total	Foreign-born (percent)	U.S.-born
0–14	22.6	18.6	1.5	22.1
15–24	18.8	16.5	4.2	19.0
25–39	22.5	25.0	20.7	25.8
40–64	24.8	28.9	39.5	26.8
65+	11.3	11.0	34.1	6.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Persons	226,545,805	730,056	123,548	606,508
Percent		100.0	16.9	83.1
Median Age	30.0	32.8	51.9	24.1

Source: Tables A-1 and A-2 (see Appendix, pages 410–12).

form for all ages; the proportion assimilated is usually higher among younger ages than among older ages.

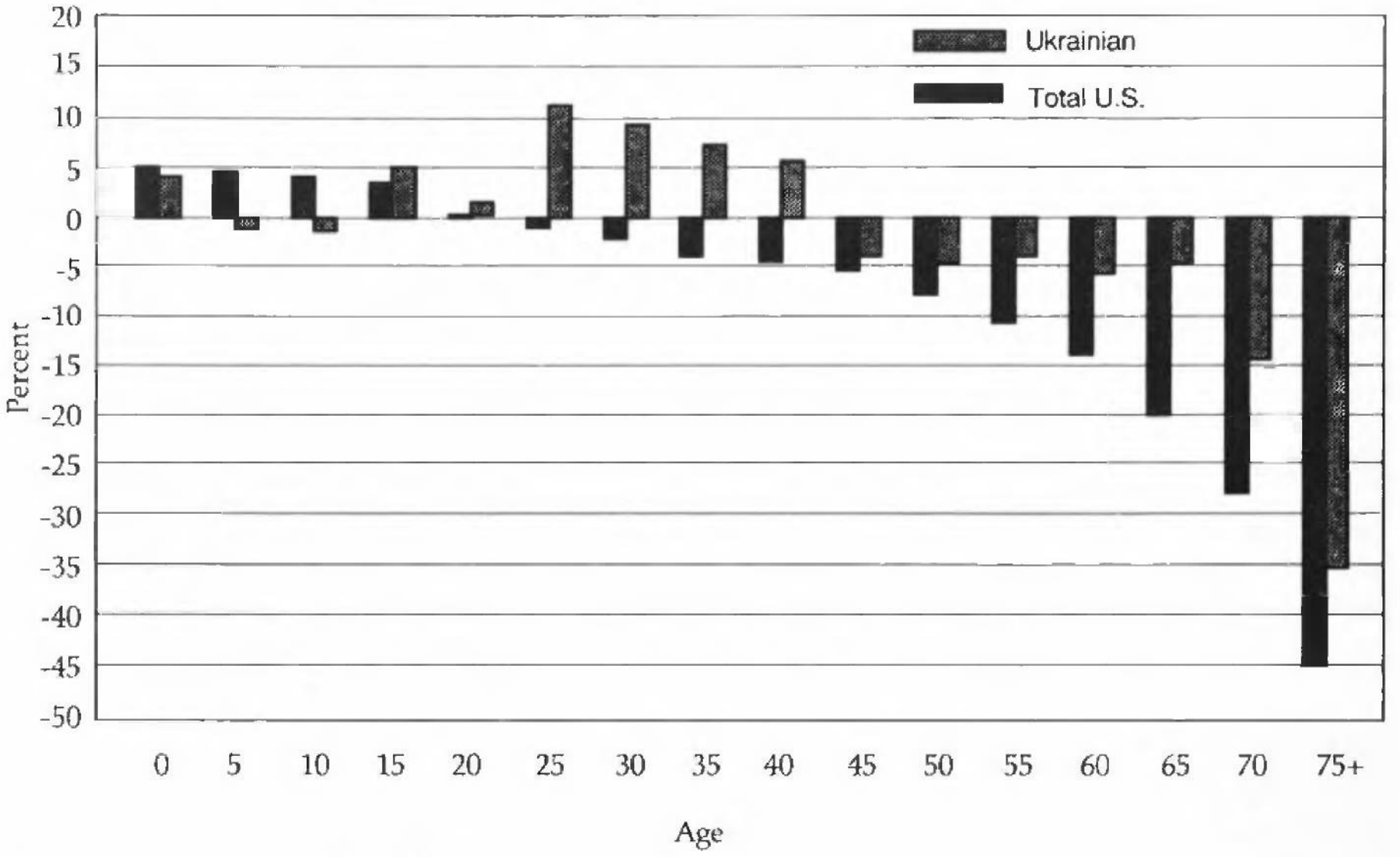
Ukrainian Americans are on the average older than the general population, with a median age of 32.8, compared with 30.0 for the total U.S. population (Table 3). (The median divides a distribution into two equal parts; for example, 50 percent of Ukrainians are thirty-three years of age or older). A significant factor in the age distribution of Ukrainians is nativity, that is, whether they were born in the United States or abroad. Approximately 17 percent of all Ukrainians are foreign born and their age distribution is even more irregular than that of all Ukrainians, whereas the age distribution of the 83 percent of those born in the United States is more similar to that of the total U.S. population.

Half of the foreign-born Ukrainians are fifty-two years old or older and only 1.5 percent are under fifteen years of age. Among U.S.-born Ukrainian Americans, the only significant difference from the total U.S. population is the lower proportion of older persons. This makes them younger on the average, with a median age of 24.1 years, compared with a median of 30.0 years for the total population. Unless there is a significant influx of new immigrants in the near future, the majority of foreign-born Ukrainians will have passed away in about thirty to forty years. As will be seen later, this has significant implications for the maintenance of the Ukrainian language in the community.

There are slightly more Ukrainian females than males in the United States – 365,342 and 364,714, respectively – but their distribution by age reveals significant imbalances. In a normal population, the ratio of males over females follows a decreasing pattern with age. It is a biological fact that, in practically all populations, there are about 3–6 percent more male than female births and then, because males experience higher mortality rates, on average, than females and because that mortality differential increases with age, the initial excess of males disappears with age. After an initial positive value, the ratio of males over females becomes zero at around ages 20–29 and then becomes increasingly more negative. This pattern is observed for the total U.S. population (Figure 2).

The age-specific male/female ratios for Ukrainians are quite different. There is a small deficit of males at ages 5–14, a large surplus of males at ages 25–44, and a smaller deficit of males at ages 45 and over than that for the total U.S. population. These sex imbalances can have serious consequences for intermarriage. The lack of potential marriage partners among

Figure 2 Percentage excess of males over females by age, for total U.S. and Ukrainian populations, 1980



Source: Tables A-1 and A-2 (see Appendix, pages 410–12).

certain age groups within the ethnic group may force a person to look elsewhere for a spouse.

Nuptiality, Fertility, Mortality, and Household Structure

Table 4 shows that the nuptiality pattern among Ukrainian Americans is consistent with the notion that they are more conservative, as a group, than the total population. The percentage of married people among Ukrainians is somewhat higher than that among the total U.S. population, and their percentages of divorced and separated people are lower. On balance,

Table 4 Nuptiality status for total U.S. population and for Ukrainian-American population, 1980

Nuptiality status	Total U.S. population (percent)	Ukrainian population
Single	26.3	27.4
Married	57.4	58.6
Widowed	7.7	7.5
Divorced	6.3	5.1
Separated	2.3	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0
Persons 15 years of age or older	175,255,466	594,301

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population, General Population Characteristics: United States Summary*, Table 266 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1983), and 1980 Census 5 percent Public Use Sample Tapes.

there are relatively more single people among Ukrainians than among all Americans. Data from the 1970 census, for persons with Ukrainian mother tongue, also show that Ukrainians tend to marry somewhat later than does the general American population.[3]

With regard to fertility, one has to rely on data from the 1970 census, as no analyses of this topic have been undertaken based on the 1980 census data. Table 5 indicates that women who reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue had, on the average, about 0.5 fewer children than did all American women. This relationship holds for all educational levels; that is, independent of the number of years of schooling completed, Ukrainian women had consistently fewer children than did all American women. It is important to remember that these data refer to the "mother tongue" subgroup, which is less assimilated than the larger "Ukrainian ancestry" population defined by the 1980 census. It is probable that the fertility rates of the "Ukrainian ancestry" group are more similar to those of the total U.S. population. Kincade has shown that the fertility of the younger, third-generation, Ukrainian Americans is similar to that of the total U.S. population, and they are becoming the predominant subgroup in the Ukrainian-American ethnic group.

It is not possible to measure the mortality rates of Ukrainians directly from the census data, and vital statistics are not tabulated by ethnicity in the United States. Fulton[4] did a somewhat crude analysis of the mortality levels of the Ukrainian "mother tongue" subgroup. His conclusion is that the mortality rates of Ukrainians closely resemble those of the white American population.

The household indicators given in Table 6 document a more traditional family structure

Table 5 Mean number of children ever born for ever-married U.S. women and women reporting Ukrainian mother tongue, by education, 1970

Education	Mean number of children	
	Ukrainian	Total U.S.
8 years or less	2.71	3.24
9–12 years	2.21	2.39
More than 12 years	1.74	2.06
Total	2.23	2.71

Source: Jean Kincade, "Fertility and Marital Status," in *Ethnicity and National Identity: Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Persons with Ukrainian Mother Tongue in the United States*, ed. Oleh Wolowyna 70–82 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986).

Table 6 Household types for total U.S. and Ukrainian-American populations, 1980

Household type	Total U.S. (percent)	Ukrainian
Husband–wife	82.1	87.9
Male, no wife	3.6	2.7
Female, no husband	14.3	9.4
Total	100.0	100.0
Average number of persons per household	2.75	3.28

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population, General Population Characteristics: United States Summary*, Table 1–44 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1983), and 1980 Census 5 percent Public Use Sample Tapes.

among Ukrainian Americans than that which prevails among all American households. The proportion of single-parent households is significantly lower among Ukrainians and, as a consequence, the percentage of husband–wife households is larger. A more traditional pattern of family structure among Ukrainian Americans is also reflected in the average number of persons per household, with 3.28 persons among Ukrainian Americans compared with 2.75 persons for the total U.S. population. This indicates that, in terms of family structure, Ukrainian Americans are less assimilated than in terms of other characteristics, such as language or socioeconomic status.

Geographic Distribution

Ukrainians, like other immigrant groups in the United States, originally settled only in certain areas of the country, mainly in selected northeastern and north central states. Job availability was the key factor determining not only this geographical concentration, but the predominantly urban character of Ukrainian settlement patterns as well. Although initial settlement patterns are still reflected in their current geographical distribution, Ukrainian Americans have joined the larger U.S. population in the search for better economic opportunities across the country.

Map 2 shows that the highest concentrations of Ukrainians are in the Northeast, the Midwest, and California. Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey each have more than 10 percent of all Ukrainians in the United States, and California, Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois each have between 5 and 10 percent. Connecticut, Florida, Massachusetts, and Maryland each have between 1.5 and 5 percent of all Ukrainians; Washington, Virginia, Texas, and Minnesota each have between 1 and 1.4 percent; the other states each have less than 1 percent.

The twelve states with the greatest concentrations of Ukrainians are listed in Table 7. Almost half of all Ukrainians live in Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey (in fact,

Table 7 Twelve states with the largest concentrations of Ukrainian Americans, 1980

State	Number of Ukrainians	Percentage of all Ukrainians	Cumulative percentage
Total Ukrainian-American population	730,056	85.9	–
Pennsylvania	143,862	19.7	19.7
New York	127,678	17.5	37.2
New Jersey	80,751	11.1	48.3
California	49,724	6.8	55.1
Michigan	47,189	6.5	61.5
Ohio	45,820	6.3	67.8
Illinois	40,987	5.6	73.4
Connecticut	25,229	3.5	76.9
Florida	25,227	3.5	80.3
Massachusetts	17,102	2.3	82.7
Maryland	13,975	1.9	84.6
Minnesota	9,522	1.3	85.9

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Ancestry of the Population by State: 1980,* Table 3.

Map 2 Distribution of persons of Ukrainian ancestry in the United States, by state, 1980



Table 8 Metropolitan areas with the largest concentrations of Ukrainian Americans, 1980

Metropolitan area	Number of Ukrainians	Percentage of all Ukrainians	Cumulative percentage
Total Ukrainian-American population	730,056		
1. New York, NY–NJ	56,340	7.72	7.72
2. Philadelphia, PA–NJ	52,740	7.22	14.94
3. Chicago, IL	37,420	5.13	20.07
4. Detroit, MI	34,640	4.74	24.81
5. Pittsburgh, PA	34,200	4.68	29.50
6. Newark, NJ	23,920	3.28	32.77
7. Cleveland, OH	20,220	2.77	35.54
8. Los Angeles–Long Beach CA	19,660	2.69	38.24
9. Nassau–Suffolk, NY	18,440	2.53	40.76
10. NE Pennsylvania	14,420	1.98	42.74
11. Allentown–Bethlehem–Easton, PA–NJ	11,440	1.57	44.30
12. New Brunswick–Perth Amboy–Sayreville, NJ	11,200	1.53	45.84
13. Washington, DC	10,180	1.39	47.23
14. Buffalo, NY	10,020	1.37	48.60
15. Youngstown–Warren, OH	9,460	1.30	49.90
16. Rochester, NY	8,860	1.21	51.11
17. Minneapolis–St. Paul, MN–WI	7,720	1.06	52.17
18. Syracuse, NY	7,420	1.02	53.19
19. Boston, MA	7,060	0.97	54.15
20. Baltimore, MD	7,020	0.96	55.12
21. Albany–Schenectady–Troy, NY	6,840	0.94	56.05
22. San Francisco–Oakland, CA	6,700	0.92	56.97
23. Fort Lauderdale–Hollywood, FL	6,180	0.85	57.82
24. Paterson–Clifton–Passaic, NJ	5,820	0.80	58.61
25. Anaheim–Santa Ana-G. Grove, CA	5,720	0.78	59.40
26. Tampa–St. Petersburg, FL	5,180	0.71	60.11
27. Jersey City, NJ	5,120	0.70	60.81
28. Long Branch–Asbury Park, NJ	4,480	0.61	61.42
29. San Deigo, CA	4,440	0.61	62.03

Source: 1980 Census 5 percent Public Use Sample Tapes.

Pennsylvania is home to one out of every five Ukrainian Americans). It is interesting to note, by contrast, that nine states account for half of the total U.S. population. Furthermore, seven states account for three-quarters of all Ukrainian Americans, whereas it takes twenty states to account for the same proportion of the total U.S. population.

Although in the last two decades there has been a significant outmigration from cities with large Ukrainian communities to other parts of the country, the majority of Ukrainians still live in a limited number of metropolitan areas. The metropolitan areas of New York and Philadelphia have more than fifty thousand Ukrainians each, while Chicago, Detroit, and Pittsburgh have more than thirty thousand each. Table 8 shows that half of all Ukrainian Americans live in fifteen metropolitan areas.

The outmigration from the original settlement centers has been attributable largely to economic factors. As Ukrainians acquired more education, they moved where jobs were available, in search of better opportunities. California is the best example of this process.

Very few Ukrainian immigrants originally settled in California. In 1940, California was not among the top twelve states with the largest Ukrainian populations, but by 1980, it ranked fifth in that regard. The metropolitan area of Los Angeles–Long Beach had almost twenty-thousand Ukrainians in 1980, occupying eighth place among all metropolitan areas in terms of number of Ukrainians. The process of outmigration is related to Ukrainian Americans' remarkable upward social mobility, which will be documented in the next section. Wolowyna[5] has shown that increasing geographic dispersion is also associated with increased assimilation.

Socioeconomic Status: Education, Labor Force, and Income

Early Ukrainian immigrants were severely handicapped in terms of education. American immigration records show that about 50 percent of the Ukrainian immigrants arriving in the early 1900s were illiterate.[6] This high level of illiteracy was attributable both to Russian and Austrian educational policies that discriminated against Ukrainians and to the extreme poverty of the rural areas from which most of the migrants came. The level of education of later immigrants, especially those who arrived after the Second World War, was significantly higher, but still quite low relative to that of the total U.S. population. Thus, analyses of the current levels of education, labor force participation, and income of Ukrainian Americans should take this initial handicap into account.

Table 9 reveals traces of the early educational handicap in the 1980 data it represents. Compared with only 1 percent of Americans who had no formal schooling, almost 3 percent of foreign-born Ukrainians fell into that category. In spite of this, the educational achievement of Ukrainian Americans has been remarkable. The median number of years of schooling of all Ukrainians (11.5 years) is slightly higher than that of the total U.S. population (11.4 years), and the median for U.S.-born Ukrainians is 0.3 years higher. That advantage results from the fact that a high percentage of the latter are university educated. Approximately 32 percent of all Americans had some college-level education, while the correspond-

Table 9 Percentage distribution of years of schooling completed, for total U.S. population and for Ukrainians by place of birth,* 1980

	Years of schooling completed	Total U.S.	Total Ukrainians	Ukrainians U.S.-born	Ukrainians Foreign-born
	0	1.0	1.4	0.3	2.8
Elementary	1–4	2.6	2.6	0.6	8.0
	(0–4)	(3.6)	(4.0)	(0.9)	(10.8)
	5–7	6.7	5.7	3.2	12.9
	8	8.0	7.3	5.1	10.5
High school	9–11	15.3	11.8	11.9	9.2
	12	34.6	33.0	30.9	19.8
College	13–15	15.6	15.7	17.7	14.2
	16	8.6	10.7	13.7	9.4
	17+	7.6	11.8	16.6	13.2
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median years of schooling		11.4	11.5	11.7	9.3

Source: Table A-3 (see Appendix, page 413).
* Persons 25 years of age and older.

ing percentages for all Ukrainian Americans and for U.S.-born Ukrainians were 38 and 48 percent, respectively. Whereas fewer than 8 percent of all Americans attended graduate school, almost 12 percent of all Ukrainians and close to 17 percent of U.S.-born Ukrainians did.

Ukrainians have a reputation as hard workers, a reputation that is supported by the labor force statistics. In 1980, 6.5 percent of all U.S. males aged sixteen or older were unemployed, while the corresponding percentage for Ukrainian males was less than 5. The difference was even more pronounced for females: 6.5 percent of all Americans were unemployed, compared with only 3 percent for Ukrainians.

Table 10 shows that Ukrainian-American males and females have a slightly higher socioeconomic status in terms of occupation than do all American males and females. For both sexes, Ukrainians have higher percentages in the highest occupational category of "managerial and professional specialty occupations," by a margin of 4.6 percent for males and 1.7 percent for females. This category contains the most prestigious and best-paid occupations: executives, managers, and professionals. The advantage for both Ukrainian males and females results exclusively from higher percentages in the "professionals" subcategory; for both sexes, the relative positions in the executive, administrative, and managerial occupations are slightly below the respective national averages.

Ukrainian males and females also have higher percentages in the "technical, sales, and administrative support occupations" category, but the more detailed patterns are somewhat different for each sex. Compared with all Americans, Ukrainian American males have a lower percentage in the "sales occupations" subcategory, while there is practically no difference in this subcategory for Ukrainian females. The significantly lower percentage of Ukrainian Americans in farming occupations is a consequence of their initial settlement in urban

Table 10 Percentage distribution of employed persons in the total U.S. and Ukrainian-American populations,* by sex, 1980

Occupational categories	Males		Females	
	Total U.S.	Ukrainian	Total U.S.	Ukrainian
Managerial and professional specialty occupations	**23.6**	**28.0**	**21.5**	**23.2**
Executive, administrative, and managerial occupations	12.6	12.5	7.4	7.0
Professional specialty occupations	11.0	15.5	14.1	16.2
Technical, sales, and administrative support occupations	**19.0**	**19.9**	**45.6**	**46.6**
Technicians and related support occupations	3.0	4.2	3.1	3.4
Sales occupations	9.1	8.0	11.2	11.3
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	6.9	7.7	31.2	31.9
Service occupations	**9.2**	**9.3**	**17.9**	**16.5**
Private household occupations	0.0	0.1	1.4	0.8
Protective service occupations	2.3	2.2	0.4	0.5
Service occupations, except protective and household	6.9	7.0	16.1	15.2
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	**4.3**	**1.9**	**1.0**	**0.6**
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	**20.7**	**20.0**	**2.3**	**2.1**
Operators, fabricators, and laborers	**23.2**	**20.9**	**11.7**	**11.0**
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	9.7	10.2	8.8	8.1
Transportation and material moving occupations	7.2	5.0	0.8	0.5
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers	6.3	5.7	2.1	2.4

Sources: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics: United States Summary*, Table 89 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1983), and 1980 Census 5 percent Public Use Sample Tapes.

• Persons 16 years of age and older.

areas, as there was hardly any free land left at the time of the first major wave of immigration.

There is practically no difference between the total male population and Ukrainian males in the service occupations, while Ukrainian females show a lower percentage in this category. The percentages for the two lowest occupational categories, "precision production, craft, and repair occupations" and "operators, fabricators, and laborers" are lower for Ukrainian males and females alike.

The higher educational and occupational status of Ukrainian Americans is reflected in higher individual and family incomes. The median income for U.S. males was $12,192 in 1979, while 50 percent of Ukrainian males aged fifteen or older earned more than $13,766 per year (Table 11). This advantage of Ukrainian males is attributable to two factors: there were fewer Ukrainians with no income and more Ukrainians in the higher-income categories. The Ukrainian–U.S median-income difference for females was $627.

The higher average income of Ukrainian males and females, their higher percentages in

Table 11 Percentage distribution of total individual income for total U.S. and Ukrainian-American populations,* by sex, 1979

Income (U.S. dollars)	Males		Females	
	Total U.S.	Ukrainian	Total U.S.	Ukrainian
No income	7.7	5.3	23.6	21.8
< 2,000	8.1	6.6	15.3	13.4
2,000–7,999	23.6	20.2	35.6	34.3
8,000–9,999	6.9	6.0	7.2	7.5
10,000–14,999	16.0	15.8	11.0	13.4
15,000–24,999	23.7	27.8	6.0	8.0
25,000–49,999	11.7	15.4	1.1	1.4
50,000 or more	2.3	2.9	0.2	0.2
Median income	$12,192	$13,766	$5,263	$6,890

* Persons 15 years of age and older.

Table 12 Percentage distribution of family income for all U.S. and Ukrainian-American families, 1979

Income (U.S. dollars)	Total U.S.	Ukrainian
<5,000	7.3	2.8
5,000–9,999	13.1	7.5
10,000–14,999	14.7	10.8
15,000–19,999	15.1	13.7
20,000–24,999	14.4	15.5
25,000–34,999	19.1	25.3
35,000–49,999	10.7	16.1
50,000 or more	5.6	8.3
Median family income	$19,917	$24,890

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics: United States Summary*, Table 93, and 1980 Census 5 percent Public Use Sample Tapes.

the labor force, and their larger family size all contribute to a significantly higher average family income than the average family income for the total U.S. population. Ukrainian families earned, on the average, almost $5,000 more than U.S. families (see Table 12 on preceding page). It is quite remarkable that almost half of Ukrainian families had a yearly income of $25,000 or more, compared with only 35 percent of all U.S. families.

The socioeconomic status of Ukrainians in the United States is a typical success story. From an initial situation characterized by high illiteracy and a predominance of peasants and unskilled laborers, Ukrainians have surpassed the American averages in education, occupation, and income within two to three generations.

Participation in the Economic, Political, Professional, and Social Life of the Country[7]

As an ethnic group, Ukrainians have added their contribution to that of other immigrant groups to make the United States the multiethnic country that we know today. They have toiled on its farms, and worked in its factories as well as in the academic, business, and corporate worlds, providing both skilled and unskilled labor and professional expertise in many diverse fields. Although the majority worked unnoticed, many were able to rise to the top in their respective fields through their discoveries, patents, improvements, and research. Their outstanding contributions have earned respect not only within the Ukrainian community, but in the larger American society as well.

Upon arriving in the United States, Ukrainian immigrants immediately began to look for employment in order to provide for themselves and their families. Despite their largely agrarian background, only a small number of early Ukrainian immigrants settled in rural areas. Those that did created farm communities as early as 1914 in the states of Michigan, Wisconsin, North Dakota, Virginia, Texas, Georgia, and Hawaii. By 1936, eighty-five rural communities throughout the country had a total population of 26,000 Ukrainians. Ukrainians also settled in rural areas of industrial states, but those areas have since been incorporated into urban metropolitan areas. Some Ukrainians engaged in specialized farming, including poultry and dairy farming. The number of rural Ukrainian communities surviving today is insignificant; only the farming communities in North Dakota retain an ethnic cohesiveness.

The majority of early Ukrainian immigrants settled in the urban centers, especially in the industrialized northeast. In fact, the early, poorly educated, immigrants helped supply the expanded labor force needed for rapid industrial growth in the country. Lacking skills and knowledge of the English language, many were employed in difficult, dangerous, and low-paying jobs in mines and factories. Many found themselves in the anthracite-coal region of eastern Pennsylvania, the steel mills of Pittsburgh, and the factories of New York, New Jersey, and Ohio. Others worked on the railroads, in oil refineries, in construction, and in the food industry. Women were often employed in the textile industry. Boarding houses, usually operated by women, provided additional income for the family.

In larger cities, many immigrants were able to learn a trade by becoming apprentices to skilled workers. Those who had formerly been unskilled gained experience through their work in industry. Ukrainians were soon to be found in automotive manufacturing and repair, machine shops, foundries, and rope manufacturing. Young men and women worked in restaurants, hotels, grocery stores, and butcher shops. With time, some immigrants went into business, setting up grocery stores, taverns, meat markets, small clothing and neighborhood stores, bakeries, restaurants, pharmacies, hardware stores, funeral homes, garages, and window-cleaning services. Others took up construction, tailoring, shoe repair, and the pro-

duction of handicrafts. The immigrants were hard working, persevering, ingenious, and enterprising. These qualities and their frugal way of life soon enabled them to buy homes, improve their economic status, educate their children, and help relatives in Ukraine. It was these early immigrants who laid the foundation for Ukrainian community life in the United States, building churches and schools and establishing organizations.

There were few professional men and women among the early Ukrainian immigrants (of those who arrived between 1899 and 1910, only 104 had secondary or tertiary education and these were mostly clergymen, teachers, journalists, and physicians), but more educated people began to arrive after 1920. Along with the educated American-born Ukrainians, these immigrants became the leaders of Ukrainian communities in America. But the proportion of professionals was still low: in the 1930s, there were twenty-five physicians, twelve dentists, forty lawyers, twenty engineers, several university professors, and approximately two hundred public school teachers in the Ukrainian community (excluding the Transcarpathian or Carpatho-Ukrainians and pro-Russian groups). The situation improved after 1939, when the second and third generations began to provide more young professionals.

The new Ukrainian immigrants arriving in the United States as displaced persons after 1947 were from a different socioeconomic background and included a considerable number of Ukraine's intelligentsia – professionals, scholars, and other well-educated people. By 1965, there were some 1,200 physicians, 100 veterinarians, 150 lawyers, 700 engineers, 250 university professors, 2,000 school teachers, and 200 librarians. A large number of Ukrainians worked in business and financial institutions and some were employed as civil servants. The number of professional people has grown considerably with time, as the children of these postwar immigrants attained their own positions in medicine, dentistry, law, government, academia, business, scientific research, and the world of finance.

Today, Ukrainians are found in all spheres of the American economy, from its factories to its corporate headquarters. By virtue of their jobs, they are fully integrated into the economic mainstream of society.

As a community and in proportion to their number, Ukrainians in the United States have not taken an active part in the American political system. The majority considered it important to become U.S. citizens, to exercise their right to vote, and to lobby on behalf of Ukraine. Beyond that, however, most older-generation Ukrainians did not consider political involvement, such as running for office, important. Among the few exceptions were physician Nicholas Sudzilovsky-Russell, who settled in California in the 1880s and later moved to Hawaii, where he entered politics and was elected president of the first Hawaiian senate, and the Reverend Agapius Honcharenko, a political refugee from Ukraine who settled in Alaska in 1865, where he published the *Alaska Herald*, and who later became a noted public figure in California. A few later immigrants as well as some second-, third-, and succeeding-generation Ukrainians have been elected to office on the local and state levels, serving as mayors, council members and members of school boards, and as representatives in the state legislatures. Thus far, no Ukrainians have been elected to the U.S. Congress.

Several Ukrainians have been appointed to high government positions, including Joseph Charyk, Air Force Undersecretary (1960–3); George Kistiakovsky, Special Advisor to President Eisenhower in the field of science and technology (1959–61); Michael Yarymovych, Deputy Assistant Secretary for research and development (1968); Myron Kuropas, Special Assistant for Ethnic Affairs to President Ford (1976–7); and Roman Popadiuk, Assistant Press Secretary to President Reagan (1986–8), Deputy Assistant to Presidents Reagan and Bush and Deputy Press Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1988–92), and United States Ambassador to Ukraine (1992–3).

Ukrainians have been active in all branches of the U.S. military, serving in the two world wars, Korea, Vietnam, and the Gulf War; Ukrainian surnames even appear in historical records from the War of Independence and the Civil War. Ukrainian graduates from West Point and Annapolis have held high ranks in the armed forces; for example, Major General Nicholas Krawciw was director of NATO Policy for the secretary of defense.

A large number of Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants have entered the American professional arena. Many have attained prominent positions in American institutions of higher learning and research establishments. They have become distinguished scholars and professors, chairpersons of departments, and research fellows of prestigious establishments. Many have published scholarly works and textbooks, received patents for their inventions, and made important discoveries in the fields of medicine and science. Among scientific and industrial developments by Ukrainians have been the detonator to the atom bomb, the Dzus fastener (used in aviation), and the self-cleaning oven.

Ukrainians as an ethnic group have been socially accepted into American society. Not being a visible minority, the Ukrainian community in the United States has not suffered overt prejudice or discrimination.

Many Ukrainians have made their way into the country's social arena and many have stolen the hearts of Americans as actors, singers, entertainers and athletes. Among those who gained prominence in the American film industry are director Edward Dmytryk and actors Nick Adams, Sandra Dee, George Dzundza, John Hodiak, Nina Koshyts, Laryssa Lauret, Walter Matthau, Mike Mazurki, Jack Palance, Liza Scott, Anna Sten, and Natalie Wood. Alex Trebek is host of the popular television game show *Jeopardy*. Vladimir Tytla worked as a cartoonist at Disney Studios. The New York Metropolitan Opera Company is home to two outstanding Ukrainian singers, Paul Plishka and Andrij Dobriansky. Ukrainian names are also familiar in American professional sports: in hockey – Terry Sawchuk, John Bucyk, Vic Stasiuk, and Eric Nesterenko; baseball – umpire Nestor Chylak, and Mike and Tom Tresh; in football – coach Mike Ditka; in golf – Mike Souchak, and Steve Melnyk; in soccer – the Philadelphia Ukrainian Nationals; and in chess – Stephen Popel and Orest Popovych.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

Ukrainian immigration to the United States began in the 1870s and started to accelerate in the 1880s. There certainly were Ukrainian immigrants prior to this time, judging by the names in various American historical records, but they were few and they did not congregate to form communities of their own. Historical documents show that people with Ukrainian surnames were on the North American continent as early as the seventeenth century. Captain John Smith, who founded Jamestown, Virginia, the first permanent English colony in America, in 1608, is reported to have mentioned in his memoirs, a physician in his company by the name of Lavrentey Bohoon (Bohun). Similarly, records of both the American Revolutionary War and the Civil War, as well as the first United States Census in 1790, contain a number of Ukrainian surnames.

It is difficult to estimate the number of early Ukrainian immigrants not only because of inexact record keeping by the American authorities, but also because of a lack of precision in ethnic self-identification on the part of the immigrants themselves.[8] Bachynsky estimated that in the decade 1877–87, 33,886 Ukrainian immigrants arrived in the United States, and that more than twice that number arrived between 1887 and 1897, bringing the total to

74,379. In the following decade (1897–1907) the number of immigrants shot up to 284,400. Counting persons of Ukrainian descent born in the United States, estimates of the Ukrainian population on the brink of the First World War hovered at around 500,000.[9] Ukrainians settled in greater numbers in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, followed by New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Michigan. Between the two world wars, restricted by new American immigration laws, Ukrainian immigration fell to only about 15,000 to 20,000. After the Second World War, roughly 85,000 persons were resettled in the United States from the displaced-persons (DP) camps in Germany and Austria.

The early settlers emigrated from Ukraine primarily for economic reasons. They came mostly from the western regions of Ukraine – Halychyna (Galicia) and Transcarpathia, and, in smaller numbers, from Bukovyna. Denominationally, the immigrants belonged predominantly to the Uniate Catholic Church, also known as Greek Catholic or Ukrainian Catholic. In Ukraine, they had been peasants engaged in agricultural work; in the United States, they settled in towns and cities and became industrial workers.[10] Their illiteracy rate was among the highest of all immigrant groups.

Today, the Ukrainian community in the United States represents only a portion of immigrants of Ukrainian descent. Assimilation was not the sole factor responsible for this outcome, which results from the following factors as well: (1) a significant proportion of ethnic Ukrainians organized themselves within a regional Transcarpathian community and never accepted Ukrainian as an ethnic designation; (2) many joined the Russian Orthodox Church; and (3) still others joined forces with pro-Soviet groups and, even though they retained Ukrainian consciousness, they never joined the mainstream of the Ukrainian community after their organizational base was reduced with the onset of the Cold War.

The historical development of the present-day Ukrainian community can be broken down into three stages: (1) the early period, ending with the First World War, characterized by the establishment of an organizational network and the emergence of national identity consciousness; (2) the period between the world wars, restricted by new immigration laws, when a relatively small number of political immigrants intensified Ukrainian commitment to the existing organizations and created new ones; and (3) the period after the Second World War, dominated by a new influx of political émigrés from the DP camps in Germany and Austria. The latter established their own organizations and involved themselves in those already in existence only in a limited way.

The Early Period

The immigrants came in waves. The first and largest, which consisted almost exclusively of poor, uneducated peasants, stopped abruptly with the outbreak of war in 1914. The church, which for the immigrants was identified with rite more than with dogma, was the institution of authority, and priests, almost always the only educated persons in the community, became not only religious but also civic and political leaders. The earliest organizations and societies were closely tied to parishes. In time, parallel organizations developed or, in some cases, the existing ones disaffiliated themselves from the church or parish.

Organization of the Ukrainian community dates back to the arrival in 1884 of the first Ukrainian Catholic priest, the Reverend Ivan Voliansky. The blueprint for a network of Ukrainian organizations that he laid down has endured to the present day – parishes, schools, fraternal organizations, cooperative associations, cultural groups (such as choirs, orchestras, and theater and dance ensembles), and the press.

Upon his arrival in America, even before he could address the pervasive problems of his flock, including the language barrier, illiteracy, poor working conditions, and difficulty in

adapting to the new environment, Father Voliansky was challenged as to his status as a married priest in the Catholic Church, even though marriage was canonically permissible in the Eastern Church. To this day, the issue has not been finally resolved.

Another problem that soon surfaced – that of unity among Eastern-rite Ukrainian Catholics – was related to ethnic self-identification. The name "Ukrainian" had a political connotation that was unacceptable or incomprehensible to the majority of immigrants, who were used to the name "Rusyn." With the arrival of new priests from the Transcarpathian region (they very soon outnumbered those from Galicia), ethnic designation came to reflect the immigrants' region of origin in Ukraine and became a rallying cry in the battle for parishes. The Transcarpathian priests usually advocated pro-Hungarian and later even pro-Russian loyalties rather than the concept of national independence that was promoted by those who favored the name "Ukrainian." As a result, the community split into two camps – Ukrainian, which, after the recall of Father Voliansky, in 1889, found its ardent leaders among the priests of the so-called "American Circle," and Rusyn, or Ruthenian, comprising immigrants from the Transcarpathian region. The separation, acerbated by the creation in 1892 of the Greek Catholic "Soiedyneniie" (Union), a mutual-aid society for the Transcarpathian immigrants, became permanent in 1916 with the creation of administratively separate church jurisdictions.

In addition to the Ukrainian/Ruthenian split, another part of the community was absorbed by the Russian Orthodox Church. That exodus began, rather accidentally, in 1891, under the leadership of Father Oleksii Toth. By 1911, there were eighty-two Russian Orthodox parishes in the United States, composed primarily of some twenty thousand former Ukrainian Catholics. The Communist Revolution of 1917 put an end to the Tsar's subsidy of the Russian Orthodox Church and, consequently, to the Ukrainian Catholic exodus.

The third division occurred with the formation of the Ukrainska Komunistychna Partiia (Ukrainian Communist Party), the origins of which can be traced to the earlier socialist-oriented groups, the Haidamaky (Steppe-fighters), founded in 1907, and later the Ukrainska Federatsiia Sotsiialistychnoi Partii v Amerytsi (Ukrainian Federation of the Socialist Party of America), founded in 1915. Even after the Party's demise, its members did not rejoin the mainstream of the Ukrainian community. All other conflicts in the community were rooted in divergent political or religious views, but did not result in a denial of ethnic identity or in complete isolation from the ethnic group, as did the above-described conflicts.

Assimilation also took its toll, but assimilation is a continuous and expected process and thereby differs in nature from the organized actions just discussed, with their political or religious motivation. The alienation between the early immigrants and those who came after the Second World War resulted in an acceleration of the assimilation of the American-born generations but not in the creation of a separate ethnic community.

The position of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was strengthened with the arrival of the first Ukrainian bishop, Soter Ortynsky, in 1907. Although the Vatican appointed him primarily to prevent the exodus of Ukrainians to the Russian Orthodox Church, Bishop Ortynsky made education one of his top priorities, founding schools, seminaries, and orphanages. He was less successful at holding together the two Ukrainian Catholic factions, the Galicians and Transcarpathians. Upon his untimely death in 1916, the two camps were administratively divided by Rome, thus reinforcing the separatist tendency between them.

The turn of the century saw further divisions between Galicians and Transcarpathians, and the creation of new political and religious groups, which further multiplied the number of factions in the community. The focal point in the consolidation efforts of the fraternal organizations continued to be the identifying terms *Ukrainian* and *Rusyn*. Of all the existing organizations, the fraternal associations soon became most central to the Ukrainian

community, in terms of both the number of members they attracted and the influence they exerted through their publications.

With the outbreak of the First World War and an upsurge of hope for the independence of Ukraine, there was a general consensus that a single, unified representative body of the entire Ukrainian community was needed. However, the effort in 1915 to form the Kongres Ukraintsiv v Zluchenykh Derzhavakh (Congress of Ukrainians in the United States) ran into opposition from the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Bishop Ortynsky instituted the Ruska Narodna Rada (Ruthenian National Council) as a counterpart. The Congress itself resulted in two representative bodies, the Ukrainska Federatsiia v Zluchenykh Derzhavakh (Federation of Ukrainians in the United States) and the Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Komitet (Ukrainian National Committee), both conducting similar activities. The greatest achievement of their efforts was the proclamation by President Wilson of a Ruthenian Tag Day. With the end of the war, all three organizations ceased to exist. In their place new representative organizations emerged, including Obiednannia (United Ukrainian Organizations), supported by the Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Soiuz (Ukrainian National Association), and Oborona Ukrainy (Ukrainian-American Committee for the Freedom of Ukraine), supported by the Ukrainskyi Robitnychyi Soiuz (Ukrainian Workingmen's Association). Neither of these organizations became as effective or as influential as the fraternal organizations that supported them.

Between the Two World Wars

The events of the war had a profound effect on the national consciousness of Ukrainian immigrants in the United States. The community was reinforced by a small but important contingent of better-educated political immigrants, who raised the level of the community's political, social, educational, and cultural life. These immigrants came not only from Western Ukraine, but also from the traditionally Orthodox eastern regions of the country.

Even after the end of the war, it seemed for some time that there might still be an independent Ukraine, and the immigrants, who came to America primarily to make money, intending to return to their native land, insisted that their children learn the Ukrainian language and preserve the knowledge of Ukrainian traditions. By the end of the 1920s, these hopes dimmed, but the ideal of an independent Ukraine remained preeminent. All aspects of the activities of the Ukrainian community – not only political, but also social, professional, cultural, religious, and educational – were explained in terms of a moral obligation to help Ukraine in her struggle for independence, and thus it has continued to the present day.

The 1920s were marked by several events. In 1924, new bishops were appointed for the Ukrainian Catholic Church – Constantine Bohachevsky for Ukrainians from Galicia, and Basil Takach for Ruthenians from the Transcarpathian region. This dual appointment solidified the separation of the two factions.

Bishop Bohachevsky concentrated his efforts in the field of education, establishing the first all-day Ukrainian parish school in Philadelphia in 1925. By 1940, there were sixteen such schools. The 1920s were a decade when the so-called Saturday, or heritage, schools (Ukrainian supplementary schools) flourished, reinforced by a contingent of teachers from among the newly arrived immigrants.

As did his predecessors, Bishop Bohachevsky found himself in a difficult predicament vis-à-vis the issue of married priests, with the Roman Catholic Church insisting on celibacy for the Ukrainian Catholic clergy and his own faithful and priests pressuring him to resist the Latinization of their Church. Religious conflicts played a significant role in community activism at that time.

The year 1924 also marked the arrival of Bishop Ioan Teodorovych of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, established in the United States in 1921. Both the

Autocephalous Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (the latter was established in 1928) provided a haven for disenchanted Ukrainian Catholic clerics and lay people. Indeed, the latter constituted the majority of members of the Orthodox Church, which had attracted them with its national ideology.

A succession of prominent visitors from Ukraine energized the community's activism and directed that activism toward the needs of Ukraine. Among those visitors were Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky, in 1910 and 1921; Yevhen Konovalets, leader of the Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (OUN, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), in 1928–29; Senator Olena Kysilewska; Danylo Skoropadsky, son of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky (head of the Ukrainian State in 1918); and educator Lev Yasinchuk. New political organizations were founded, including the Orhanizatsiia Derzhavnoho Vidrodzhennia Ukrainy (ODVU, Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine) and the Ukrainska Hetmanska Orhanizatsiia (UHO, United Hetman Organization). Women's organizations were also established, among them the Soiuz Ukrainok Ameryky (Ukrainian National Women's League of America), in 1925, and the Ukrainskyi Zolotyi Khrest (Ukrainian Gold Cross), in 1931.

Not even economic depression in the 1930s could dampen the activism of the Ukrainian community. Such events in Ukraine as those connected with Polish "pacification" policies in Western Ukraine or the artificial famine in Soviet Ukraine brought thousands of Ukrainians to demonstrations and rallies. A pivotal point of that period came with the establishment of a Ukrainian pavilion at the World's Fair in Chicago, in 1933, a proud achievement for the Ukrainian-American community. It was at that time that new organizations, reflecting the needs of the American-born generation, were formed – the Liga Ukrainskoi Molodi Pivnichnoi Ameryky (Ukrainian Youth League of North America, UYLNA), the Liga Ukrainskoi Katolytskoi Molodi (League of Ukrainian Catholic Youth, LUCY), and the Ukrainske Profesiine Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Professional Association).

These organizations reflected the inevitable dilemma confronting the new generation of American-born Ukrainians who were coming of age in the 1930s – that of double loyalty, to Ukraine and to the United States. Because of the new U.S. immigration laws of 1924 and 1928, very few Ukrainians arrived in the United States between the two world wars. Those who came were easily absorbed into the existing community organizational structure, which was in need of educated management. At the same time, the American-born Ukrainian youth were ready for new organizational structures, yet their support of the community and its existing structure was critical to its survival.

With the political arrangements made in Europe in the aftermath of the First World War, it became clear that the Ukrainian immigrants' hope of returning to a free homeland was lost. Their insistence on their children's learning the Ukrainian language simultaneously lost its urgency. To facilitate participation in the community activities of the American-born generation, English-language periodicals began to appear. Approximately ten such publications made their debut between 1930 and 1939; of those, *The Ukrainian Weekly* (Jersey City, NJ) is the most notable survivor. Whereas before the First World War the main objective of community activism was to develop a sense of national identity among the members of the community, after the war, the objective was to develop an awareness of Ukraine and Ukrainian problems among non-Ukrainian Americans, especially within the U.S. government.

With the outbreak of the Second World War, older youth, the most active element in the community, were drafted into the army. Despite the government's suspicions of Nazi collaboration among Ukrainian Americans, members of the Ukrainian community devoted themselves to selling war bonds, and the women formed Red Cross groups and wove bandages. The community's political leaders decided that it was once again time to form a unified representative body that would speak for the community before the American public

and government, seeking support for the cause of Ukraine's liberation. Thus, the Ukrainskyi Kongresovyi Komitet Ameryky (Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, UCCA) was formed in 1940, headed by Nicholas Murashko. For various reasons, the UCCA was not fully supported at the outset by all Ukrainian organizations. A second, more successful, UCCA convention was held in Philadelphia in 1944. Like its predecessor, the Ukrainian National Committee, which had sent a delegation to the Paris Conference in 1919, the UCCA dispatched a delegation to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco in 1945 and to the Paris Peace Conference in 1946. Both delegations were headed by a young, American-born Ukrainian lawyer and community activist named Walter Shumeyko. In 1947, the UCCA organized an even broader representative body, the Pan-Amerykanska Ukrainska Konferentsiia (Pan-American Ukrainian Conference), coordinating Ukrainian organizations on both the North and South American continents. That organization, in turn, promoted the Svitovyi Kongres Vilnykh Ukraintsiv (SKVU, World Congress of Free Ukrainians), which met for the first time in New York in 1967.

The Postwar Period

In the years immediately following the Second World War, the attention of the entire Ukrainian community was focused almost exclusively on aiding Ukrainian refugees in Western Europe, the great majority of whom were in DP camps in West Germany and Austria. The Zluchenyi Ukrainskyi Amerykanskyi Dopomohovyi Komitet (ZUADK, United Ukrainian American Relief Committee) was established in 1944. Its immediate task was to organize a campaign against forced repatriation of Ukrainian refugees to the Soviet Union. After the passage of the Displaced Persons Act by the United States Congress in 1948, ZUADK was instrumental in bringing over and helping to settle thousands of new Ukrainian immigrants.

In the years 1948–52, more than eighty thousand persons immigrated to the United States, settling in the largest Ukrainian centers of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland. This newest immigration comprised people from all regions of Ukraine, but predominantly from Western Ukraine. Unlike the early, pre–First World War immigration, of which peasants constituted 99 percent, the latest influx was made up of skilled laborers, tradesmen, and professionals in addition to peasants, who represented only 45 percent. The immigrants joined some of the established Ukrainian-American organizations, often by creating their own separate branches within the existing structures. But for the most part, they reestablished the organizations to which they had belonged in Ukraine or which they had created for the first time in the DP camps. This was especially true in the case of youth organizations, where newcomers did not join the dominant Ukrainian Youth League of North America, but established their own organizations, including Plast, Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization; the Ukrainian Scouts); Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi Ameryky (SUMA, Ukrainian Youth Association of America); Orhanizatsiia Demokratychnoi Ukrainskoi Molodi (ODUM, Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association; also known as the Association of American Youth of Ukrainian Descent); and Soiuz Ukrainskykh Studentskykh Tovarystv Ameryky (SUSTA, Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations of America). There were many other examples of parallel social and political organizations, reflecting a polarization of the community along immigration time lines.

In the early postwar years, the admission of Ukraine into the United Nations constituted a recognition of it as a separate country in the international forum, despite protestations that it was only a puppet of the Soviet Union. The event had a strong impact on the Ukrainian community, which had long fought for such recognition. Furthermore, the Cold War vindicated Ukrainians of charges of fascism, and they were now able to engage openly in anti-

communist activities. The proclamation of the "Week of Captive Nations" by President Eisenhower in 1959 added credence to the community's claim that anti-Sovietism is not the equivalent of Nazism.

In the 1960s and 1970s, five events dominated the activities of Ukrainians throughout the United States: (1) fund raising for and the ceremonial dedication of the Shevchenko monument in Washington, DC, in 1964; (2) the arrival in the West of the Metropolitan of Lviv, Yosyf Slipy, after his release from a Soviet concentration camp in Siberia, and the subsequent agitation within the Ukrainian Catholic Church for the creation of a Ukrainian patriarchate; (3) the establishment of a Chair of Ukrainian Studies at Harvard University; (4) the convening of the first World Congress of Free Ukrainians in New York, which finalized the coordination of Ukrainian organizations in the diaspora; and (5) a new wave of the dissident movement in Soviet Ukraine, which inspired Ukrainian Americans, especially the youth, to activism.

The Civil Rights Movement in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s and the subsequent raising of ethnic consciousness showed the viability of the ethnic community as an integral part of the larger American social structure. The bicentennial celebration of the United States of America in 1976 inspired Ukrainians to celebrate the centennial of their own community on this continent. Supported by federal and state grants, a number of local community histories were published. Various activities were aimed at raising community pride and conveying the message that biculturalism is not anti-American and has a value in itself. These processes have helped to secure and maintain involvement and participation in community affairs.

The commitment of Ukrainian Americans to their ethnic community cannot be explained exclusively by the widely promoted notion of a moral obligation toward Ukraine, a rather abstract concept. A more concrete, personal involvement – that is, the close social relationships of family and friends – must also be considered. In the case of nonvisible minorities, ethnic identification is largely a matter of ethnic self-identification, and the Ukrainian community has always emphasized activities that promote the will to such self-identification. Schools, youth organizations, and the provision of opportunities for the social recognition of young people (through dance groups, choirs, sports clubs, and theatrical ensembles, for example) have played an important role in ethnic self-preservation. The problem of self-preservation reached a critical stage in the Ukrainian community in the early 1980s, when the immigrant generation was becoming aged and there was no hope either for a new wave of immigrants, which traditionally revives and sustains the culture of American ethnic communities, or for extensive, free contacts with Ukraine.

As they had in the past, dramatic and extraordinary events mobilized the Ukrainian community in the 1980s – the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, the tragedy of Chornobyl, and the reverberations of glasnost and perestroika. The centennial of organized Ukrainian community life in America, in 1984, was not celebrated extensively, perhaps because attention was focused on the Millennium celebrations.

To commemorate the Millennium, civic and church-affiliated committees charged with the planning and preparation of the celebration were formed on the local and national levels. The issue of whether it was the Catholic or Orthodox or simply the Christian religion that Volodymyr the Great accepted became contentious, stirring up a new fervor of loyalty among Ukrainians to their respective churches. However, Moscow's claim to the historical occasion provided an incentive for unity in the Ukrainian community, which vehemently opposed such an appropriation.

The celebration of the Millennium had a very direct effect on strengthening the Ukrain-

ian-American community. Also powerful in this regard were the other recent events that mobilized the community – the nuclear disaster at Chornobyl, freer contacts with Ukraine, the democratic movement, the proclamation in 1990 of the sovereignty of Ukraine, the declaration of independence on August 24, 1991, and the overwhelming approval of the independence referendum in December 1991. Projects within the Ukrainian community, such as construction of new churches, support for ethnic education, and fund raising to support activities within Ukrainian-American community, were superceded by the campaign to help Ukraine.

The year 1989 marked the beginning of a new era of relations between the Ukrainian-American community and Ukraine. Glasnost and perestroika suddenly opened new vistas of activism; the possibility of direct contact with the homeland spawned an intensified commitment among Ukrainian Americans. Viewed for a long time as harmful, contacts with the established institutions of Soviet Ukraine began to flourish.

The first to develop such contacts was the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, through reciprocal scholarly cooperation and exchanges. Then, in August 1990, the World Congress of the Ukrainian Medical Association, attended by a great number of participants from outside the Soviet Union, took place in Ukraine. Other important events followed, each drawing a large contingent of Ukrainian-American and other visitors to Ukraine; they included the Congress of the International Association of Ukrainists; the installation of U.S. resident Metropolitan Mstyslav Skrypnyk as the first Patriarch of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church; the congresses of the Ukrainian democratic movement Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine; and the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Also, private visits between families in Ukraine and the United States have started to take place on a large scale for the first time since the Second World War. The effect that the new freedom of contact and the dramatic political developments will have on the stability and growth of the Ukrainian-American community can be conjectured on the basis of comparison with other ethnic communities, both those whose homelands have been in similar political situations and those whose homelands were always free.

The factor of moral obligation to support the homeland undoubtedly plays an important role. However, the ethnic community as a form of social organization that enhances one's identity with specific cultural traits is of special value to the individual in a diverse, multicultural society. Will the Ukrainian community remain such for the offspring of the immigrants, or will it become a stepping stone for the new immigrants toward integration or assimilation into the larger American society? On the basis of such studies as Glazer and Moynihan's *Beyond the Melting Pot* or Allen and Turner's *We, the People: An Atlas of America's Ethnic Diversity*, ethnicity seems to be a permanent factor in American society. However, how well the community manages to preserve itself will depend on how well the institutions and organizations that form a network of communication among its members will adapt to new situations and new demands. Historically, the most enduring institutions of the ethnic communities were churches.

Religious Life

From the earliest days of Ukrainian settlement in the country, the church served as more than a place of worship for the Ukrainian community; it was the center of social and cultural life as well. Often the first building to be erected in a Ukrainian neighborhood, the church housed Sunday schools, reading rooms, and libraries. The church hall served as a community hall for concerts, plays, lectures, banquets, dances, and parish gatherings. It provided

meeting rooms for organizations and rehearsal space for choruses, orchestras, and dancing ensembles.

The Ukrainian priest was not only the spiritual leader of his parish; his role extended to that of community leader as well. The clergy were instrumental in the founding of various associations, including Ukrainian fraternal societies, youth groups, and sodalities; in the publication of newspapers; and in the sponsoring of artistic groups. Ukrainian priests were a source of help for the immigrant; they played a central role in the successful adjustment of Ukrainians to life in the United States.

Ukrainian church life in the United States did not develop without obstacles. Unlike other immigrant groups, Ukrainians, the majority of whom were Catholic, did not find a church organization of their own in America but were forced to establish their own national churches. The small number of Orthodox Ukrainians joined the already-existing Russian Orthodox Church of America and, with time, Ukrainians constituted a majority in this Church. The problems faced by the Ukrainian faithful did not subside with the organization of Ukrainian parishes, the erection of churches and chapels, and the arrival of Ukrainian priests from Galicia and Transcarpathia. Lacking understanding of Ukrainian issues and intolerant of ethnic pluralism, American Catholic bishops attempted to prevent married Ukrainian priests from performing their religious duties. When the Roman Curia approved the prohibition of married priests in 1890 (contrary to the Church Union of Berestia [Brest], the 1596 agreement between the Holy See and Ukrainian bishops), some married clergy returned to Ukraine while others, along with their parishioners, joined the Russian Orthodox Church. Some 163 Catholic parishes and more than two hundred thousand faithful joined the Russian Orthodox Church between 1891 and 1917.

The Ukrainian clergy who remained loyal to the Catholic Church were torn by internal strife: many priests from Transcarpathia were Magyarophiles and opposed the ideas of national consciousness espoused by Galician priests. Conflicts also arose between the clergy and the faithful based on territorial, political, and even purely personal issues. Realizing that many Ukrainians were joining the Orthodox Church and prompted by the intercession of Metropolitan Andrii Sheptytsky of Lviv, the Vatican was persuaded to appoint the first Ukrainian Catholic bishop in America in 1907. After the death of that bishop in 1916, separate Apostolic Administrators were appointed for Galician Ukrainians and Transcarpathian Ukrainians (who called themselves Carpatho-Ruthenians); the ecclesiastical division of the Ukrainian community was made permanent in 1924 with the nomination of two separate bishops. Among both Galician and Transcarpathian Ukrainians, there were periods of pro-Orthodox sympathy as a result of the struggle with Latin-rite bishops and disputes over religious ritual, disciplinary issues, and church organization. Another contributing factor was Russophilism among Transcarpathian Ukrainians. Many parishes left the Ukrainian Catholic Church and joined the Russian Orthodox Church or founded their own independent churches.

Many Ukrainians were not satisfied with the Russian character of the Russian Orthodox Church, and some subsequently returned to the Catholic Church. Others formed their own church after the Holy Synod in Russia denied their requests for autonomy, for a Ukrainian hierarchy, and for the use of the name Ukrainian Orthodox Church in America. A number of Ukrainian Orthodox parishes were organized in the United States. In 1920, a national Ukrainian religious convention in New York founded the independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A., which soon proclaimed its unity with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Ukraine. Archbishop Ioan Teodorovych was appointed administrator of the new religious body in the United States, and the number of member parishes grew rapidly.

When another movement toward Orthodoxy began among Ukrainian Catholics, the faithful did not join the existing Ukrainian Orthodox Church, because of a canonical disagreement concerning the validity of Archbishop Teodorovych's episcopal consecration; instead, they formed a new church, which eventually became known as the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America. Efforts at unifying the two Ukrainian Orthodox Church groups were not successful.

As new immigrants arrived after the Second World War, other Orthodox Church organizations were created, among them the Ukrainska Avtokefalna Pravoslavna Tserkva v Ekzyli (Holy Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Exile) and the Sobornopravna Ukrainska Pravoslavna Avtokefalna Tserkva (the Council-Ruled Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church). Transcarpathian Ukrainian Catholics who converted to the Orthodox faith formed the American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church.

The problems confronting Ukrainian churches in the United States today include the lack of vocations to the priesthood; declining church membership resulting from the aging of the immigrant population, the intermarriage and assimilation of succeeding generations, and migration away from Ukrainian centers; and the controversy over the liturgical language. The rift in the Ukrainian Catholic Church caused by the introduction of the Gregorian calendar in the late 1950s and early 1960s has since abated, but the quest for the recognition of a Ukrainian patriarchate remains a major issue for Ukrainian Catholic faithful.

Today, Ukrainian churches continue to play an important role in the preservation of Ukrainian culture and national identity. They continue to serve not only as houses of worship, but also as community centers. Schools, libraries, publications, museums, seminaries, old-age homes, and cemeteries are run by Ukrainian churches, which strive to care for the physical and social as well as the spiritual welfare of the Ukrainian community.

Ukrainian Catholic Church

The Metropolitanate (the Church province) of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States comprises four dioceses. The territory of the first Ukrainian diocese in the United States, that of Philadelphia, established in 1913 as an exarchate and currently headed by Metropolitan Archbishop Stephen Sulyk, extends through the states of Pennsylvania, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, and Virginia. The Most Reverend Walter Paska is the Auxiliary Bishop of Philadelphia. The Stamford Diocese, established in 1956, is headed by Bishop Basil Losten; its territory extends over the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and New York. The Saint Nicholas Diocese in Chicago, established in 1961 and currently headed by Bishop Michael Wiwchar, has parishes in the states of Illinois, Arizona, California, Colorado, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oregon, Texas, and Wisconsin. The Saint Josaphat Diocese in Parma, Ohio, headed by Bishop Robert Moskal, was instituted in 1983 and has parishes in Florida, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia.

The role of the Church is not limited strictly to providing religious services. Almost every parish hosts a number of organizations, such as Marian sodalities, brotherhoods, sisterhoods, youth clubs, seniors' clubs, and the Knights of Columbus. There are also local chapters of organizations such as the Liga Ukraintsiv Katolykiv (League of Ukrainian Catholics, LUC), the aforementioned League of Ukrainian Catholic Youth, and the Ukrainske Katolytske Akademichne Tovarystvo "Obnova" (Ukrainian Catholic Academic Association "Rebirth") (the latter two groups are not as active today as they were in the past). Parishes also sponsor educational institutions, such as all-day schools, supplementary Saturday schools or courses, and catechetical classes. Almost every parish has a choir. There are parish or diocesan radio programs, church bulletins, and in, some cases, diocesan newspapers (in Philadelphia, *Shliakh*

Table 13 Statistical data on the Ukrainian Catholic Church, 1990

	Dioceses				
	Philadelphia	**Stamford**	**St. Nicholas**	**St. Josaphat**	**Total**
Bishops	1	1	1	1	4
Priests	65(76)	62(72)	27(46)	29(39)	196(233)
Brothers	3	2	1	0	6
Sisters	109	47	11	10	177
Parishes	80	51	32	35	198
Seminarians	6	19	9	4	38
Colleges	1	1	0	0	2
Students	372	19	0	0	391
High schools	1	3	1	0	5
Students	350	214	74	0	598
Elementary schools	11	5	2	2	20
Students	1,492	490	422	358	2,762
Students under religious instruction	1,106	648	269	513	2,536
Total students	3,286	1,331	774	885	6,276
Teachers	105	64	40	26	240
Total membership	35,196	39,505	19,000	11,935	105,630

Source: *The Official Catholic Directory, 1990* (Wilmette, IL: P.J. Kenedy and Sons, 1990). In the row on priests, the first number indicates active priests and the number in parentheses indicates all priests, including those who are retired or disabled. Also, the "Total membership" row includes only registered members; estimates of all the faithful in the Ukrainian Catholic Church put the total membership at approximately 250,000.

Note: In March 1992, an Auxiliary Bishop was appointed to the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, bringing the number of bishops in that Archdiocese to two and the total for the four Ukrainian Catholic dioceses to five.

[The Way]; in Stamford, *Sivach* [The Sower]; and in Chicago, *Nova Zoria* [The New Star]). Seniors' homes are maintained by the dioceses of Philadelphia (Ascension Manor and Home of Divine Providence), Parma (Sheptytsky Arms), and Stamford (Saint Joseph's Home). There is a notable museum and library in Stamford, founded in 1935 by Bishop Constantine Bohachevsky.

The oldest religious order in the United States is that of the Basilian Sisters (OSBM), who arrived in 1911. By 1912, the Sisters were running a convent, an orphanage, and a printing press in Philadelphia. In 1925, they opened the first all-day Ukrainian school. In 1930, the convent was moved to Fox Chase, on the outskirts of Philadelphia, where the Sisters established their Mother House and, a year later, began to operate a high school, Saint Basil's Academy. In 1947, the Sisters opened Manor Junior College in nearby Jenkintown. In 1987, there were seventy-eight Sisters of Saint Basil the Great serving in the United States.

The Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate (SSMI) came to Stamford, Connecticut, via Canada in 1935, and by 1939 had thirteen missions. In 1959, they formed a separate U.S. province. There were sixty-seven professed Sisters and fourteen houses in 1986. The Provincialate of the Sister Servants in Sloatsburg, New York, is the site of retreats and the annual Assumption Pilgrimage. The Sisters run the Saint Joseph's Home for the Aged, in Sloatsburg. There are also Missionary Sisters of the Mother of God, founded in 1944 in Stamford, which in 1987 had three houses and fourteen Sisters. They run the Mother of God Academy for girls in Stamford, an elementary school in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and nursery schools in Stamford and Philadelphia.

The men's religious order of Saint Basil the Great was first established in the United

States in Chicago in 1932 and then, in 1942, transferred to New York. Since 1966, the headquarters have been in Astoria, New York. In 1987, there were eight houses, and the membership included twenty-six priests, three brothers, and nine novices. The priests administer parishes and schools, including Saint George's in New York City. Their Novitiate in Glen Cove, Long Island, is the site of an annual pilgrimage. The Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, or Redemptorists (CSSR) opened a house in Newark, New Jersey, in 1946. In 1987, they numbered ten priests, who ministered to five parishes, including the Shrine of the Holy Family, in Washington, DC.

In addition, there are small groups of other men's and women's religious communities, including the Franciscans, who have their headquarters in Sybertsville, Pennsylvania, and the Studites, who run a parish in Passaic, New Jersey. Mention should also be made of the Monks of Saint Tabor–Holy Transfiguration Monastery in Redwood Valley, California, which hosts the Sheptytsky Institute of Byzantine Spirituality. Founded in 1972, its members are three priests and six monks, most of whom are of non-Ukrainian origin.

The Byzantine Catholic Church of America serves the Carpatho-Ruthenian faithful in the United States. The Archdiocese is located in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and is temporarily headed by Auxiliary Bishop John M. Bilock, who was elected to be the Archdiocesan Administrator for the post left vacant by the sudden death of Metropolitan Thomas V. Dolinay on April 13, 1993. It has 75 priests, 87 parishes, and a Catholic population of 128,072. The Most Reverend Michael J. Dudick is Bishop of the Diocese of Passaic, New Jersey, which has 117 priests, 97 parishes, and a Catholic population of 80,400; the Most Reverend Andrew Pataki is Bishop of the Diocese of Parma, Ohio, which has 44 priests, 42 parishes, and a Catholic population of 18,109; and the Most Reverend George Kuzma is Bishop of the Diocese of Van Nuys, California, which has 25 priests, 25 parishes, and a Catholic population of 17,220.

Ukrainian Orthodox Churches

Most Ukrainians of the Orthodox denomination in the United States belong either to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, headed until 1993 by Patriarch Mstyslav, or to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America, under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. is part of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, whose beginnings in the United States date back to the early 1920s. Its first Archbishop was Ioan Teodorovych. In time, dissensions developed within the Church, but in 1950, at the Sobor (Council) in New York, those canonical misunderstandings were cleared up and the present Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the U.S.A. was established. In 1951, its seat was transferred from Philadelphia to South Bound Brook, New Jersey. The church was headed until 1993 by Mstyslav Skrypnyk, who was inaugurated in Kiev in October 1990 as Patriarch of Kiev and of all Ukraine, assisted by Metropolitan Constantine Bagan, Archbishop Antonii Shcherba and Bishop Paisiy Ivashchuk. The highest authority of the Church is the Sobor, which takes place every three years. The Church Metropolitan Council, which supervises the Church administration, property, and schools, consists of the head of the Church, its bishops, and seven representatives each from both the clerical and lay members. The everyday affairs of the Church are administered by the consistory.

In 1990, the Church had 94 parishes, 86 active and 14 retired priests, and a membership of some 100,000 faithful.

A patriarchal residence, a memorial church-museum, and a library and archives are

located on the grounds of the property in South Bound Brook. In 1975, the Saint Sophia Ukrainian Orthodox Seminary was founded. Adjacent to the church is a cemetery, in which many distinguished Ukrainian Americans of various denominations are buried. Since 1950, the Church has published the monthly *Ukrainske Pravoslavne Slovo* (Ukrainian Orthodox Word); it also publishes the yearly almanac *Ukrainskyi Pravoslavnyi Kalendar* (Ukrainian Orthodox Calendar).

Attached to the parishes are a number of organizations, such as choirs, schools, brotherhoods, and sisterhoods. In 1987, the Ukrainska Pravoslavna Liga (Ukrainian Orthodox League), established in 1946, comprised thirty adult and twenty youth chapters. It publishes the monthly *Biuleten Ukrainskoi Pravoslavnoi Ligy* (UOL Bulletin). The sisterhoods are affiliated with a central organization, the Obiednannia Sestrytstv Ukrainskoi Pravoslavnoi Tserkvy (Union of Ukrainian Orthodox Sisterhoods). More than eight hundred students attend schools or courses sponsored by the Church.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America

Founded in 1928, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America, under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, is headed in the United States by Bishop Vsevolod Kolomyitsiv-Maidansky. At first the Church had its seat in Allentown, Pennsylvania; currently it is based in Jamaica, New York. In 1980, it consisted of 26 parishes, 35 priests, and more than 10,000 faithful. The church publishes a quarterly, the *Ukrainskyi Pravoslavnyi Visnyk* (Ukrainian Orthodox Herald).

Five parishes of the Sobornopravna (Council-Ruled) Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which came into being in the DP camp in Aschafenburg, Germany, in 1947 and was reestablished in the United States in 1951, joined the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America after the death of their leader, Metropolitan Hryhorii Ohiichuk. The remaining parishes of the Sobornopravna Church split into two separate groups, with three bishops between them.

Ukrainian Protestant Churches

There are several Ukrainian Protestant denominations. The most prominent among them is the Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Church, which was formed in about 1915; its first two congregations were founded in Chester, Pennsylvania, and Chicago, Illinois. Currently, there are 22 churches, with 40 pastors and some 10,000 faithful. The churches conduct catechetical courses; have choirs, brotherhoods and sisterhoods, and youth organizations; publish a periodical entitled *Pislanets Pravdy* (Messenger of Truth); and together sponsor a daily radio program "Holos Yevanheliia" (Voice of the Gospel), which is designed specifically for listeners in Ukraine, but is also broadcast for local audiences in several American cities on a weekly basis. Organizationally, the churches are united in the Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Convention of the U.S.A., which was headed for a long time by Pastor Oleksa Harbuziuk, then by Pastor Volodymyr Domashovets, and currently by Pastor Jaroslav Paprockyj. The Convention sponsors the Ukrainske Misiine Bibliine Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Missionary and Bible Society), which, over the years, has sent thousands of bibles to Ukraine. In recent years, the Church also helped a number of Ukrainian Baptist families who were being persecuted in Ukraine to emigrate to the United States.

Other Ukrainian Protestant churches include the Pentacostal Church and the Evangelical Alliance. The former has ten churches; the latter has one.

Other Religious Affiliations

There are a sizable number of descendants of Ukrainian immigrants who belong to the Russian Orthodox churches as well as to the Roman Catholic Church.

A small number of Ukrainians adhere to the ancient, pre-Christian religion Ridna Ukrainska Vira (Native Ukrainian Faith), or Runvira.

Education and Professional Life

Ukrainian immigrants were well aware of the necessity of a good education in order to survive in the New World and of the important role that education plays in the process of upward mobility.

As early as the 1880s, Ukrainian churches established reading rooms and libraries and sponsored adult-education classes in both Ukrainian and English. Many immigrants themselves enrolled in local schools to learn English and to attain the skills needed for good jobs. Professionals who held menial daytime jobs often went to night school to prepare for the recertification exams that they had to pass in order to continue practicing in their chosen fields.

Ukrainian immigrants, including the illiterate and those with little formal education, made sure that their children finished school and, in many cases, obtained university degrees.

In recent decades, the network of schools sponsored by Ukrainian churches and organizations has grown smaller as a result of lower birth rates, outmigration from inner cities with large concentrations of Ukrainians, and the natural process of assimilation. The typical class size of Ukrainian all-day elementary schools in the 1950s–1960s was approximately fifty, and it was sometimes necessary to open two or more sections per grade. Today, the schools that remain struggle to keep their doors open, with entire student bodies of fewer than two hundred. Some schools were forced to close as enrollments dropped. Nevertheless, the need for both Ukrainian all-day and supplementary Saturday schools, although reduced, still exists, as evidenced by the number of second- and third-generation parents who drive many miles to have their children attend a Ukrainian school or Ukrainian language and/or religion classes.

Elementary and Secondary Schools

The accredited all-day Ukrainian schools are all conducted under the auspices of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. At their peak, in the mid-1970s, there were twenty-six elementary schools, four high schools, one junior college, and two diocesan seminaries. The peak year in school population was 1966–7, when 9,840 students were enrolled in these schools.[11] In 1990, there were twenty elementary schools, attended by 2,762 students, and five high schools, with a student population of 598.[12] All the schools follow the state-prescribed curriculum, with additional subjects in Ukrainian studies, including language, history, literature, and geography. The intensity of instruction in Ukrainian subjects varies significantly from school to school; of all the schools, Immaculate Conception High School in Detroit, Michigan, and Saint George's Academy in New York City devote the most time to Ukrainian subjects. The basic language of instruction is English.

Ukrainian Saturday Schools

Ukrainian supplementary schools, most but not all of which are held on Saturdays, are known in Ukrainian as *shkoly ukrainoznavstva* (Ukrainian-studies schools). They provide students with a knowledge of the Ukrainian language, history, literature, culture, geography, and ethnic traditions.

The need for supplemental instruction was felt as early as the end of the last century, when even special school buildings were erected for the purpose. The popularity of these schools went through several phases and, by the late 1940s and early 1950s, at the time of

the arrival of the postwar immigration, the schools had become largely religious-instruction classes. From the outset, the new immigrants, who included a large number of teachers, began to establish new supplementary Ukrainian-studies schools. By 1953, the year in which the Educational Council of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) was instituted, there were at least twenty-nine new schools, operating in twelve eastern and midwestern states. In 1966, the UCCA Educational Council reported seventy-six schools of Ukrainian studies, and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Educational Council, which came into being in 1965, reported thirty-eight, for a total joint enrollment of approximately 11,000 students.[13] Three years later, in 1969, a rapid decline set in. The explanations for this decline included a drop in the birth rate, resettlement to the suburbs (with the attendant inconvenience of transportation to the schools), and assimilation.

Currently, the two main clusters of Ukrainian Saturday schools, those affiliated with the UCCA Educational Council and those under the auspices of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, are also represented in the Kraieva Vykhovno-Osvitna Rada (KVOR, National Education and School Council), which is part of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. There are several independent schools, but the practical need for curricular support, which a network of associated schools provides, tends to supersede the need for independence. The UCCA Educational Council has published a trimestral journal, *Ridna Shkola* (Native School), since 1964, and periodically edits a page in the daily newspaper *Svoboda* (Liberty) (Jersey City, NJ), called "Mova pro movu" (Speaking of Language).

The school reports of the Ukrainian Saturday schools (sometimes called Heritage Schools) for 1990 show that there were 28 schools, with 296 teachers and 2,100 students, affiliated with the UCCA Educational Council. The Orthodox Educational Council has not been active in the past few years, but it is estimated that, of the 28 schools reported operating under the auspices of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, five or six are *shkoly ukrainoznavstva* (Ukrainian-studies schools) and the rest are schools of religious education.

Preschool education is offered by some Ukrainian Catholic schools and parishes; women's organizations, notably the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, often sponsor nurseries and kindergartens.

Institutions of Higher Learning

Institutions of higher learning that focus on or offer Ukrainian subjects can be divided into the following categories: religious seminaries, junior colleges, American institutions offering courses in Ukrainian studies, and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

There are two Ukrainian Catholic theological seminaries in the United States. Saint Josaphat's Seminary, in Washington, DC, was founded in 1941. By 1988, 235 students had attended the school, 132 of whom were ordained to the priesthood. In 1988, there were 13 seminarians. The Ukrainian Catholic Minor Seminary, in Stamford, Connecticut, was founded in 1933; Saint Basil's College, the major seminary, which is accredited to grant Bachelor of Arts degrees in philosophy, was founded in 1939. Between 1939 and 1986, 342 students of Ukrainian descent were enrolled at the college; 180 graduated and, of those, 98 became diocesan priests, 3 became religious priests, and 3 became bishops. Six seminarians were in residence at the Seminary during the 1992–3 academic year. The college library houses more than twenty-one thousand books.

Branches of Saint Clement's Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome, Italy (*"filii UKU"*) exist in Philadelphia, Chicago, and Washington, DC. As centers of Ukrainian religious studies, they do not function as regular schools, but offer courses, lectures, seminars, or conferences.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Seminary of Saint Sophia in South Bound Brook, New Jersey, was established in 1975. In 1990, ten students were enrolled, and the teaching staff numbered five.

Manor Junior College for women was established by the Basilian Sisters in Fox Chase, Pennsylvania, in 1947. It is fully accredited, offering Associate of Arts and Associate of Science degrees. In 1947, out of 11 students, 9 were of Ukrainian descent; in 1986, out of 445 students, 28 were of Ukrainian descent. The enrollment in 1989 was 372 students.

Several American universities have offered Ukrainian courses, usually language and literature, on a relatively stable basis: the University of Pennsylvania; the University of Illinois, in Chicago; the University of Michigan, in Ann Arbor; and others. These programs were almost always initiated and, at least in the beginning, financed by the Ukrainian community. They are offered either on the undergraduate or graduate level, or both. Often, such courses are transitory as, for instance, was the case at the University of Chicago in the 1970s, where they were offered only as long as the Ukrainian community subsidized them.

The most prestigious and the principal center of Ukrainian studies in the United States is at Harvard University. In 1957, at the initiative of the Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations of America, the Fond Katedry Ukrainoznavstva (FKU, Ukrainian Studies Fund) was established and a committee was formed to launch a fund-raising campaign, which culminated in 1973 with the endowment of three chairs in Ukrainian studies – linguistics, literature, and history – and the establishment of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (HURI). The university program is geared primarily to graduate students working toward master's or doctoral degrees. The popular summer courses, by contrast, are oriented toward undergraduate students.

The Research Institute conducts a series of seminars, the records of which are published at the end of the academic year. It has sponsored scholars from countries around the world, including Ukraine. Its publications include a number of scholarly books on Ukrainian subjects; a series of monographs; a semiannual journal, *Retsenzii* (Reviews), which has appeared since 1970; a quarterly, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*; and a news bulletin, *Visti z Harvardu* (News from Harvard). Among the projects undertaken by the Institute are research on the artificial famine of 1932–3 in Ukraine and the translation and editing of a comprehensive collection of old Ukrainian literature, to be published in forty volumes as a Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity project. The Institute, directed until 1989 by Omelian Pritsak, is currently headed by George Grabovich.

In addition to the library collection at Harvard University, notable collections of Ukrainian books and documents can be found at the Immigration Center of the University of Minnesota, the University of Illinois at Urbana, the New York Public Library, and Columbia University.

Professional Societies and Publications

The first Ukrainian professional association in North America was founded during the World's Fair in Chicago in 1933. It included people in various professions, from both the United States and Canada. The first register contained fewer than 250 members. Educational levels improved noticeably after the Second World War, with the arrival of the postwar immigrants. The professional organizations founded after 1949 were specialized. Some have established themselves firmly (for example, the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America and the Ukrainian Engineers' Society) and have even gone on to form worldwide networks; others faded away after a time.

Some of these professional organizations were transplanted from the DP camps in Ger-

many and Austria, others had existed in Ukraine, and others still developed in the American environment. There are some local associations (most often of businessmen) that do not belong to central organizations. The professional organizations often contribute funds for such projects as the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, Ukrainian scholarly associations, and the publishing of Ukrainian books or books about Ukraine. The following are the Ukrainian professional organizations that have a nationwide network:

Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Inzheneriv Ameryky (Ukrainian Engineers' Society of America), founded in New York in 1948. In 1990, the Society had eleven chapters, with 650 members. It publishes a journal containing research papers, *Visti Tovarystva Ukrainskykh Inzheneriv* (News of the Ukrainian Engineers' Society), and an information newsletter, *Biuleten* (Bulletin). Similar newsletters are also published irregularly by the Detroit and Philadelphia chapters. A worldwide association of Ukrainian engineering societies from different countries has been formed.

Ukrainske Likarske Tovarystvo Pivnichnoi Ameryky (Ukrainian Medical Association of North America), established in New York in 1950. In 1975, its headquarters were transferred to Chicago. The Association currently has seventeen chapters and 1,200 members. It publishes a professional journal, *Likarskyi Visnyk* (Physician's Newsletter). In 1977, the Association was instrumental in founding the Svitova Federatsiia Ukrainskykh Medychnykh Orhanizatsiy (World Federation of Ukrainian Medical Associations) and, in the summer of 1990, organized a world congress of Ukrainians in the medical profession that was held in Kiev and Lviv, in Ukraine. Some chapters of the Association also have pharmaceutical sections.

Obiednannia Ukrainskykh Veterynarnykh Likariv (Ukrainian Veterinary Medical Association), founded in Chicago in 1950. In 1987, the Association had some one hundred members, and branches in four cities (Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Washington). It published a bulletin, *Informatyvnyi Lystok* (Informative Newsletter).

Tovarystvo Ukrainsko-Amerykanskykh Advokativ (Ukrainian American Bar Association, UABA), founded in Cleveland in 1977. The group has more than three hundred members, all of them practicing lawyers in the United States. It sponsors meetings and conventions, was involved in the Medvid case, and organized a world convention of Ukrainian jurists in Ukraine in October 1991. The UABA also publishes *The Bulletin* several times annually as an information service for its members.

Ukrainska Asotsiiatsiia Universytetskykh Profesoriv (Ukrainian American Association of University Professors), founded in 1961. Its membership grew from the original 40 members to 125 in 1988.

Ukrainske Bibliotechne Tovarystvo Ameryky (UBTA, Ukrainian Library Association; prior to 1974, known as the Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Bibliotekariv Ameryky [TUBA, Association of Ukrainian Librarians in the USA]), was organized in 1961.

Several efforts were made over the years to establish a central Ukrainian teachers' association. However, it is the local teachers' organizations, such as Ridna Shkola (Native School), which seem best able to thrive.

There are other Ukrainian professional organizations in the United States, both national (such as the Spilka Ukrainskykh Zhurnalistiv Ameryky [Ukrainian Journalists' Association of America]) and regional (such as the Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Profesionalistiv v Bostoni [Ukrainian Professionals' Association of Boston]).

Financial organizations and institutions should also be noted here. There are thirty branches of the Samopomich (Self-Reliance) Credit Unions, sponsored by various community organizations, most often by associations of the same name – Tovarystvo Samopomich, which was founded in 1947. In 1957, these credit unions instituted a coordinating body, the Tsentralia Ukrainskykh Kooperatyv Ameryky (TsUKA, Association of Ukrainian Cooperatives of America). There are also local banks, savings and loan associations, and professional and businessmen's associations that are not affiliated with the Association of Ukrainian Cooperatives or other central organizations.

Scholarly Associations

Separate associations were formed to cultivate and develop Ukrainian scholarship and art, preserve antiquities and scholarly artifacts of Ukraine, conduct scholarly research, organize lectures and conferences, provide opportunities for an exchange of ideas, publish, collect materials for libraries and museums, and provide financial assistance to scholars, writers, and artistic figures.

The Naukove Tovarystvo imeny Shevchenka (NTSh, Shevchenko Scientific Society) and the Ukrainska Vilna Akademiia Nauk (UVAN, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences) are the offspring of scholarly organizations established in Ukraine but until recently outlawed by the Soviet government. Both were established in the United States by postwar immigrants. The Shevchenko Scientific Society currently has five branches and 350 members in the United States. It owns a building in downtown New York, which houses a library and archives. The Society publishes books and the nonperiodical *Zapysky* (Annals) and provides grants for scholarly research. It also hosts lectures and scholarly conferences. The Ukrainskyi Sotsiolohichnyi Instytut (Ukrainian Center for Social Research), established in 1969, is affiliated with the Society.

The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences was incorporated in 1950; in 1961, it acquired its own building on the Upper West Side of New York City, which houses its library and archives/museum. It publishes an English language nonperiodical, *The Annals*, as well as scholarly books; sponsors scholarly conferences; and, since 1974, has offered a summer seminar in Hunter, New York. Currently, it has 239 members.

The V. Lypynsky East European Institute, which collects and publishes materials on recent Ukrainian history, was founded in Philadelphia in 1963. The Ukrainske Istorychne Tovarystvo (Ukrainian Historical Society) was established in 1965; it publishes a nonperiodical journal, *Ukrainskyi Istoryk* (Ukrainian Historian). The Asotsiiatsiia Ukrainistiv Pivnichnoi Ameryky (Association of Ukrainists of North America) was founded in 1990; it is affiliated with the Mizhnarodna Asotsiiatsiia Ukrainistiv (International Association of Ukrainists), which held its first congress in Kiev, in 1990. A Ukrainian Research Program at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, instituted in 1984, sponsors an annual conference of Ukrainian scholars.

Foundations

The Ukrainian community has established various foundations to aid scholars and researchers in their work. The main existing foundations include the Fond Katedry Ukrainoznavstva

(FKU, Ukrainian Studies Fund), the Foundation of Friends of the Encyclopedia of Ukraine, the Foundation of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Illinois, the Saint Sophia Foundation, and the Foundation of the Ukrainian Free University.

Cultural Life

Language Spoken

One does not have to speak Ukrainian to be Ukrainian, but if there were no core society that maintained the Ukrainian language, it is doubtful whether the community would survive, for there is no other ethnic identity factor common to all Ukrainians. Language maintenance, therefore, became the principal task in the educational efforts of the Ukrainian community, which sought to ensure its self-preservation. The decline in language maintenance is pronounced in successive American-born generations; it is also more pronounced in small communities than in large ones. The extent of language assimilation among Ukrainian Americans is treated extensively in a later section, on major concerns of Ukrainians as an ethnic group.

Literature

Literary activity can serve as a barometer of the extent to which the Ukrainian language is used. Surprisingly, given the extraordinary experiences of the immigrants, especially of the adequately educated new immigrants who lived through the war years and could attest to the historical upheavals and consequences of political ideologies put to practice, very little of those experiences found expression in the form of novels. Poetry was the much preferred form of expression. Of the poets and writers who are or have been active in the United States, Vasyl Barka, Hanna Cherin, Dokia Humenna, Oleksa Izarsky, Ostap Tarnawsky, and Zoreslav all started to write in Ukraine or in the DP camps.

The New York Group, an informal association of writers and artists, represents the younger generation writing in Ukrainian (Bohdan Boychuk, George Kolomyiets, Bohdan Rubchak, Yurii Tarnawsky, and others). There are no well-known American-born Ukrainian writers. Also, very few Ukrainian writers have oriented themselves toward the American audience, as did Maria Bloch-Halun, a writer of English-language children's books with Ukrainian themes.

The "Slovo" Obiednannia Ukrainskykh Pysmennykiv na Emihratsii ("The Word" Association of Ukrainian Writers in the Diaspora), was founded in New York in 1954. Its chief activities include publishing and organizing conventions. Literary awards are provided by a number of literary funds (for example, the Antonovych, the Mary Beck, the Ivan Franko, and the Kovalev literary funds).

The Arts

Folk art was the foremost artistic expression of Ukrainian immigrants before the Second World War. Fine artists such as American-born Mykola Brytsky, now professor emeritus at the University of Illinois at Urbana, were the exception rather than the rule. The most prominent Ukrainian artist was the world-renowned sculptor Alexander Archipenko, whose works, exhibited at the Ukrainian Pavilion at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1933, made that Pavilion one of the greatest attractions of the Fair.

Artistic creativity was more widely represented among the postwar immigrants. Among the artists from Ukraine who resettled in the United States were Mykhailo Dmytrenko, Maria Harasowska-Dachyshyn, Sviatoslav Hordynsky, Edvard Kozak, and Mykhailo Moroz.

There is also a younger generation of artists, whose work is imbued with the modern trends that have emerged in America and who exhibit their works both in Ukrainian institutions and in American galleries. Among them are Yaroslava Gerulak, Oleksander Hunenko, Liuboslav Hutsaliuk, Alexandra Kochman, Anatol Kolomyiets, Konstantyn Milonadis, Arkadia Olenska-Petryshyn, Yurii Solovij, and Mykhailo Urban.

The Obiednannia Mysttsiv Ukraintsiv v Amerytsi (OMUA, Association of Ukrainian Artists in America) was founded in 1952 and began to publish an arts review journal, *Notatky z Mystetstva* (Notes from the Arts), in 1963. Another organization, whose membership includes both writers and artists, is the Obiednannia Diiachiv Ukrainskoi Kultury (ADUK, Association for the Advancement of Ukrainian Culture), which publishes the journal *Terem* (Palace). The Ukrainskyi Instytut Modernoho Mystetstva (Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art), in Chicago, established in 1971, is the only permanent institution dedicated to collecting and exhibiting modern art.

The Ukrainskyi Muzei (Ukrainian Museum), in New York, founded at the initiative of the Ukrainian National Women's League of America in 1976, has an outstanding collection of Ukrainian folk art; it also sponsors exhibits in other artistic categories, such as photography, old icons, and fine art. Also in New York, providing literary and artistic activities, including musical soirees, are the Ukrainskyi Instytut Ameryky (Ukrainian Institute of America), founded in 1948 by Ukrainian inventor W. Dzus and housed since 1955 in the Stuyvesant mansion on the Upper East Side of the city, and the Ukrainskyi Literaturno-Mystetskyi Kliub (Ukrainian Literary-Artistic Club), in downtown New York.

Music, Theater, Dance Ensembles, and Choirs

Although Ukrainian orchestras and permanent opera companies no longer exist, there are a number of well-known composers and musicians in the United States, including composers V. Beley, I. Bilohrud, I. Sonevytsky, and V. Vytvytsky; pianists L. Artymiw, T. Hrynkiw, J. Osinchuk, Kh. Petrowsky, and R. Rudnytsky; violinists A. Bryttan, Ye. Gratovych, and newcomer from Ukraine O. Krysa; and opera singers R. Babak, A. Dobriansky, P. Plishka, and S. Shkafarovsky. A music conservatory, the Ukrainskyi Muzychnyi Instytut (Ukrainian Music Institute), founded in 1950 in New York, has several branches in the larger Ukrainian communities. Various localities conduct courses and summer camps offering instruction in the traditional Ukrainian musical instrument, the *bandura*. A number of performers of popular music find an audience at the Soyuzivka resort in the Catskill Mountains of New York, and some, such as Joy Brittan, have been well received by American audiences.

Several distinguished theatrical groups were active in the 1950s, notably those of V. Blavatsky, in Philadelphia, and J. Hirniak and O. Dobrovolska, in New York. In the 1960s, there was a valiant attempt to establish a new group, the New Theater (director V. Lysniak), but by 1990, the only permanent theatrical group was the drama studio of L. Krushelnytska, in New York. Off-Broadway, at the La Mama E.T.C. Theater in New York, Virlana Tkacz is the artistic director of the Yara Arts Group, which explores ideas and cultures of the East. Sviatoslav Novytsky has received a number of awards at international and American film festivals for his documentaries, most notably for *The Harvest of Sorrow*, an excellent documentary on the artificial famine in Ukraine in 1932–3. Today, perhaps the best-known Ukrainian in American cinema is actor Jack Palance.

Locally, there are Ukrainian dance schools, both ballet and folk (among these is the well-known school of Roma Pryima Bohachevska in New York) and a number of outstanding choirs, such as "Dumka" (The Thought) in New York and "Prometei" (Prometheus) in Philadelphia. They perform for Ukrainian and American audiences.

Museums

In addition to the Ukrainian Museum in New York, the Ukrainian Museum and Library in Stamford, Connecticut, and the Ukrainian Orthodox Museum in South Bound Brook, New Jersey, there are the following museums: the National Museum in Chicago, established in 1952, which houses a folk art collection, a library, and archives and supports a Bibliographical Research Center; the Ukrainian Museum in Cleveland, established in 1952; and the Ukrainian Museum in Detroit, founded in 1958. Besides housing collections of rare books and artifacts, these museums serve an important role as centers of documentation of Ukrainian cultural activities in the United States.

Cultural Centers

Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and South Bound Brook have so-called cultural centers, special buildings that serve as activity centers and concert halls, for lectures, exhibits, concerts, and the like. Similar in function are the so-called Narodni Domy (National Homes) or civic (community) centers, the best-known of which is the Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Dim (Ukrainian National Home) in New York.

The Media

Ukrainian newspapers, journals, and radio and television programs, in both Ukrainian and English, serve as important sources of information for Ukrainian communities in the United States. In addition to reporting on world events and local news, they provide extensive coverage of events in the homeland and of the activities of Ukrainian communities in the diaspora. The oldest (founded in 1893) and most popular newspaper is the daily *Svoboda* (Liberty), published in Jersey City, New Jersey, and sponsored by the Ukrainian National Association, which, since 1933, has also published the English-language *The Ukrainian Weekly*. *Ameryka* (America) (Philadelphia, PA), the official organ of the Provydinnia (Providence) Association of Ukrainian Catholics in America, has been published since 1912 and currently appears three times a week. A weekly, *Narodna Volia* (The People's Will), published since 1911 in Scranton, Pennsylvania and the English-language quarterly *Forum* are sponsored by the Ukrainian Fraternal Association. Three biweekly denominational newspapers, *Nova Zoria* (New Star), in Chicago, Illinois; *Shliakh* (The Way) in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and *Sivach* (The Sower) in Stamford, Connecticut, are sponsored by the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The weekly *Natsionalna Trybuna* (National Tribune), published in New York, represents the ideological orientation of the Vyzvolnyi Front (Liberation Front), and the weekly *Ukrainski Visti* (Ukrainian News), published in Detroit since 1978, is politically affiliated with the Ukrainska Respublikanska Demokratychna Partiia (Ukrainian Republican Democratic Party).

Among Ukrainian periodicals (not including those published by churches and scholarly and professional associations) are the following: the aforementioned English-language quarterly review, *Forum*, published since 1967; the children's monthly *Veselka* (The Rainbow), published by the Ukrainian National Association; the women's monthly *Nashe Zhyttia* (Our Life), published by the Ukrainian National Women's League of America since 1944; the *Ukrainian Quarterly*; and the political monthly *Visnyk OChSU* [Orhanizatsii Oborony Chotyriokh Svobid Ukrainy] (Newsletter of the Organization for the Defense of the Four Freedoms of Ukraine). The monthly cultural and political journal *Sučasnist* (Contemporary Times) was published in the United States since 1961, but has recently relocated to Ukraine. The monthly satirical magazine *Lys Mykyta* (The Fox) ceased publication in 1991.

Two institutions that focus primarily on the publication of books and materials from Ukraine dealing mostly with political topics (which until recently, had to be obtained clandestinely) are Smoloskyp (The Torch), in Baltimore, Maryland, and Prolog (The Prologue), in New York.

All larger communities have regular radio programs (usually weekly); some are independent, and others are sponsored by churches or organizations. In Chicago, for example, there are several such programs, including two independent, four church-related, and one sponsored by a Ukrainian political organization. A new Ukrainian weekly television program, *Kontakt* (Contact), made its debut in Toronto and New York in 1992; it features news from Ukraine, community news, art, business, finance, travel, and segments for children and youth. Television programs have tended to be sporadic, and are typically broadcast on local cable television.

Social and Political Life

While the churches served as social and cultural centers, they alone could not satisfy the complex needs of the growing Ukrainian community. Other organizations began to develop, transplanted from the homeland, or often, founded by the clergy themselves in response to the basic needs of the immigrants. Among the first organizations to appear were fraternal benefit associations, designed to provide life insurance for immigrants, to protect their families. This was especially important for the immigrant without property or savings. Although the main goal of the fraternal associations was to provide life insurance, they quickly became an integral part of the Ukrainian community, extending their activity to education and publishing, as well as to cultural, political, economic, and public-relations work.

Social Organizations

The oldest surviving organizations are parochial, fraternal, and women's organizations. New waves of immigrants produce new organizations, and this was especially true of the DP immigration. For example, in Chicago, which currently has about 175 organizations (counting chapters of fraternal associations), 33 new organizations or institutions were established in the three years from 1949 to 1952. Today, the proliferation of organizations is such that they can accommodate people of a wide range of different interests and backgrounds – there are religious, civic, charitable, political, cultural, educational, economic, artistic, professional, youth, sports, scholarly, regional, social, and public-relations organizations.

At one time, almost all organizations were members of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. After the disputes that took place among the members of Ukrainian political parties at the thirteenth Congress in Philadelphia in 1980, however, many organizations withdrew their support from the UCCA and formed a new umbrella organization, the Ukrainsko-Amerykanska Koordynatsiina Rada (UAKRada, Ukrainian American Coordinating Council). Consequently, there are two representative bodies of Ukrainians in the United States today.

Fraternal Organizations

The Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Soiuz (Ukrainian National Association, UNA), established in 1894, is the oldest Ukrainian-American organization. Table 14 lists the existing fraternal organizations, the year in which they were founded, the present location of their headquarters, and the number of branches and number of members they had in 1990.

Table 14 Statistical data on Ukrainian fraternal organizations, 1990

Organization	Year established	Headquarters	Number of branches	Number of members
Ukrainian National Association	1894	Jersey City	396	68,625
Ukrainian Fraternal Association	1911	Scranton	207	19,053
Providence Association	1912	Philadelphia	212	16,493
Ukrainian National Aid	1914	Chicago	150	9,000

Source: Data were obtained from organizational records.

Veterans' Organizations

Each war and every military organization in Ukraine's recent history produced its own crop of veterans, whose common experiences prompted them to form their own organizations, such as the Sichovi Striltsi (Sich Riflemen), Karpatski Sichovyky (Carpathian Sich), and Legion imeny Symona Petliury (Legion of Symon Petliura). The central veterans' organizations are the Obiednannia Buvshykh Voiakiv Ukraintsiv v Amerytsi (Organization of Ukrainian Veterans in America) and the Ukrainski Amerykanski Veterany (Ukrainian American Veterans), founded in Philadelphia in 1948, and with a 1988 membership of five hundred former soldiers of the U.S. Army. Other Ukrainian veterans' organizations are the brotherhoods of the Ukrainian Division "Halychyna," which was formed in 1943 as a separate and distinctly Ukrainian unit within the German army (in full, Bratstvo Kolyshnikh Voiakiv Pershoi Ukrainskoi Dyvizii Ukrainskoi Natsionalnoi Armii [Brotherhood of Former Soldiers of the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army]) and two organizations of veterans of the Ukrainska Povstanska Armiia (UPA, Ukrainian Insurgent Army) – the Obiednannia Kolyshnikh Voiakiv UPA (Association of Former Soldiers of the UPA) and the Tovarystvo Voiakiv UPA (Association of UPA Soldiers), both established in 1951.

Women's Organizations

The three women's organizations with national networks of chapters are the politically unaffiliated Soiuz Ukrainok Ameryky (Ukrainian National Women's League of America, UNWLA), established in 1925, with 107 branches and 3,317 members in 1990; the Ukrainskyi Zolotyi Khrest (Ukrainian Gold Cross), established in 1931 in affiliation with the Orhanizatsiia Derzhavnoho Vidrodzhennia Ukrainy (ODVU, Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine), with 30 chapters and about 700 members today; and the Orhanizatsiia Zhinok Oborony Chotyriokh Svobid Ukrainy (OZh OChSU, Women's Organization for the Defense of the Four Freedoms of Ukraine), one of the organizations of the Ukrainskyi Vyzvolnyi Front (Ukrainian Liberation Front), founded in 1967, with 23 branches and approximately 2,000 members today. There are a number of local women's organizations, most often sisterhoods or sodalities attached to churches, as well as civic, charitable, and filial chapters of other organizations. Their activities promote the social, educational, and cultural life of the community, and they, more than any other civic organizations (except the fraternal organizations), include members of both the old and new immigrations and sustain their existence by attracting members of the younger generation into their ranks.

Youth Organizations

The Ukrainian youth today who are descended from pre–Second World War immigrants are no longer associated with such youth organizations as the Ukrainian Youth League of North America. Those who do belong to organizations are most likely members of local

clubs affiliated with church parishes. The three dominant youth organizations – Plast, SUMA, and ODUM – are almost exclusively the domain of the postwar immigration. Both Plast, Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization), a Ukrainian version of the International Scouting Organization, and the Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi Ameryky (SUMA, Ukrainian Youth Association of America) were transplanted in 1949 from the DP camps in Germany and Austria. Today, Plast has approximately 2,800 members; SUMA has more than 3,000. The Obiednannia Demokratychnoi Ukrainskoi Molodi (ODUM, Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association; also known as the Association of American Youth of Ukrainian Descent) was established in 1950 and is an organization primarily of Ukrainian Orthodox youth. It has nine chapters and approximately 700 members. All three organizations officially preserve Ukrainian as the language of communication. Their activities are also similar, modeled on the Scouting–Plast program, but SUMA and ODUM are more politically oriented and place more emphasis on the cultivation of Ukrainian folk art, especially dancing and singing. All three organizations own properties that are used for summer camps: Plast owns land near Cleveland, Ohio (Pysanyi Kamin [Painted Rock]); North Collins, New York (Novyi Sokil [New Falcon]); and East Chatham, New York (Vovcha Tropa [Wolf's Track]). SUMA's properties are in Baraboo, Wisconsin, and Ellenville, New York; and ODUM has an estate in Accord, New York.

Sports Organizations

The Ukrainian Olympiad and Youth Rally, organized in Philadelphia in 1988 in commemoration of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine, offered a perfect overview of Ukrainian sports activity in the United States today. Seven major sports clubs were represented: Chernyk, of Detroit; Chornomorska Sich (Black Sea Sich), of Newark, which publishes the nonperiodic sports magazine *Our Sport* and conducts summer sports camps; the Karpatskyi Leshchetarskyi Kliub (KLK, Carpathian Skiing Club), of New York; the Lions, of Chicago; Lviv, of Parma; Tryzub (Trident), of Philadelphia; Ukrainian Sports Club (USC), of New York; and the sports clubs of the youth organizations Plast and SUMA. The clubs competed in eight categories: track and field, soccer, volleyball, swimming, tennis, chess, table tennis, and golf. The sports clubs are members of the Ukrainska Sportova Tsentralia Ameryky i Kanady (USTsAK, Association of Ukrainian Sports Clubs in North America), which was established in 1955.

Regional Organizations

Immigrants derive special satisfaction from meeting those who share memories of the homeland. For this reason, a number of associations based on region of origin in Ukraine have emerged – for example, the Lemkivshchyna, Boikivshchyna, Hutsulshchyna, Pidhaietchyna, Nadbuzhanshchyna, Yaroslavshchyna, Zasiannia, and Zborivshchyna societies. Most of these societies have published a wealth of memoiristic data on the history and customs of their region. Similar activities are conducted by organizations of former residents of the DP camps in cities such as Berchtesgaden, Regensburg, and Mittenwald, in Germany, and Salzburg, in Austria. They organize reunions, which have often resulted in the publication of memoirs about life in the particular DP camp.

Political Organizations

Ukrainians in the United States have not penetrated the American political system to any great degree. Some are active in American politics, but the majority of the older generation (and some members of the younger generation) are much more involved in the Ukrainian

political organizations that have been established in the United States. Although members of the second and third generations have shown a greater interest in American politics, Ukrainians remain poorly represented at the highest levels of government. The political organizational structure of Ukrainian Americans therefore reflects the political divisions that prevailed among the postwar Ukrainian refugees in Europe, and in prewar Western Ukraine.

Ukrainian political organizations can be divided into two, often overlapping, categories: (1) Ukrainian organizations affiliated with American political parties, the Democratic or the Republican; these are usually local committees that support a particular candidate to an elective office, and are consequently ephemeral in duration and structure; and (2) Ukrainian political parties in exile, often the offspring of political organizations created in Ukraine; the activities of these groups are oriented primarily toward issues pertaining to Ukraine. The latter are clustered mainly around three nationalist groups, known in the community as "melnykivtsi" (Melnyk faction), "banderivtsi" (Bandera faction), and "dviikari" (explained below), all descendants of the Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (OUN, Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), which flourished in the 1930s and 1940s. Outside those clusters there are smaller parties, such as the Ukrainska Respublikanska (previously "Revoliutsiina" [Revolutionary]) Demokratychna Partiia (URDP, Ukrainian Republican Democratic Party); the Ukrainske Natsionalne Demokratychne Obiednannia (UNDO, Ukrainian National Democratic Party); the Ukrainskyi Natsionalno-Derzhavnyi Soiuz (UNDS, Ukrainian National-State Union); and the Ukrainska Hetmanska Orhanizatsiia Ameryky (UHOA, Ukrainian Hetman Organization of America).

The coordinating body Ideolohichno Sporidneni Natsionalistychni Orhanizatsii (ISNO, Ideologically Related Nationalist Organizations) represents organizations of the "melnykivtsi," such as the Orhanizatsiia Derzhavnoho Vidrodzhennia Ukrainy (ODVU, Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine) created in 1930; the Obiednannia Ukrainskykh Akademichnykh Tovarystv "Zarevo" ("The Dawning" Association of Ukrainian Academic Societies); and the affiliated women's organization, Ukrainskyi Zolotyi Khrest (Ukrainian Gold Cross).

In the "banderivtsi" camp, the umbrella organization is the Ukrainskyi Vyzvolnyi Front (Ukrainian Liberation Front), which represents such groups as the Orhanizatsiia Oborony Chotyriokh Svobid Ukrainy (OChSU, Organization for the Defense of the Four Freedoms of Ukraine), established in 1949, with its affiliated women's branches; Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Studentiv imeny Mikhnovskoho (TUSM, Mikhnovsky Association of Ukrainian Students); Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi Ameryky (SUMA, Ukrainian Youth Association); chapters of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN); and the Asotsiiatsiia Diiachiv Ukrainskoi Kultury (ADUK, Association for the Advancement of Ukrainian Culture).

In the United States, the Zakordonne Predstavnytstvo Ukrainskoi Holovnoi Vyzvolnoi Rady (ZP UHVR, Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) has chapters of the Obiednannia Prykhylnykiv Vyzvolnoi Borotby Ukrainy, Seredovyshche UHVR (Friends of Ukraine's Liberation Struggle), popularly known as the "dviikari." Their activities are channeled mainly through the Prolog Research and Publishing Association.

A number of groups in defense of human rights in Ukraine also emerged in the United States; they include the Ukrainska Helsinkska Hrupa (Ukrainian Helsinki Group), the Amerykanska Orhanizatsiia za Liudski Prava v Ukraini (Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine), and the Ukrainian Justice Committee. The emergence of these committees, the activities of which have at times predominated in the community, reveals the kinds of issues the community has regarded as most important or most sensitive. Ukraine's journey in the past few years toward liberation and democratization, which was embodied by Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine, found numerous supporters in the United States, who

formed such committees as Pryiateli Rukhu (Friends of Rukh), Fond Rukhu (Rukh Fund), and the Ukrainian National Association's Fond Vidrodzhennia Ukrainy (Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine). The Fond Dopomohy Ditiam Chornobylia (Children of Chornobyl Relief Fund) was established for the purpose of aiding victims of the Chornobyl nuclear disaster.

The pro-Soviet League of Ukrainian Americans, based in New York, publishes the weekly *Ukrainski Visti* (Ukrainian News).

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

There are three main concerns of Ukrainians as an ethnic group: self-preservation of the community, enhancement of the status of the community, and concerns for the political situation in Ukraine.

The persistence of consciousness of ethnic derivation among the U.S. population was well documented in the 1980 census. But awareness of ethnic origin and the preservation of an ethnic community as a unit of social organization within a larger society are two different things. For immigrants faced with the challenge of learning a new language and adjusting to a new environment, the ethnic community was a natural milieu for social interaction and a stepping stone toward integration into American society. The fact that ethnic communities have persevered beyond that stage points to other functions of these groups that are vital and viable vis-à-vis the larger American society.

In the case of the Ukrainian community, which for a long period, from 1955 to 1990, had no new immigrants to sustain its existence, self-preservation has depended on the commitment to the ethnic community of the younger, American-born or American-educated generation, whose needs differ markedly from those of the immigrants. Preservation of the organizational structure of the community and retention of the Ukrainian language as an identity factor are key indicators of the self-preservation of the community, and the education of the younger generation has been central to the endeavor. The challenge here has been to involve young, capable individuals in community activism – a formidable challenge, since members of this age group are focused on developing careers and taking care of young families and have little time or energy to spare for other endeavors. Currently, one can observe a "graying" of the Ukrainian-American community.

Community status is generally recognized as an important factor affecting ethnic identification; it is easier to identify with a group that confers a favorable status than with one that is perceived as inferior. Needless to say, the status of the Ukrainian community in the United States is tied tightly to the political status of Ukraine. *Tavro bezderzhavnosty*, or "the brand of statelessness," as Bohdan Cymbalisty[14] put it, not only had personal implications and internal ramifications for the Ukrainian people as a whole, but also affected the perception of Ukrainians by others. Thus, for Ukrainians, statelessness represented a challenge and motivation to activism for the liberation of Ukraine and the establishment of a free, independent, and democratic state, just as did overt appeals to moral duty, justice, and historical rights.

Another concern of Ukrainians in the United States, one that is closely linked to the goal of preserving the community, is the concern over the rapidity of language assimilation among Ukrainian Americans. In order to gain a better appreciation for the extent of the problem, one must consider the process of language assimilation.

Language is an essential component of a culture, and it is very difficult, if not almost impossible, to fully understand a culture without knowing its language. In their struggle for survival, Ukrainians have come to view their language as an essential part of their identity,

Table 15 Age distribution of persons of Ukrainian ancestry, by ability to speak Ukrainian, 1980

Age	Speak Ukrainian		Do not speak Ukrainian	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
0–14	8,117	6.57	105,748	17.44
15–24	11,446	9.26	113,362	18.69
25–39	20,383	16.50	168,207	27.73
40–64	51,224	41.46	168,004	27.70
65+	32,378	26.21	51,187	8.44
Total	123,548	100.00	606,508	100.00
Median age	53.3		29.0	

and many believe that the loss of the language is tantamount to total assimilation and that it is impossible to *be* Ukrainian without being able to *speak* Ukrainian. Thus, language assimilation among Ukrainian Americans is perceived as a cause for serious concern.

This section presents statistics on the degree of language assimilation among Ukrainians in the United States and on some of the demographic and socioeconomic factors associated with the process. The data allow us to draw some conclusions about the future of Ukrainians in the United States.

Of the 730,056 people of Ukrainian ancestry identified in the 1980 census, only 123,548 (or 16.9 percent) stated that they speak Ukrainian at home. This percentage, despite being quite low, is the highest among Eastern European ethnic groups in the United States (for example, the percentage for Slovaks is 11; for Hungarians, Lithuanians, and Poles, approximately 10; and for Czechs and Russians, about 6.5 .

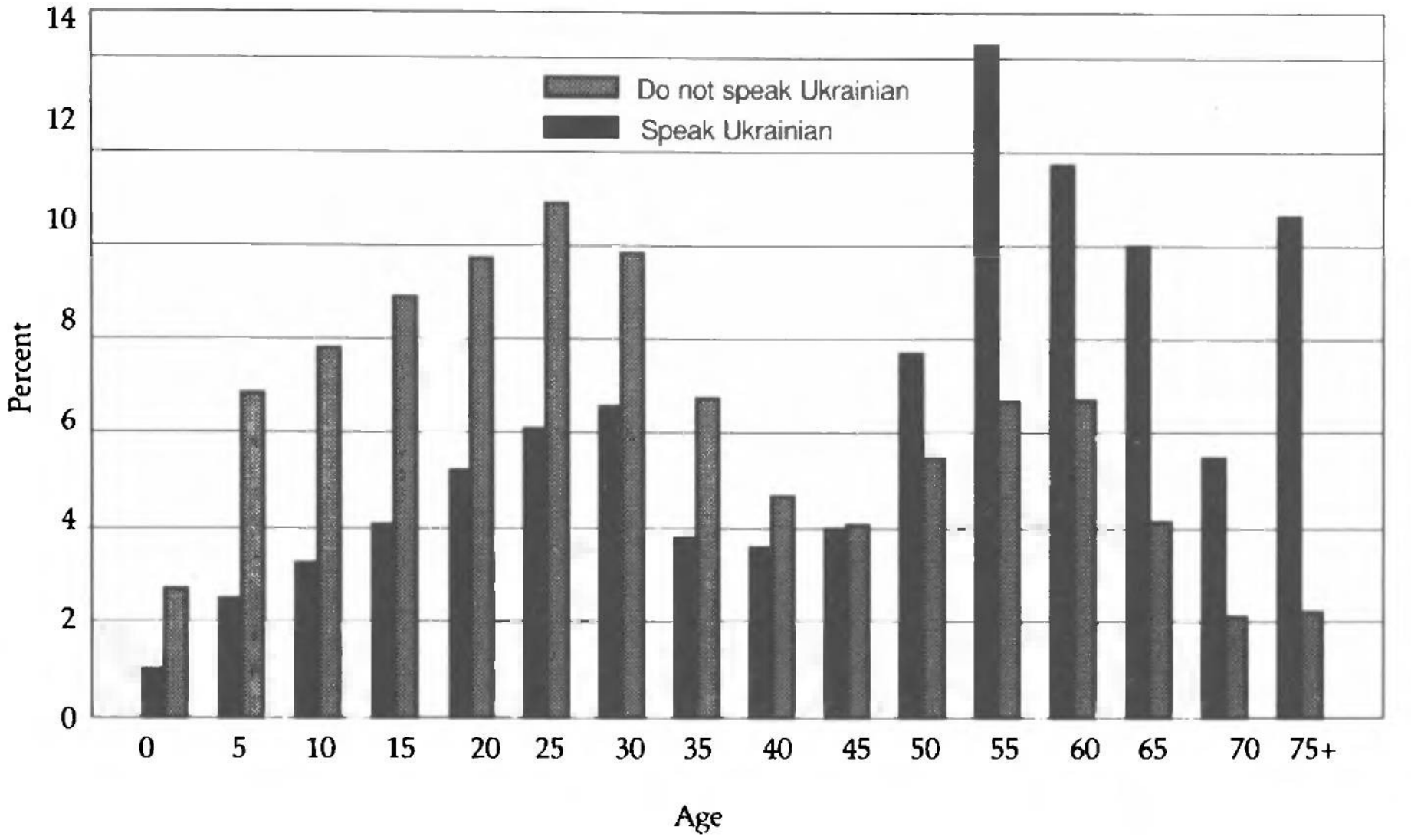
Table 15 shows that most of the Ukrainians who have retained the language are middle-aged or older. Half are at least fifty-three years old, and 26 percent are sixty-five years old or older.

Figure 3 clearly shows the different age structures of those who speak Ukrainian and those who do not. In twenty to thirty years, Ukrainian speakers who were fifty-five or older in 1980 will have passed away, and the overall number of Ukrainian Americans speaking Ukrainian will be reduced by about half. Given that the number of children and teenagers speaking Ukrainian is already small and given the nature of the language-assimilation process, the future number of Ukrainian-speaking children and teenagers will be significantly smaller, with serious consequences for schools and youth organizations.

These figures have important implications for the current status of Ukrainian Americans and for their future. The already-small number of Ukrainian Americans who speak the language and the mathematical certainty that in the near future this number will be much smaller should lead to a reexamination of the premises on which Ukrainian organized life operates. Two questions immediately come to mind: What is the sense of lamenting that few people read Ukrainian newspapers, magazines, and books if the number of people able to do so is small and rapidly diminishing? What is the future of organizations that insist on fluency in Ukrainian as a prerequisite for membership if the potential pool of candidates is getting smaller every day?

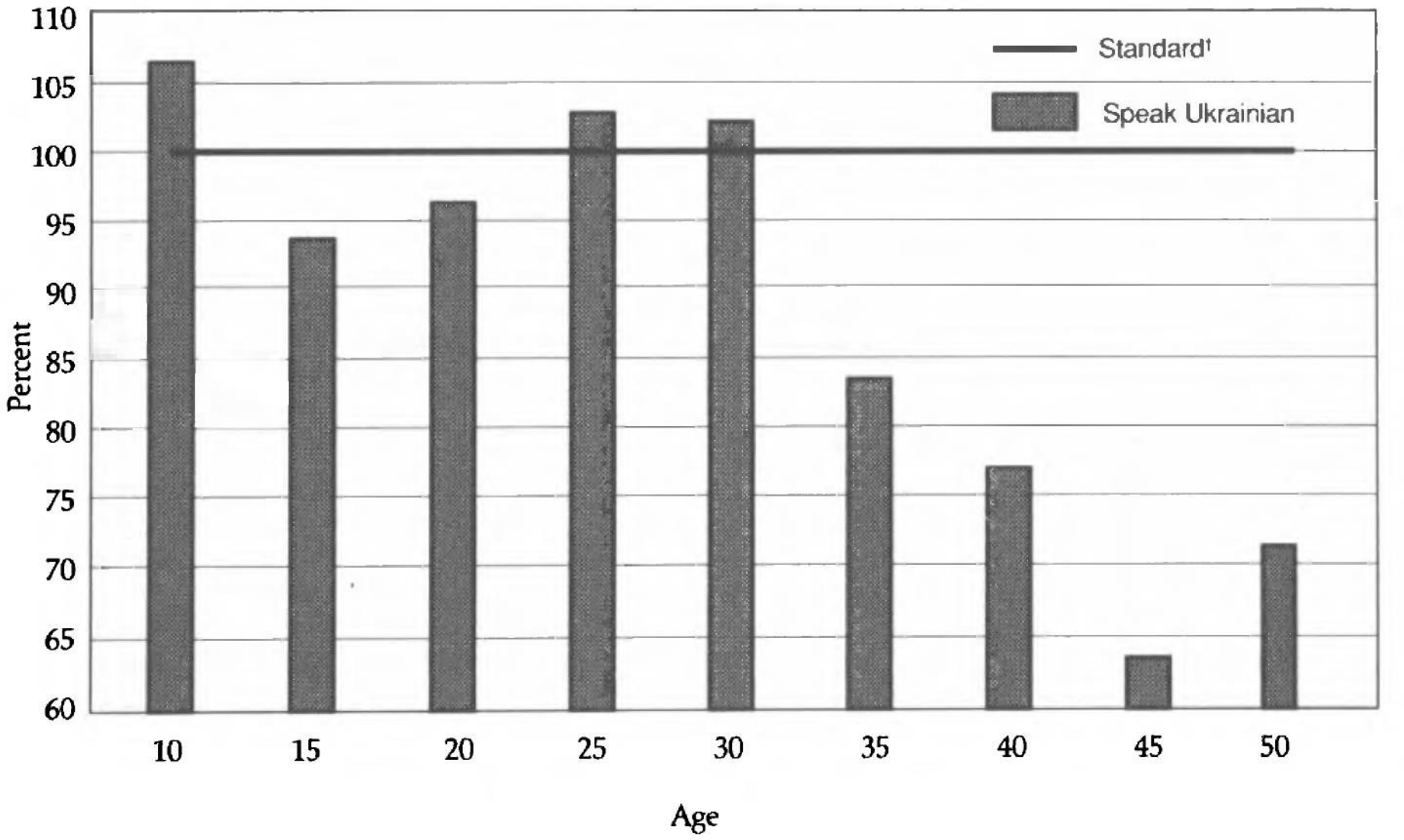
We have seen that language assimilation varies significantly by age. Figure 4 shows that it also affects men and women in the same age groups in different ways. In 1980, for example, for every 100 Ukrainian-speaking females aged 15–24, there were slightly fewer

Figure 3 Age distribution of persons of Ukrainian ancestry, by language spoken at home, 1980



than 95 Ukrainian-speaking males. By 1990, these people would have been aged 25–34. Similarily, those aged 10–14 in 1980 were 20–24 in 1990, and, with a ratio of 106 males for every 100 females in that age group, it would have become more difficult for Ukrainian-speaking males to find a Ukrainian-speaking spouse. In other words, the different levels of

Figure 4 Sex ratios* by age for persons of Ukrainian ancestry who speak Ukrainian at home, 1980



*Sex ratio – males per 100 females

† Standard – 100; that is, equal number of males and females, or 100 males per 100 females

language assimilation by age and sex have important consequences for intermarriage. The purely demographic effect of fewer males or females at prime marrying ages may force Ukrainians to choose a spouse who does not speak Ukrainian. It is well known, that under such conditions, chances of further assimilation are much greater – in other words, language assimilation encourages intermarriage and intermarriage accelerates the language-assimilation process.

Table 16 compares the number of Ukrainian speakers and the total number of persons of Ukrainian ancestry in twenty-nine metropolitan areas. The first conclusion is that the total number of Ukrainians in a city is unrelated to the proportion speaking Ukrainian. For example, the Paterson–Clifton–Passaic area, in New Jersey, has more than 2,000 Ukrainian speakers out of a total of 5,820 Ukrainians; Pittsburgh, by contrast, with more than 34,000 Ukrainians, has only 8,106 Ukrainian speakers.

Table 16 Number of persons of Ukrainian ancestry who speak Ukrainian at home, by metropolitan area, 1980

Metropolitan area	Persons of Ukrainian ancestry	Ukrainian speakers		
		Number of persons	Percentage of all Ukrainians	Ranking of percentage
Total	730,856	123,548		
1. New York, NY–NJ	56,340	13,409	23.8	7
2. Philadelphia, PA–NJ	52,740	12,077	22.9	9.5
3. Chicago, IL	37,420	11,451	30.6	3
4. Detroit, MI	34,640	8,106	23.4	8
5. Pittsburg, PA	34,200	4,480	13.1	18
6. Newark, NJ	23,920	5,765	24.1	5
7. Cleveland, OH	20,220	4,630	22.9	9.5
8. Los Angeles–Long Beach, CA	19,660	2,418	12.3	20
9. Nassau–Suffolk, NY	18,440	2,028	11.0	22
10. NE Pennsylvania	14,420	1,182	8.2	28
11. Allentown–Bethlehem–Easton, PA–NJ	11,440	1,224	10.7	24
12. New Brunswick–Perth Amboy–Sayreville, NJ	11,200	1,602	14.3	16
13. Washington, DC	10,180	1,395	13.7	17
14. Buffalo, NY	10,020	1,964	19.6	12
15. Youngstown–Warren, OH	9,460	1,022	10.8	23
16. Rochester, NY	8,860	2,738	30.9	2
17. Minneapolis–St. Paul, MN–WI	7,720	1,853	24.0	6
18. Syracuse, NY	7,420	1,655	22.3	11
19. Boston, MA	7,060	833	11.8	21
20. Baltimore, MD	7,020	1,067	15.2	14
21. Albany–Schenectady–Troy, NY	6,840	1,163	17.0	13
22. San Francisco–Oakland, CA	6,700	476	7.1	29
23. Fort Lauderdale–Hollywood, FL	6,180	797	12.9	19
24. Paterson–Clinton–Passaic, NJ	5,820	2,136	36.7	1
25. Anaheim–S. Ana–G. Grove, CA	5,720	503	8.8	26
26. Tampa–St. Petersburg, FL	5,180	767	14.8	15
27. Jersey City, NJ	5,120	1,257	24.6	4
28. Long Branch–Asbury Park, NJ	4,480	372	8.3	27
29. San Diego, CA	4,440	435	9.8	25

Source: 1980 Census 5 percent Public Use Sample Tapes.

In general, the proportion of Ukrainian speakers is higher where there are greater concentrations of recent immigrants and their descendants. Cities such as Rochester and Chicago have a large proportion of post–Second World War immigrants and, thus, a high percentage of Ukrainian speakers, whereas Pittsburgh and northeast Pennsylvania have a large number of descendants of pre–Second World War immigrants and, consequently, a low percentage of Ukrainian speakers. The small proportion of Ukrainian speakers in areas such as Los Angeles–Long Beach and San Francisco–Oakland is probably attributable to a combination of factors, including a large number of descendants of pre–Second World War immigrants and a selection process that has attracted individuals who assimilate more easily.

The status within the community of Ukrainian Americans who do not speak Ukrainian is a topic of active debate among Ukrainian-speaking members of the community. In extreme cases, it is argued that those who do not speak Ukrainian should be excluded from the community. The statistics presented here indicate that such an extreme position would involve the sacrifice of a great potential in terms of sheer numbers: it is, after all, one thing for an ethnic community to have 123,000 members and quite another for it to have 730,000 members. Furthermore, the difference between speakers and nonspeakers of Ukrainian is a matter not only of absolute numbers, but also of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. We have seen that most of the people who speak Ukrainian will have passed away in about three decades, and that the overall number of Ukrainian speakers will be drastically reduced. There are also significant socioeconomic differences between the two groups.

We shall illustrate these points with an example from statistics on occupation (Table 17). The 5 percent 1980 census sample tape allows us to estimate the number of Ukrainians in different occupations or occupational categories and to classify them as speakers or nonspeakers of Ukrainian. The differences between the two groups are overwhelming. Out of a total of 82,450 executives and managers of Ukrainian ancestry, only 9,300 speak Ukrainian. Out of 11,300 college teachers, only 1,450 speak Ukrainian. If the 650 Ukrainian-speaking lawyers were joined in community activity by even a fraction of 7,250 Ukrainian lawyers who do not speak the language, they would be a force to contend with.

Although these are only estimates and are subject to a certain degree of error because of the relatively small sample used in some cases, the conclusion is nonetheless clear. If one were to accept only Ukrainian speakers as bona fide Ukrainian Americans, the human potential at the community's disposal would be severely limited. To the extent that money,

Table 17 Estimated number of persons in selected occupational categories by ability to speak Ukrainian, 1980

Occupations	Persons of Ukrainian ancestry		
	Speak Ukrainian	Don't speak Ukrainian	Total
Executives, managers	9,300	73,150	82,450
Architects, engineers	4,200	20,500	24,700
Scientists	1,900	10,150	12,050
Health professionals	1,950	10,900	12,850
College teachers	1,450	9,850	11,300
Elementary and secondary school teachers	5,750	44,300	50,050
Social scientists	200	3,350	3,550
Lawyers, judges	650	7,250	7,900
Farmers, fishermen	2,050	13,350	15,400

Source: Based on data from the 1980 Census 5 percent Public Use Sample Tapes.

connections, and pressure groups are key factors affecting the political process in the United States, it would be suicidal to limit the Ukrainian group to less than 20 percent of its full potential. Expertise in Ukrainian literature and language is no prerequisite for political effectiveness. Indeed, Ukrainian Americans who do not speak the language can be highly effective in lobbying for Ukrainian interests among politicians, business people, intellectuals, and journalists. They can also contribute financial support for the various needs of the community and Ukrainian causes.

A postscript on the subject of language spoken at home is in order, based on available data from the 1990 census: Although the number of Ukrainians in the United States increased slightly during the decade 1980–90, the number of persons reporting that they spoke Ukrainian at home declined by 22 percent, from 123,548 in 1980 to 96,568 in 1990. In other words, the proportion of all persons of Ukrainian ancestry who spoke Ukrainian at home declined from 17 percent in 1980 to 13 percent in 1990. It is important to note that the question in the census on language spoken at home is not a perfect measure of language retention, because it does not measure how well a person speaks Ukrainian and excludes those who are fluent in Ukrainian but do not speak the language at home, for a variety of reasons (usually because of a non-Ukrainian spouse).

There were significant decreases in the number of persons speaking Ukrainian at home in almost all states with large concentrations of Ukrainians: Michigan (–31.1 percent); Pennsylvania (–29.2 percent); Illinois (–28.2 percent); Connecticut (–24.0 percent); Ohio (–23.2 percent); New Jersey (–23.1 percent); and New York (–22.1 percent). Some states, however, experienced significant increases in the number of persons speaking Ukrainian at home: Idaho (+381.5 percent); Tennessee (+133.3 percent); Arkansas (+112.0 percent); and North Carolina (+103.0 percent).[15] Table 18 compares the number of persons who reported speaking Ukrainian at home in 1980 and 1990, by state.

Two factors contribute to the sizable losses and gains in the numbers of Ukrainian speakers: the geographical mobility of Ukrainians and the mortality of Ukrainian speakers, who are disproportionately concentrated in the older age groups. Thus, the losses experienced in the states with the highest concentrations of Ukrainians can be explained both by outmigration of Ukrainian speakers from these states and by deaths among older Ukrainians. States experiencing large increases in the number of Ukrainian speakers are those to which Ukrainians from other states migrated; these states have also, most probably, received a small number of immigrants from Ukraine.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the independence of Ukraine may put into question the basic premise that there will be no significant immigration to the United States of Ukrainians who speak the language. Such an influx need not be very large in order to have a significant decelerating effect on the processes of language assimilation and intermarriage. In spite of the radical changes in Ukraine, however, the probability of a significant immigration to the United States is highly unlikely.

Ties with Ukrainians in Other Countries

The aforementioned concerns about self-preservation, language assimilation, enhancement of community status, and the political fate of Ukraine are not exclusive to the Ukrainian-American community; rather, they are common to Ukrainian communities throughout the world. The creation of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, which is an umbrella organization representing Ukrainian organizations throughout the world, reflects the communality of those concerns. Organizationally, the World Congress, which has had its headquarters in

Table 18 Number of persons speaking Ukrainian, by state, 1980 and 1990 censuses

State	1980 Rank	1980 Number	1990 Rank	1990 Number	1990–1980 Difference	1990–1980 %	1990 %*	1990 Cum. %
New York	1	27,069	1	21,089	−5,980	−22.1	21.8	21.8
Pennsylvania	2	21,118	2	14,945	−6,173	−29.2	15.5	37.3
New Jersey	3	16,673	3	12,815	−3,858	−23.1	13.3	50.6
Illinois	4	12,244	4	8,797	−3,447	−28.2	9.1	59.7
Michigan	5	8,728	6	6,011	−2,717	−31.1	6.2	65.9
Ohio	6	8,423	5	6,457	−1,966	−23.3	6.7	72.6
California	7	4,950	7	4,543	−407	−8.2	4.7	77.3
Connecticut	8	4,939	8	3,756	−1,183	−24.0	3.9	81.2
Florida	9	2,824	9	3,075	251	8.9	3.2	84.4
Maryland	10	2,116	12	1,222	−894	−42.2	1.3	85.7
Massachusetts	11	2,000	10	1,596	−404	−20.2	1.7	87.3
Minnesota	12	1,780	11	1,525	−255	−14.3	1.8	88.9
Wisconsin	13	1,083	17	885	−198	−18.3	0.9	89.8
Indiana	14	1,063	16	931	−132	−12.4	1.0	90.8
Colorado	15	829	19	609	−220	−26.5	0.6	91.4
Arizona	16	762	15	938	176	23.1	1.0	92.4
Rhode Island	17	720	23	385	−355	−49.3	0.4	92.8
Washington	18	655	14	981	326	49.8	1.0	93.8
Virginia	19	645	13	1,010	365	56.6	1.0	94.8
Delaware	20	627	21	507	−120	−19.1	0.5	95.3
Texas	21	576	18	642	66	11.5	0.7	96.0
North Dakota	22	470	22	452	−18	−3.8	0.5	96.5
Missouri	23	397	24	321	−76	−19.1	0.3	96.8
Oregon	24	301	20	591	290	96.3	0.6	97.4
Nebraska	25	272	35	91	−181	−88.5	0.1	97.5
New Hampshire	26	254	27	178	−76	−29.9	0.2	97.7
Nevada	27	189	28.3	133	−56	−29.6	0.1	97.8
Georgia	28	176	26	253	77	43.8	0.3	97.9
North Carolina	29	134	25	272	138	103.0	0.3	98.2
Kansas	30	131	44	49	−82	−62.6	0.1	98.3
Maine	31	128	46	40	−88	−68.8	0.0	98.3
District of Columbia	32	125	38	69	−56	−44.8	0.1	98.4
West Virginia	33	122	39.5	62	−60	−49.2	0.1	98.5
Oklahoma	34	104	28.3	133	29	27.9	0.1	98.6
Louisiana	35	95	42	58	−37	−38.9	0.1	98.7
Montana	36	91	34	104	13	14.3	0.1	98.8
Alaska	37	79	49	22	−57	−72.2	0.0	98.8
Kentucky	38	75	37	86	11	14.7	0.1	98.9
Iowa	39	61	43	57	−4	−6.6	0.1	98.9
New Mexico	40	59	33	105	46	78.0	0.1	99.0
Tennessee	41	57	28.3	133	76	133.3	0.1	99.2
Vermont	42	55	41	60	5	9.1	0.1	99.2
Alabama	43	53	36	90	37	69.8	0.1	99.3
South Carolina	44	53	35	88	35	66.0	0.1	99.4
Arkansas	45	50	32	106	56	112.0	0.1	99.5
Hawaii	46	48	39.5	62	14	29.2	0.1	99.6
Utah	47	44	45	43	−1	−2.3	0.0	99.6

Table 18 ***(continued)***

State	1980 Rank	1980 Number	1990 Rank	1990 Number	1990–1980 Difference	1990–1980 %	1990 %*	1990 Cum. %
Wyoming	48	29	47	31	2	6.9	0.0	99.7
South Dakota	49	28	48	30	2	7.1	0.0	99.7
Idaho	50	27	31	130	103	381.5	0.1	99.8
Mississippi	51	17	50	20	3	17.6	0.0	99.9
Total		123,548		96,568	–26,980	–21.8	100.00	100.0

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Language Spoken at Home and Ability to Speak English for United States, Regions and States: 1990, CPH–L–133" (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1993).

* Percentage of all Ukrainians.

Toronto, Canada, since 1970, is the preeminent link among Ukrainian communities in the diaspora today.

However, the World Congress is not the only link among Ukrainians in various countries. Specific organizations, including women's, youth, professional, and scholarly organizations, have supranational or international structures. This is also true of churches. Since language maintenance has always been a priority of Ukrainian communities throughout the world, there are no significant language barriers among Ukrainians in different countries. (This is one of the reasons why Ukrainian tourists in foreign countries tend to gravitate toward Ukrainian institutions – a tendency that further enhances ties among Ukrainians throughout the world.)

Aid for Ukrainian communities in poorer countries (Brazil, Poland, the independent republics of the former Yugoslavia) from the communities in the United States, Canada, Australia, and lately, Germany, has also raised an awareness of the common ties among Ukrainians.

The principal tie, that between Ukrainians in the diaspora and Ukrainians in Ukraine and the former Soviet Bloc countries, was, for all practical purposes, off limits until 1990. Now that the situation has changed, an independent Ukraine may become the hub of communication for Ukrainians in the diaspora. This would be the natural process of interaction for people with common cultural and historical roots.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

The 1980s were marked by the preparation and celebration of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine. Other notable events of the period before perestroika were the Medvid affair[16] and the Demjanjuk trial,[17] which was widely interpreted in the community as an affair aimed at the defamation of Ukrainians. The nuclear catastrophe at Chornobyl in April 1986 was an event of global importance, and it is still one of the main issues on the Ukrainian community's agenda. But it was only in 1989, with the founding of Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine, that the community's activities became dominated by events in Ukraine and that aid to Ukraine took priority over all other projects.

The proclamation of independence by the Ukrainian Parliament on August 24, 1991, after the unsuccessful putsch in Moscow, has united Ukrainian Americans of different

political factions in their support for the fledgling democracy in Ukraine. Local chapters of a new organization in support of Rukh in Ukraine emerged, coordinating their actions through a central coordinating committee that was established in February 1991, headed by Bohdan Burachynskyi. The committees to aid the victims of Chornobyl, headed by Z. and N. Matkivsky, successfully organized shipments of medical supplies to the Chornobyl zone. Chapters of the Tovarystvo Ukrainskoi Movy (Ukrainian Language Society), which have sprung up in several localities, have been engaged in supplying schools in Ukraine with Ukrainian textbooks, especially in history and religious instruction (R. and Z. Voronka were instrumental in these endeavors). Computers and other office equipment have also been sent to Ukraine. There have been numerous attempts at joint economic ventures in Ukraine, as well as attempts by Ukrainian individuals to interest American companies in such ventures.

Nothing has more dramatically reflected the profound change in the attitudes of the Ukrainian-American community toward present-day Ukraine than the 1991 visit to the United Nations of the head of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Council, currently the President of Ukraine, Leonid Kravchuk. The flags at both the United Nations esplanade and the Ukrainian Mission to the United Nations were changed from the Soviet hammer and sickle to the blue and yellow national flag of Ukraine. Disregarding his former affiliation with the Communist Party, Ukrainian communities in New York, Chicago, and Washington welcomed Kravchuk and his delegation as representatives of a free Ukraine.

In 1992, there were several significant events in the area of U.S.–Ukrainian relations: Roman Popadiuk was appointed U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine and Oleh Bilorus was named Ukrainian Ambassador to the United States, ushering in a new era of formal relations between the two countries. Ukrainian president Leonid Kravchuk visited the United States in May 1992, meeting with President George Bush and other key administration officials, signing important agreements between the two countries, and laying down the necessary foundation for the further development of bilateral relations. A U.S. Chamber of Commerce was established in Ukraine in July 1992 to encourage U.S. trade and investment in Ukraine, represent U.S. business-community interests there, and provide U.S. business news to interested parties.

The breakup of the Soviet Union also brought a number of new immigrants from Ukraine, motivated primarily by the desire to secure a better economic life. However, no aid committees were formed to help the newcomers; it has been the needs of the people in Ukraine that have captured the attention of the Ukrainian-American community. Although no statistics are available on the number of recent immigrants (most of whom came to visit family members, then decided to remain permanently), judging by the past, one might predict that they will form their own organizations, start their own publications, and develop their own community within the larger framework of the Ukrainian-American community.

At this point, it is difficult to predict the long-range effects of Ukraine's independence on the development of the Ukrainian community in the United States: Will it cause the process of assimilation to accelerate, in the absence of a messianic dimension? Or will it strengthen the Ukrainian identity of the younger American-born generations, who felt an increased sense of pride in witnessing the rebirth of the formerly subjugated homeland of their forefathers? Currently, excitement and euphoria, mixed with fear and anxiety, about the future of freedom in Ukraine foster interest and involvement in activities relating to Ukraine. If American immigration policies permit an influx of new immigrants, they will certainly invigorate the Ukrainian community in the United States in the foreseeable future.

Notes

1 John P. Fulton, "Demographic Profile," in *Ethnicity and National Identity: Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Persons with Ukrainian Mother Tongue in the United States*, ed. Oleh Wolowyna, 14–30, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986).
2 Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 562, 307.
3 Jean Kincade, "Fertility and Marital Status," in *Ethnicity and National Identity*, ed. O. Wolowyna, 70–82.
4 Fulton, "Demographic Profile."
5 Wolowyna, ed., *Ethnicity and National Identity*, 1–13.
6 Jeremiah W. Jenks and W.J. Lauck, *The Immigrant Problem* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1913), 142.
7 This section was prepared by the editor.
8 In the nineteenth century, the name "Rusyn" was more commonly used than the name "Ukrainian." Other common designations of Ukrainian immigrants – Ruthenian, Russian, Greek Catholic, or those that refer to the country of origin, such as Austrian, Polish, Hungarian, and Slovak – all derive from the complicated history of stateless people.
9 Yuliian Bachynsky, *Ukrainska emihratsiia* [Ukrainian emigration], vol. 1, *Ukrainska imihratsiia v Ziedynenykh Derzhavakh Ameryky* [Ukrainian immigration in the United States of America] (Lviv, Ukraine: Balytsky and Harasevych, 1914), 103–14.
10 The only group that continued in the traditional agricultural occupation was one from Eastern Ukraine, a religious congregation of Stundists, who settled as homesteaders in North Dakota. Wasyl Halich, *Ukrainians in North Dakota* (Bismark, ND, 1956).
11 *Official Catholic Directory*, various years. After 1974, a new high school – Saint George's Academy, in New York City – was opened.
12 In the recapitulation of statistics in the *Official Catholic Directory 1990*, the number of diocesan high school students is given as 54 when it should be 94.
13 There was an overlapping in these reports, since some schools belonged to both the UCCA Educational Council and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Educational Council. Therefore, one can assume that the 11,000 students reported is an exaggerated number.
14 Bohdan Cymbalisty, *Tavro bezderzhavnosty* [Brand of statelessness] (Jersey City: Ukrainian National Association, 1982).
15 Oleh Wolowyna, "Ukrainians in the United States: An Analysis of Language Assimilation by States from 1980–90," *Ukrainian Weekly*, 5 September 1993, 8, 9.
16 Myroslav Medvid was a Ukrainian sailor in the Soviet navy who attempted to defect to the United States, but was repatriated.
17 John Demjanjuk was deported to Israel to stand trial as the Treblinka gas-chamber operator "Ivan the Terrible." His was a case of mistaken identity, and he was acquitted by the Supreme Court of Israel in 1993.

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Ukrainians in the United States of America

Appendix

Table A-1 Population by age and sex, 1980

Total U.S. population

Age	Males		Females		Both sexes		Males per 100 females
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
0–4	8,362,009	7.60	7,986,245	6.86	16,348,254	7.22	104.7
5–9	8,539,080	7.76	8,160,876	7.01	16,699,956	7.37	104.6
10–14	9,316,221	8.47	8,925,908	7.66	18,242,129	8.05	104.4
15–19	10,755,409	9.77	19,412,715	8.94	21,168,124	9.34	103.3
20–24	10,663,231	9.69	10,655,473	9.15	21,318,704	9.41	100.1
25–29	9,705,107	8.82	9,815,812	8.43	19,520,919	8.62	98.9
30–34	8,676,796	7.88	8,884,124	7.63	17,560,920	7.75	97.7
35–39	6,861,509	6.23	7,103,793	6.10	13,965,302	6.16	96.6
40–44	5,708,210	5.19	5,961,198	5.12	11,669,408	5.15	95.8
45–49	5,388,249	4.90	5,701,506	4.89	11,089,755	4.90	94.5
50–54	5,620,670	5.11	6,089,362	5.23	11,710,032	5.17	92.3
55–59	5,481,863	4.98	6,133,391	5.27	11,615,254	5.13	89.4
60–64	4,669,892	4.24	5,417,729	4.65	10,087,621	4.45	86.2
65–69	3,902,955	3.55	4,879,526	4.19	8,782,481	3.88	80.0
70–74	2,853,547	2.59	3,944,577	3.39	6,798,124	3.00	72.3
75+	3,548,413	3.22	6,420,409	5.51	9,968,822	4.40	55.3
Total	110,053,161	100.00	116,492,644	100.00	226,545,805	100.00	94.5
Median	28.8		31.3		30.0		

Table A-1 (cont.)

Persons of Ukrainian ancestry							
	Males		Females		Both sexes		Males per
Age	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	100 females
0–4	21,805	5.98	20,980	5.74	42,785	5.86	103.9
5–9	21,550	5.91	21,805	5.97	43,354	5.94	98.8
10–14	24,651	6.76	24,965	6.83	49,615	6.80	98.7
15–19	29,322	8.04	28,007	7.67	57,328	7.85	104.7
20–24	31,873	8.74	31,323	8.57	63,196	8.66	101.8
25–29	37,604	10.31	33,698	9.22	71,302	9.77	111.6
30–34	34,837	9.55	31,853	8.72	66,690	9.13	109.4
35–39	22,825	6.26	21,275	5.82	44,100	6.04	107.3
40–44	16,388	4.49	15,564	4.26	31,951	4.38	105.3
45–49	13,876	3.80	14,425	3.95	28,301	3.88	96.2
50–54	20,254	5.55	21,236	5.81	41,490	5.68	95.4
55–59	27,496	7.54	28,556	7.82	56,052	7.68	96.3
60–64	25,946	7.11	27,555	7.54	53,501	7.33	94.2
65–69	17,664	4.84	18,508	5.07	36,171	4.95	95.4
70–74	8,577	2.35	10,029	2.75	18,606	2.55	85.5
75+	10,049	2.76	15,564	4.26	25,612	3.51	64.6
Total	364,714	100.00	365,342	100.00	730,056	100.00	99.8
Median	32.2		33.4		32.8		

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population, General Population Characteristics: United States Summary*, Table 44 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1983), and 1980 Census 5 percent Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table A-2 Persons of Ukrainian ancestry by age and sex and by nativity, 1980

Foreign-born

Age	Males Number	Males %	Females Number	Females %	Both sexes Number	Both sexes %	Males per 100 females
0–4	79	0.13	59	0.09	137	0.11	133.3
5–9	412	0.70	353	0.54	765	0.62	116.7
10–14	491	0.84	510	0.79	1,001	0.81	96.2
15–19	1,040	1.77	864	1.33	1,904	1.54	120.5
20–24	1,511	2.58	1,766	2.72	3,278	2.65	85.6
25–29	2,630	4.48	2,689	4.15	5,319	4.31	97.8
30–34	6,693	11.40	6,359	9.80	13,051	10.56	105.2
35–39	3,376	5.75	3,768	5.81	7,144	5.78	89.6
40–44	3,199	5.45	3,592	5.54	6,791	5.50	89.1
45–49	2,434	4.15	3,768	5.81	6,202	5.02	64.6
50–54	4,553	7.76	5,495	8.47	10,049	8.13	82.9
55–59	8,302	14.15	8,145	12.56	16,447	13.31	101.9
60–64	4,848	8.26	4,534	6.99	9,381	7.59	106.9
65–69	6,536	11.14	5,574	8.59	12,109	9.80	117.3
70–74	4,475	7.63	4,730	7.29	9,205	7.45	94.6
75+	8,106	13.81	12,659	19.52	20,765	16.81	64.0
Total	58,682	100.00	64,865	100.00	123,547	100.00	90.5
Median	51.8		52.0		51.9		

U.S-born

Age	Males Number	Males %	Females Number	Females %	Both sexes Number	Both sexes %	Males per 100 females
0–4	21,726	7.10	20,922	6.96	42,648	7.03	103.8
5–9	21,137	6.91	21,451	7.14	42,589	7.02	98.5
10–14	24,160	7.89	24,454	8.14	48,614	8.02	98.8
15–19	28,281	9.24	27,143	9.03	55,424	9.14	104.2
20–24	30,362	9.92	29,557	9.84	59,919	9.88	102.7
25–29	34,974	11.43	31,009	10.32	65,983	10.88	112.8
30–34	28,144	9.20	25,494	8.48	53,638	8.84	110.4
35–39	19,450	6.36	17,507	5.83	36,956	6.09	111.1
40–44	13,189	4.31	11,972	3.98	25,161	4.15	110.2
45–49	11,442	3.74	10,657	3.55	22,099	3.64	107.4
50–54	15,701	5.13	15,740	5.24	31,441	5.18	99.8
55–59	19,194	6.27	20,411	6.79	39,606	6.53	94.0
60–64	21,098	6.89	23,022	7.66	44,120	7.27	91.6
65–69	11,128	3.64	12,934	4.30	24,062	3.97	86.0
70–74	4,102	1.34	5,299	1.76	9,401	1.55	77.4
75+	1,943	0.63	2,905	0.97	4,848	0.80	66.9
Total	306,032	100.00	300,477	100.00	606,509	100.00	101.8
Median	23.9		24.3		24.1		

Source: U.S. 1980 Census 5 percent Public Use Sample Tapes.

Table A-3 Percentage distribution of total U.S. population and population of Ukrainian ancestry,* by number of years of schooling completed, and by selected characteristics, 1980

	Yrs. of schooling completed	Total U.S.	Total Ukrainians	Males	Females	U.S-born	Foreign-born	Speak Ukrainian	Don't speak Ukrainian
	0	1.0	1.4	0.9	1.9	0.3	2.8	2.4	0.5
Elementary	1–4	2.6	2.6	2.3	3.0	0.6	8.0	8.1	0.9
	(0–4)	(3.6)	(4.0)	(3.2)	(4.8)	(0.9)	(10.8)	(10.5)	(1.5)
	5–7	6.7	5.7	5.5	5.8	3.2	12.9	13.3	3.7
	8	8.0	7.3	6.4	8.3	5.1	10.5	10.5	5.4
High school	9–11	15.3	11.8	11.2	12.4	11.9	9.2	10.5	11.4
	12	34.6	33.0	28.3	37.6	30.9	19.8	20.9	30.1
College	13–15	15.6	15.7	16.9	14.4	17.7	14.2	12.8	17.9
	16	8.6	10.7	12.7	8.8	13.7	9.4	8.8	13.6
	17+	7.6	11.8	15.8	7.9	16.6	13.2	12.7	16.6
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median age		11.4	11.5	11.7	11.4	11.7	9.3	9.5	11.9

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics: United States Summary*, Table 83, and 1980 Census 5 percent Public Use Sample Tapes.

* Persons 25 years of age and older.

Table A-4 Number of persons of Ukrainian ancestry, by age and sex and by language spoken, 1980

Speak Ukrainian

Age	Males Number	%	Females Number	%	Both sexes Number	%	Males per 100 females
0–4	340	0.61	777	1.14	1,117	0.90	43.8
5–9	1,640	2.96	1,386	2.03	3,026	2.45	118.3
10–14	2,000	3.62	1,974	2.89	3,974	3.22	101.3
15–19	2,360	4.27	2,646	3.88	5,006	4.05	89.2
20–24	3,080	5.57	3,360	4.92	6,440	5.21	91.7
25–29	3,720	6.72	3,801	5.57	7,521	6.09	97.9
30–34	4,000	7.23	4,116	6.03	8,116	6.57	97.2
35–39	2,100	3.80	2,646	3.88	4,746	3.84	79.4
40–44	1,880	3.40	2,562	3.76	4,442	3.60	73.4
45–49	1,860	3.36	3,087	4.52	4,947	4.00	60.3
50–54	3,860	6.98	5,691	8.34	9,551	7.73	67.8
55–59	8,081	14.61	9,638	14.13	17,719	14.34	83.8
60–64	6,481	11.71	8,084	11.85	14,565	11.79	80.2
65–69	6,041	10.92	6,299	9.23	12,340	9.99	95.9
70–74	3,280	5.93	3,549	5.20	6,829	5.53	92.4
75+	4,600	8.32	8,609	12.62	13,210	10.69	53.4
Total	55,325	100.00	68,223	100.00	123,548	100.00	81.1
Median Age	50.5		51.1		50.8		

Do not speak Ukrainian

Age	Males Number	%	Females Number	%	Both sexes Number	%	Males per 100 females
0–4	8,407	2.74	8,101	2.71	16,508	2.72	103.8
5–9	20,631	6.71	21,217	7.09	41,848	6.90	97.2
10–14	23,474	7.64	23,917	8.00	47,392	7.81	98.1
15–19	27,942	9.09	26,415	8.83	54,356	8.96	105.8
20–24	29,850	9.71	29,156	9.75	59,006	9.73	102.4
25–29	35,130	11.43	31,186	10.43	66,316	10.93	112.6
30–34	31,983	10.40	28,973	9.69	60,956	10.05	110.4
35–39	21,484	6.99	19,451	6.50	40,935	6.75	110.5
40–44	15,047	4.90	13,624	4.55	28,671	4.73	110.4
45–49	12,468	4.06	11,938	3.99	24,407	4.02	104.4
50–54	17,037	5.54	16,466	5.50	33,503	5.52	103.5
55–59	20,245	6.59	20,222	6.76	40,468	6.67	100.1
60–64	20,266	6.59	20,689	6.92	40,955	6.75	98.0
65–69	12,143	3.95	13,055	4.36	25,198	4.15	93.0
70–74	5,544	1.80	6,944	2.32	12,487	2.06	79.8
75+	5,726	1.86	7,776	2.60	13,503	2.23	73.6
Total	307,378	100.00	299,130	100.00	606,508	100.00	102.8
Median Age	26.3		26.7		26.5		

Source: 1980 Census 5 percent Public Use Sample Tapes.

UKRAINIANS IN CUBA AND MEXICO

Ann Lencyk Pawliczko

Economic conditions under Austro-Hungarian rule and the political climate of Eastern Galicia under Polish domination after the First World War brought about a renewal of overseas Ukrainian migration, which had ceased during the war. The persecution and ill-treatment experienced by Ukrainians placed them in a hopeless situation, which immigration officials were only too eager to take advantage of, urging Ukrainians to emigrate overseas. Since immigration to the United States and Canada was restricted in the early 1920s, officials advised potential Ukrainian emigrants to settle in Argentina, Brazil, and even Cuba and Mexico. Ukrainians had already been living in Argentina and Brazil for several decades, but Cuba and Mexico were unknown territories to them. The only reason some Ukrainians decided to migrate there was that they considered these countries a stepping stone to their eventual settlement in the United States or Canada.

Among those recruited for temporary immigration to Cuba were inhabitants of Polish-occupied Eastern Galicia and former soldiers of Ukrainian armies scattered throughout Europe. Although exact figures are not available, an article that appeared in the calendar of the Ukrainskyi Robitnychyi Soiuz (Ukrainian Workingmen's Association) in 1925 claimed that there were six thousand Ukrainians in Cuba. The article underscored the fact that the Ukrainians had to be quickly rescued from the intolerable conditions that prevailed in the country – unemployment, hunger, illness, filth, and attacks by the local poor. An account by one Ukrainian settler in Cuba describes the misery: deaths by starvation and drowning; mental illness and subsequent hospitalization; and people roaming the streets at night in search of food discarded by stores and hotels. Ukrainian settlers also suffered from the hot climate. Moreover, native Cubans looked down upon them and were suspicious of them. The author of the article appealed to the Ukrainian media to publish his account in order to warn his countrymen against migrating to Cuba. He also urged Ukrainians to find an American company willing to help Ukrainians in Cuba by offering them employment, which would pay for their emigration expenses. Such aid did not come, however, and the fate of the Ukrainian settlers in Cuba remains unknown. It is believed that they were forced to remain in the country until the time stipulated on their signed contracts and only then, through their own efforts, were they able to attempt to emigrate to the United States.

In the 1920s, Mexico offered a better chance of obtaining employment and decent earnings. An agrarian revolution had taken place in the country, and the government began to confiscate land that belonged to the Spanish landowners and divide it among the Indian peasants. Vacant land also began to be settled.

At that time, there were already two settlements of Ukrainians, who called themselves "Ruthenians" (from "Rus'" [Ruthenia], the ancient name of Ukraine), in Mexico. The next group of Ukrainian immigrants, like those who went to Cuba, were refugees fleeing from persecution by Polish authorities in Eastern Galicia. They settled in Mexico in the hope of emigrating to the United States after a certain period of time. However, realizing the futility of their plans, they began to look for refuge in the country. In 1925, there were approximately 250 Ukrainians in Mexico. They lived scattered throughout the cities and towns and in Indian shepherds' huts, where they tended goats and sheep in order to earn money. Receiving no wages for their work besides lodging, the settlers found it difficult to relocate to other areas in the hope of finding better employment. When they had exhausted the money that they had brought with them, the Ukrainian settlers found themselves without

homes or employment and were forced to sleep on park benches; some, in despair, even threw themselves in front of cars. They roamed the streets during the daytime searching for scraps of food and loose change. The only support available to Ukrainians at the time was a bakery established with borrowed money by Pavlo Stasiuk, which was able to employ eight people. One group of Ukrainians obtained a license to organize cooperatives of meat markets, bakeries, and steamship-ticket bureaus, but they were unable to realize their plans because they lacked the necessary funds. Ukrainians turned to their countrymen in the United States for loans to help them overcome their hardships. On December 31, 1924, Ukrainians in Mexico organized the Tovarystvo Ukrainskoho Narodu (Sociedad de la Nación Ucraniana; Society of the Ukrainian Nation) in order to protect themselves from exploitation, assist one another in the search for employment, and aid the homeless and the unemployed. With the help of Ukrainians in the United States, the thirty-five members of the organization hoped to be able to earn a living and become self-sufficient, and to open a reading room.

In 1922, the Ukrainian National Chorus (also known as the Ukrainian Republican Kapelle), under the direction of Oleksander Koshyts, performed in Mexico City, staging more than twenty concerts over a period of three weeks. Breaking all records of concert attendance, a crowd of 32,600 people packed the Great Arena on December 26, 1922, to hear the choir.

The lack of any additional information on the fate of the Ukrainian settlers in Mexico leads one to assume that they eventually emigrated to other countries, probably the United States.

While he was on assignment as special assistant to the U.S. Ambassador in Mexico City in 1982–4, Dr. Roman Popadiuk (first U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine) was unable to locate any Ukrainian communities, churches, or organizations in Mexico. The same is most probably true of all of Central America. Although a few Ukrainians may reside in the area (it is known that several Ukrainian families live in Mexico City) there appears to be no known organized Ukrainian community in the region.

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Popadiuk, Roman (first U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine). Telephone conversation with author. Dr. Popadiuk was on diplomatic assignment in Mexico City in 1982–4.

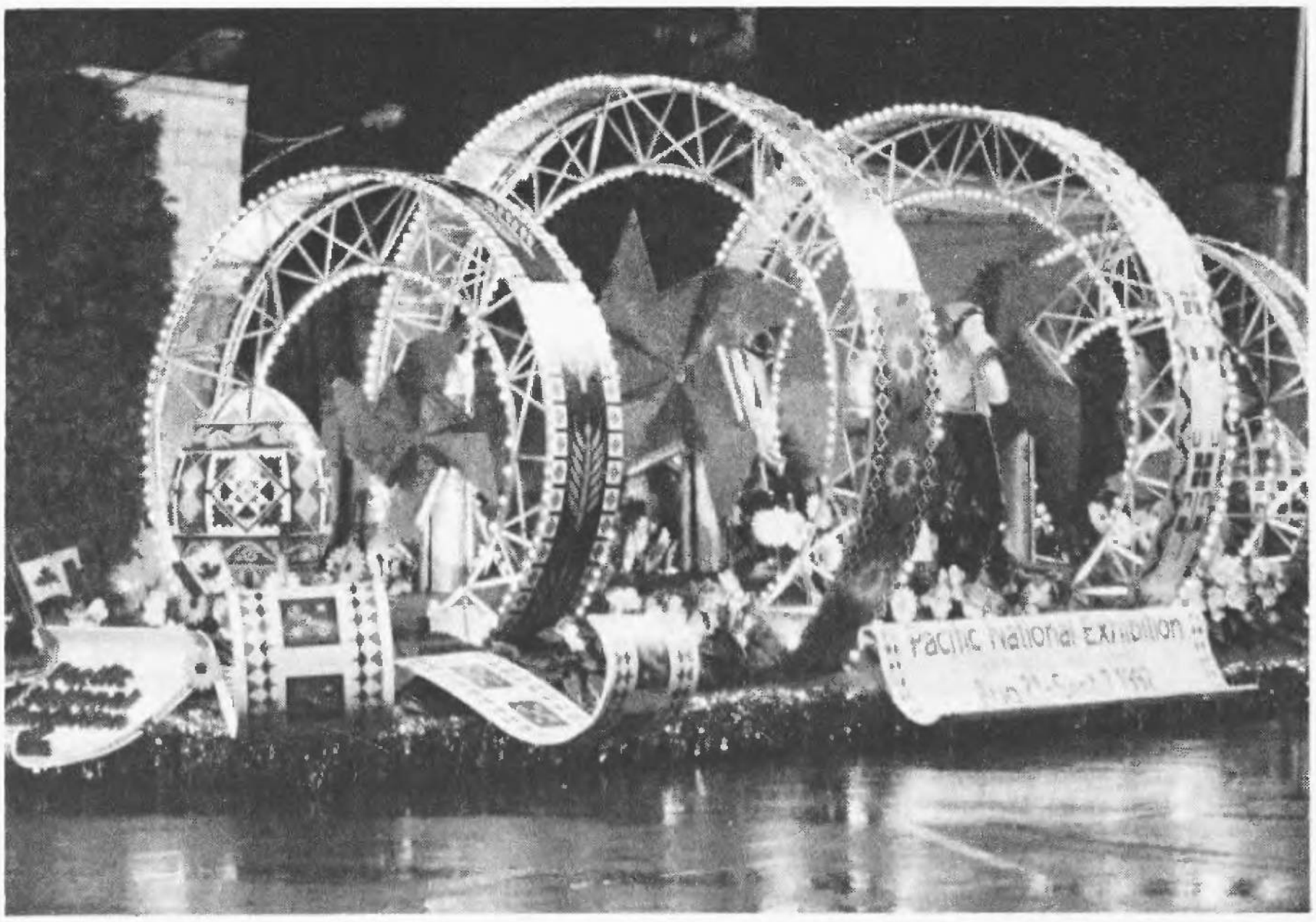
Rubinec, Mykhailo (Chief Brazilian Representative for the Ukrainian National Republic, Government in Exile, Curitiba, Paraná, Brazil). Correspondence with author.



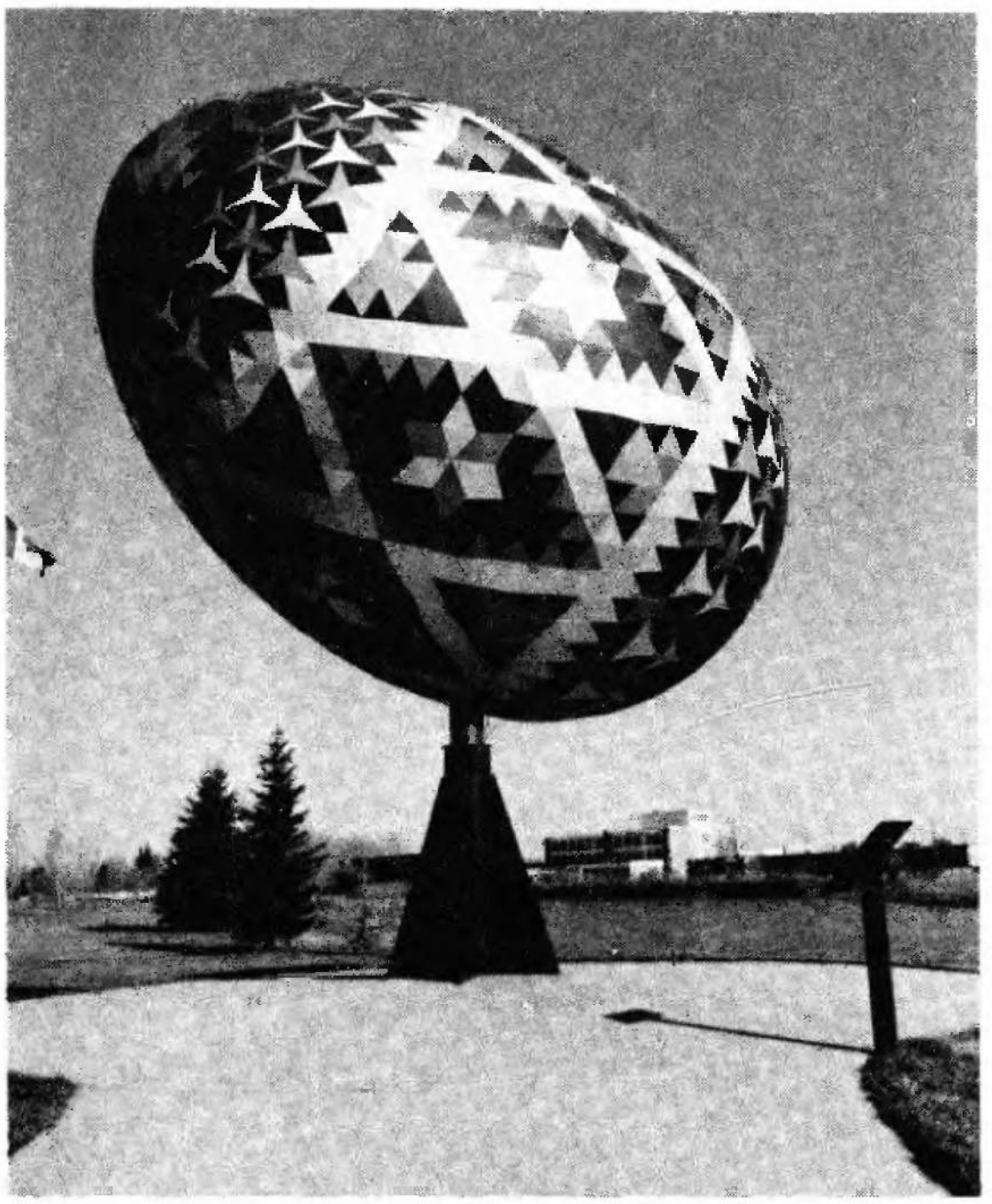
His Excellency the Right Honourable Ray Hnatyshyn, Governor General of Canada. *Svoboda* archives.



Baturyn Orchestra, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Martin Associates. *Svoboda* archives.



Pacific National Exhibition float honoring the Ukrainian Canadian Centennial, 1992. *Svoboda* archives.



Vegreville Pysanka, the world's largest Ukrainian Easter egg, Centenary Project, Vegreville, Alberta, Canada. *Svoboda* archives.



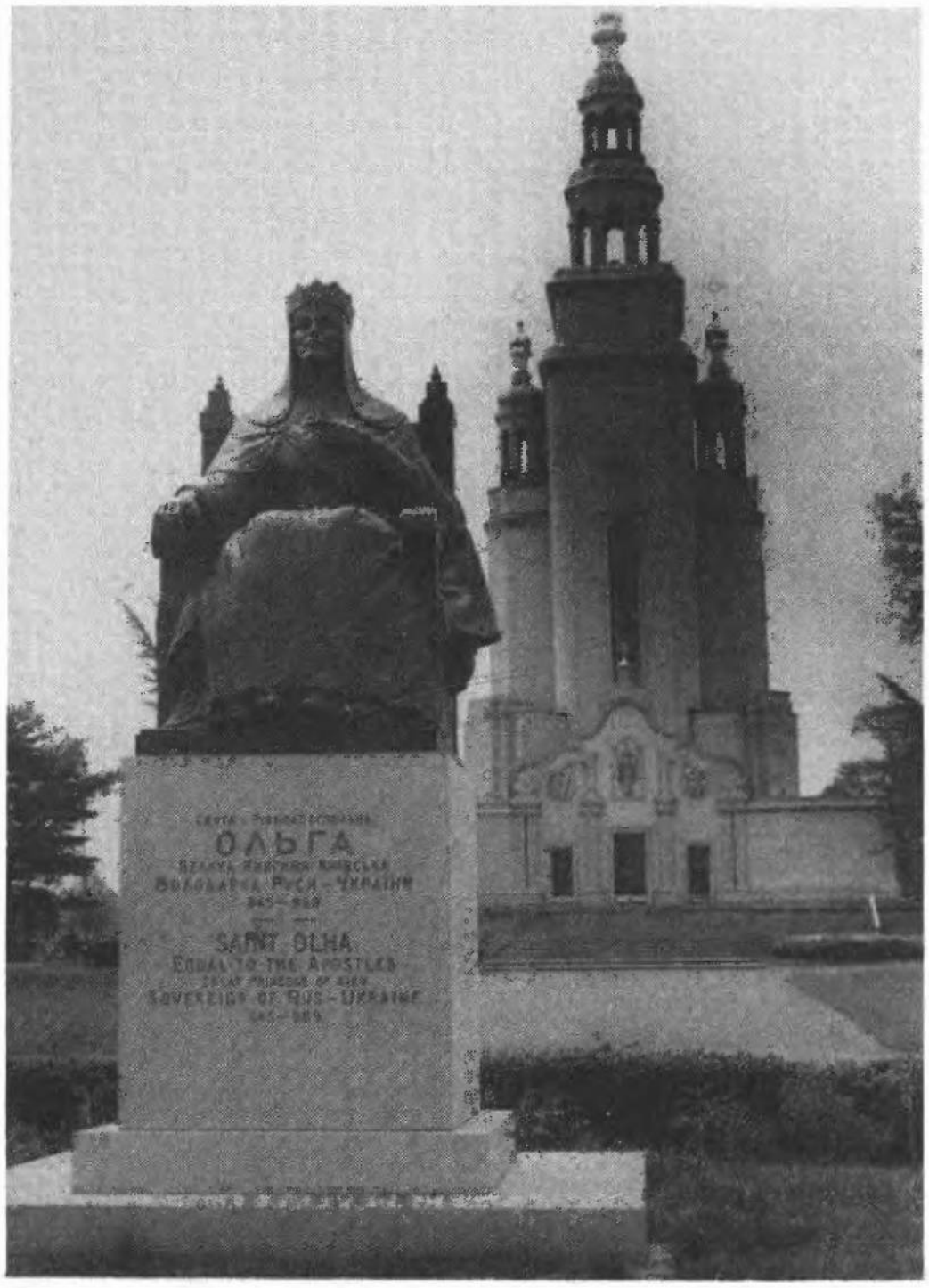
Shevchenko Scientific Society headquarters, in New York.



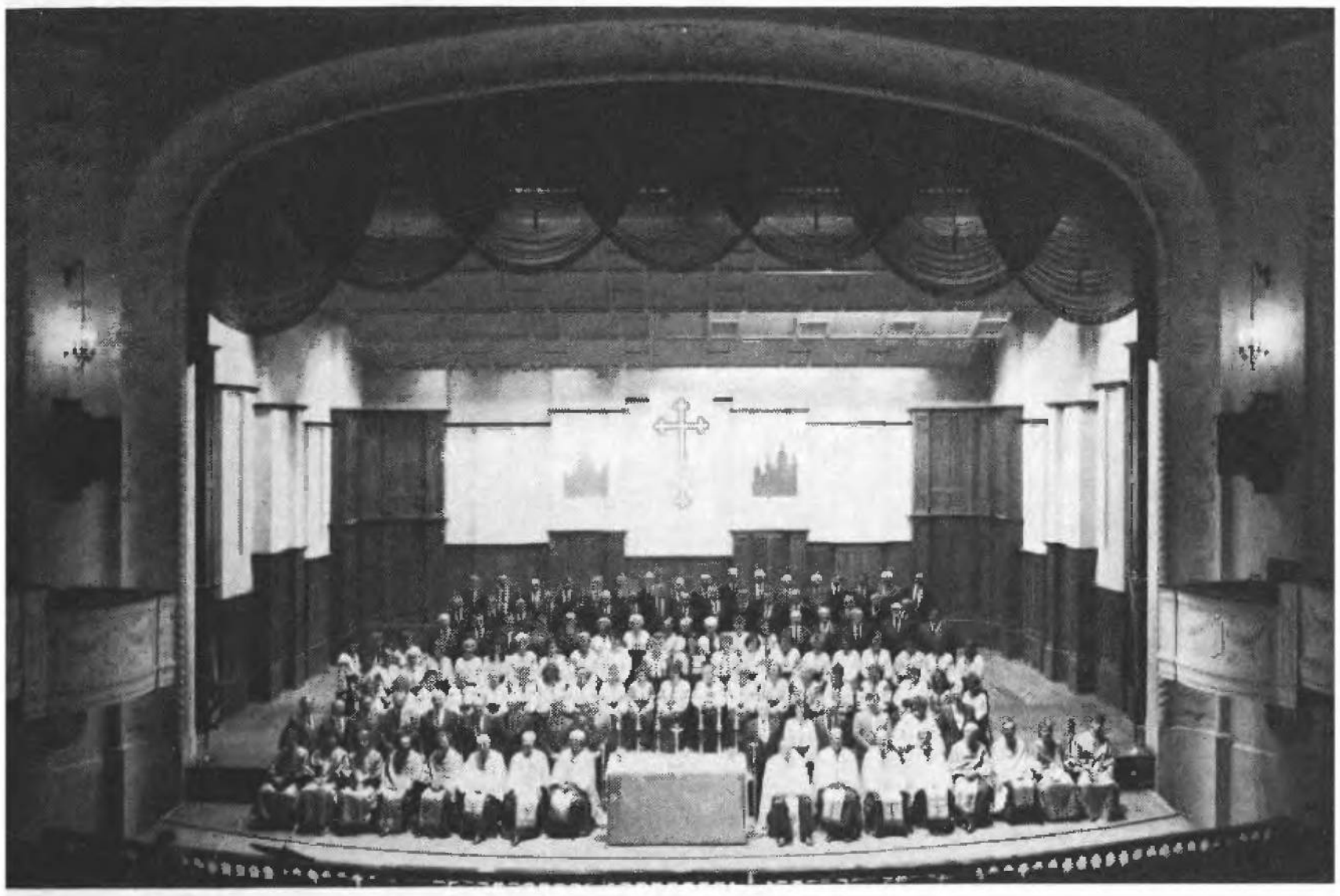
Ukrainian Museum in Stamford, Connecticut.



Soyuzivka, estate of the Ukrainian National Association, in Kerhonkson, New York. *Svoboda* archives.



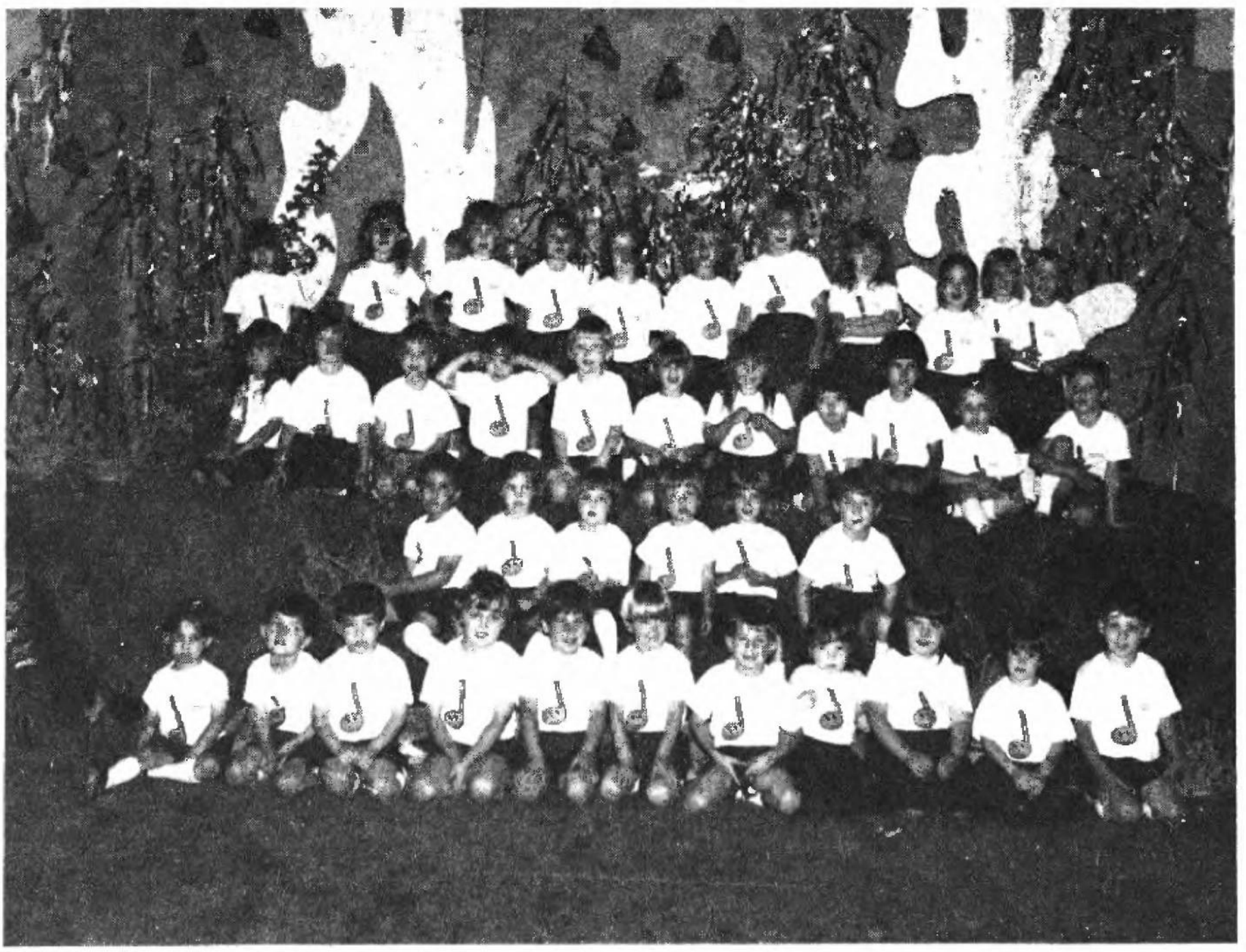
Monument to Saint Olha, Great Princess of Kiev, and Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church monument honoring the martyrs and heroes of the Ukrainian nation in South Bound Brook, New Jersey. *Svoboda* archives.



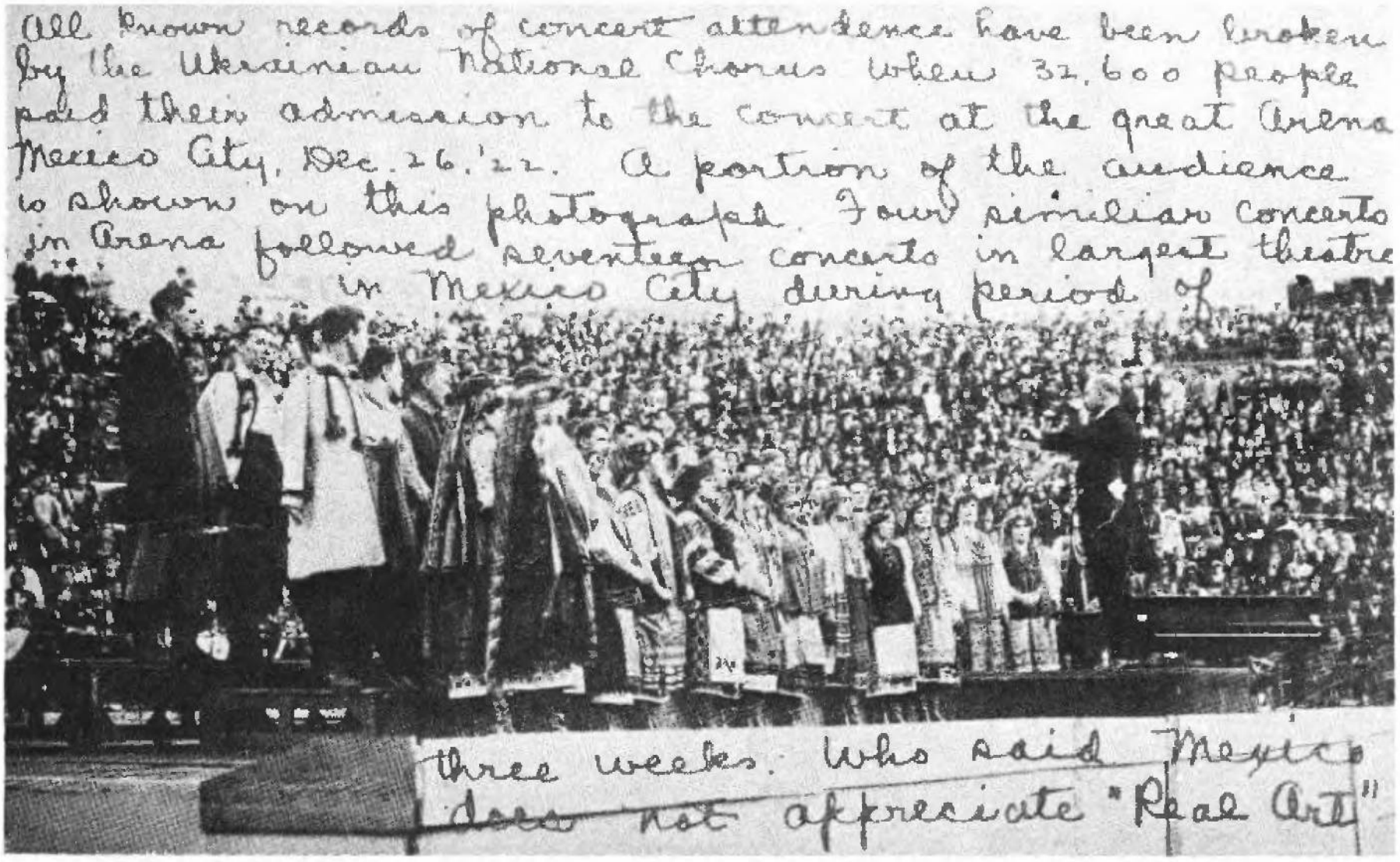
Combined interfaith Millennium Choir performing at the Orchestra Hall, in Detroit, Michigan. *Svoboda* archives.



Speaker and presidium at a scholarly conference at the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York. *Second from right*: His Holiness the late Patriarch Mstyslav Skrypnyk.



Music preschool, in Irvington, New Jersey, 1990. *Svoboda* archives.



An enthusiastic account of a performance by the Ukrainian National Chorus, under the direction of Oleksander Koshyts, before a record-breaking audience of 32,600 in the great arena in Mexico City on December 26, 1922. Courtesy of John Dytiuk.



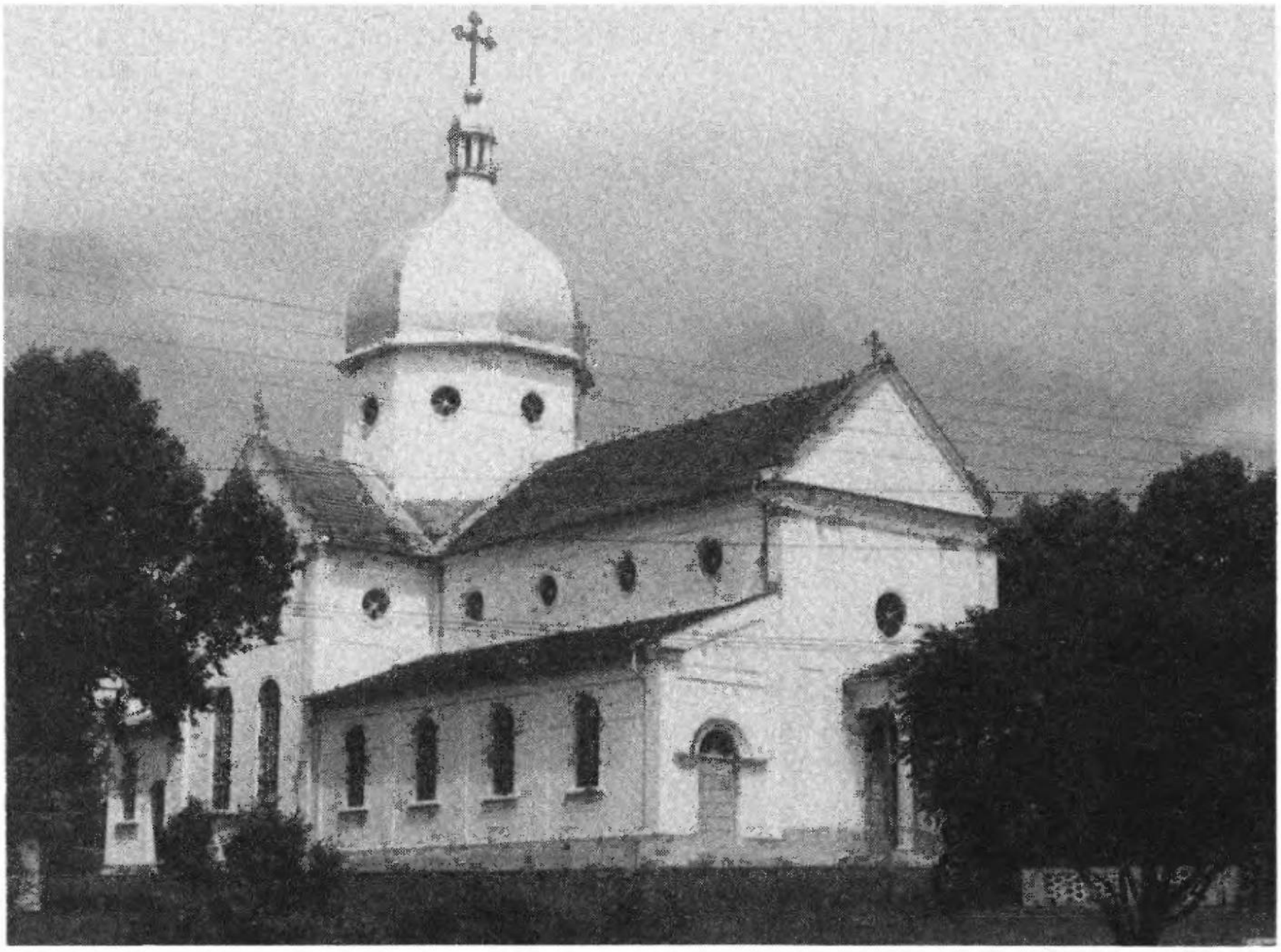
Taras Shevchenko Monument in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Sculptor Lev Molodozhanyn (Leo Mol).
Svoboda archives.



Participants of a summer Ukrainian-studies course in Leandro N. Alem, Misiones, Argentina.
Svoboda archives.



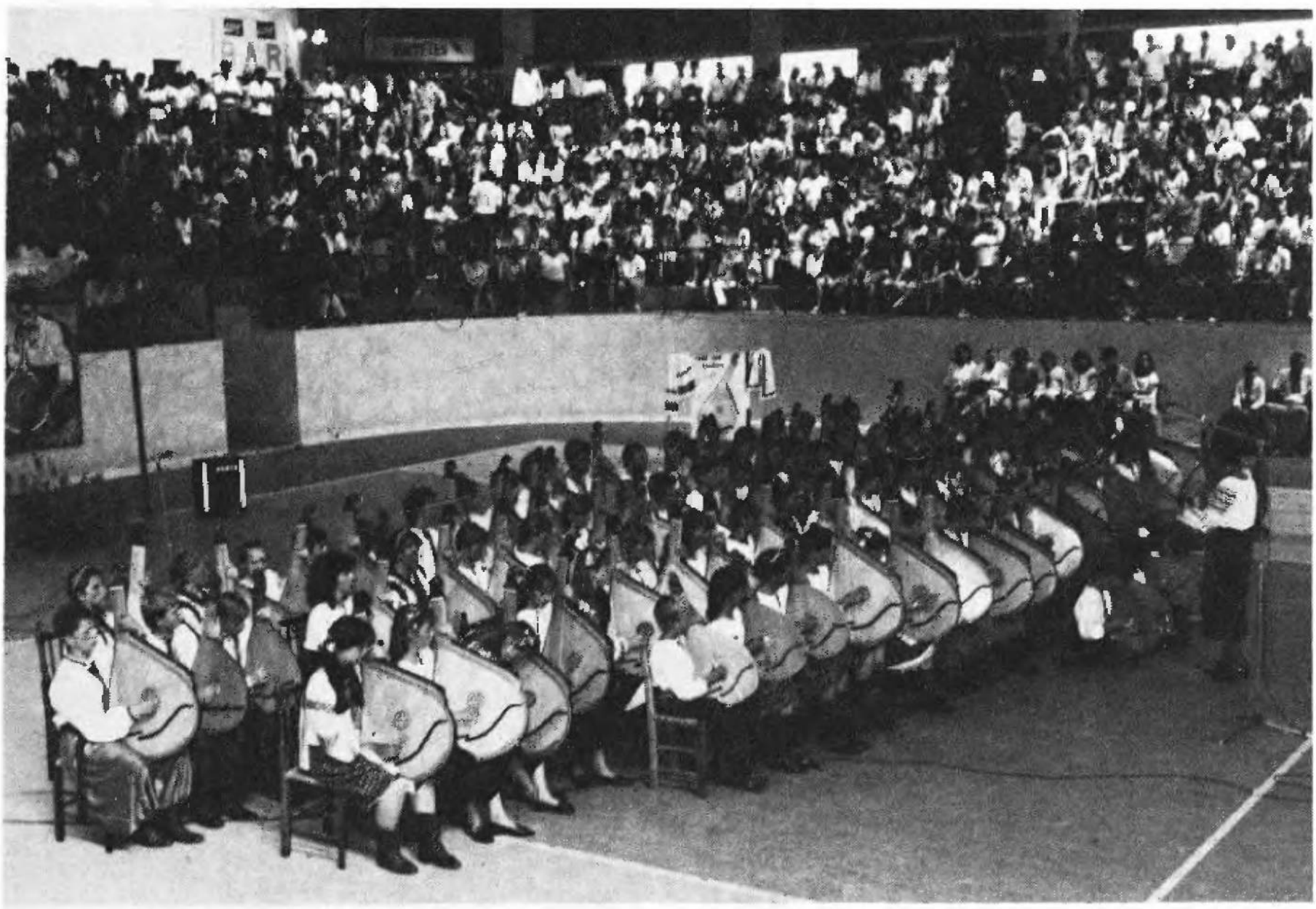
Pope John Paul II at the Ukrainian Cathedral in Buenos Aires, 1987. Courtesy of Mykhailo Wasylyk.



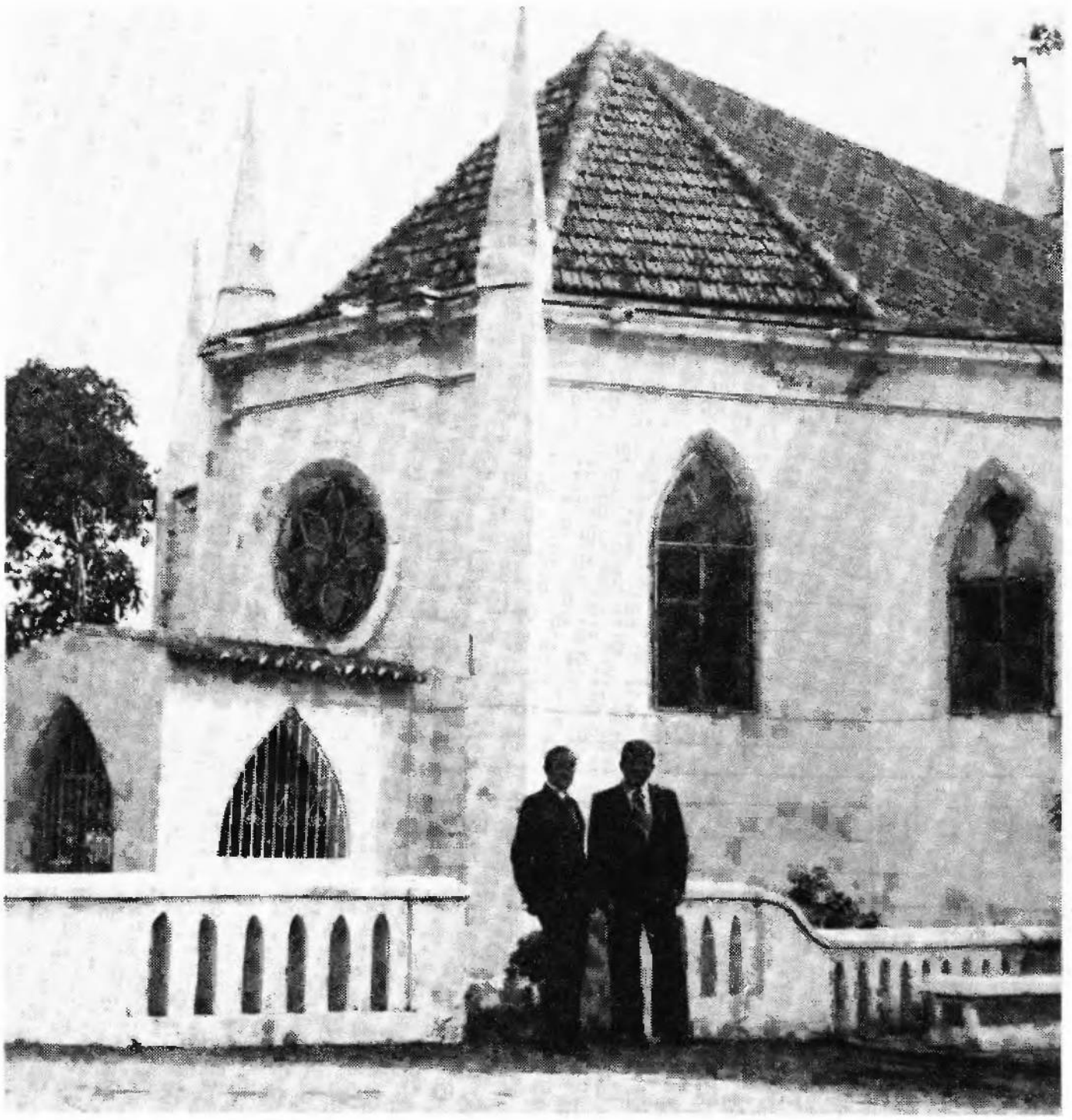
Ukrainian Catholic Church in Mallet, Paraná, Brazil. Courtesy of Oksana Boruszenko.



Ukrainian children at the Cathedral in Curitiba, Paraná, Brazil. Courtesy of Oksana Boruszenko.



Bandurist ensembles from Argentina and Brazil performing at the unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko Monument at the Ukraina Square, in Prudentópolis, Paraná, Brazil, 1989. Valentyna Rodak, conductor. *Svoboda* archives.



Ukrainian Catholic Church in Caracas, Venezuela, 1979. *Svoboda* archives.



Commemoration of Ukrainian Independence Day (January 22), in Valencia, Venezuela, 1968. Courtesy of Fedir Jakymec.



Ukrainian performers at the Folkloric Festival, Sydney Opera House, Sydney, Australia, 1976. Courtesy of Eugene Seneta.



Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Holy Protectress, in Sydney, Australia. Courtesy of Eugene Seneta.



Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul, in North Melbourne, Australia. Courtesy of Eugene Seneta.



Ukrainian Studies Center at Macquarie University, in Sydney, Australia. *Svoboda* archives.



Traditional *Sviachene* (Ukrainian Easter Dinner), in Auckland, New Zealand. Salon Photography. Courtesy of Wasyl Krechowec.



His Eminence Yosyf Cardinal Slipy visits Ukrainians in New Zealand, 1968. Courtesy of Wasyl Krechowec.



Field Mass celebrated in Ben-Metir, Tunisia, in honor of Sviato Heroiv (Heroes' Day), 1949. Courtesy of Wolodymyr Kizyma.



Ukrainians from the United States employed at the Philippine Refugee Processing Center in Bataan Province, Philippines, pose with their *bandura* in front of a refugee escape boat. Courtesy of Myra Wichorek.



Ukrainian folk dancing at the American Cultural Center in Nairobi, Kenya, 1976. *Svoboda* archives.

8
Ukrainians in South America

UKRAINIANS IN ARGENTINA

Mykhailo Wasylyk[1]

Country Data

Official Name – República Argentina (Argentine Republic)

Geographic Location – The seventh-largest country in the world, Argentina is located in South America, between 22° and 55° south latitude and 53°40′ and 73°30′ west longitude. It is bordered by Bolivia and Paraguay on the north; Brazil, Uruguay, and the Atlantic Ocean on the east; the Atlantic Ocean and Chile on the south; and Chile on the west.

Area – 1,073,399 sq. mi., or 2,780,092 sq km

Population Density – 30.8 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 11.9 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Buenos Aires

Form of Government – Federal republic with two legislative houses, the Senate (46 seats) and the Chamber of Deputies (254 seats). Argentina consists of one federal district (the capital), twenty-two provinces, and one federal territory.

Official Language – Spanish

Population – 33,070,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 85% European; 15% Mestizo, Amerindian, and other (1986)

Religious Affiliation – 91% Roman Catholic; 9% other (1990)

Literacy – 95.3% (1990)

Percent Urban – 86.2% (1990)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 68 years; female, 74 years (1991)

Per Capita GNP – US$2,370 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Argentina

Demographic and Social Characteristics

Government statistics and the population census in Argentina do not provide data on the ethnic origin of the population. An exception was the census of 1980, which provided information on the country of birth of the foreign-born population. Results showed that 5,091 persons reported their country of birth as Ukraine. Our estimates of the number of Ukrainians and their descendants in Argentina are based on data on emigration from Austria and Russia before the First World War, and from Poland, Russia, and Czechoslovakia during the postwar period, projected using the same rate of natural increase as is found among the general Argentine population. These estimates put the Ukrainian population in Argentina today at about 220,000. Ukrainian settlers are found in almost all the provinces of Argentina; Table 1 provides estimated data for the provinces with the largest concentrations of Ukrainians.

Participation in the Economic, Political, Professional, and Social Life of the Country

Integration into Agriculture

The first Ukrainian immigrants to Argentina left their homeland fully intending to settle on the land: They migrated to places that promised good and inexpensive land, and they took with them all kinds of farming implements, as well as seeds.

The province of Misiones, especially the city of Apóstoles, where the first immigrants settled, was a region ravaged by long-term wars with Paraguay and Brazil. The lands had

Table 1 Distribution of the Ukrainian population in Argentina, by province

Province	Ukrainian population Number (000s)	Percent	Total population Number (000s)	Ukrainians as % of total pop.
Buenos Aires (federal district and province)	100	46	13,788	0.7
Misiones	55	25	589	9.3
Chaco	30	14	701	4.3
Mendoza	7	3	1,196	0.6
Formosa	4	2	296	1.4
Cordoba	3	1	2,408	0.1
Río Negro	3	1	383	0.8
Corrientes	2	1	662	0.3
Santa Fé	2	1	2,466	0.1
Other	14	6	5,459	0.3
Total	220	100	27,947	0.8

Source: Data obtained from emigration statistics.

once been administered by the Jesuits, who, employing various humanitarian measures, integrated the local Indians, especially the Guarani tribe, into modern society. The Jesuit monastery/fortresses, where most of the native population had once lived, today give testimony to their successes. Motivated by jealousy, greed, and, above all, the desire to capture Indians for slave labor, the lay authorities brought slanderous denouncements against the Jesuits to the Spanish royal court, which, as a result, recalled the Jesuits to Europe and handed over their property to the lay authorities. Having lost their guardians, the Indians scattered into the forests, deserting the cultivated lands, which became the refuge of bandits.

Integration into the agricultural society of Argentina was very difficult for the Ukrainian settlers. The red soil; the subtropical climate (average temperatures were 79.2°F or 26.2°C in January and 60.3°F or 15.7°C in July); the reversed order of the seasons of the year; the absence of snow in winter; high humidity, with 62.4 inches, or 1,584.3 mm, of yearly atmospheric precipitation; and various insects, ants, serpents, and beasts of prey, not to speak of armed bandits and many unfamiliar diseases, all contributed to an environment that was completely alien to the settlers.

The settlers' initial land allotments were temporary; subsequently, after a quick survey of the land, each settler received 123.6 acres, or 50 hectares, in two identical lots, one for agriculture and the other for cattle breeding. The first task of the settlers was to build themselves a dwelling on the new land and to carve out arable land from the virgin forest. At first, the dwellings tended to be simple mud huts that housed entire families and that served as both kitchen and bedroom. The land was usually cleared by means of the slash-and-burn method. In the forest-steppe regions, this method bore good results, but in the virgin forest, the fire burned away only the bushes, lianas, and small trees. Large trees were only charred, leaving tree stumps that subsequently had to be removed.

At first, the Ukrainian settlers employed a system of varied sowing, intended primarily for their own livelihood; they planted many crops that were familiar to them from their homeland. Some settlers even sowed wheat, though the climate of Misiones is not really favorable to its growth. Learning from experience, they began to tend crops that were better suited to the local climate and in greatest demand on the market: rice, sugar cane, tea, tobacco, and, most of all, *yerba maté*, a type of South American tea. It is interesting to note that the first person to grow tea in the province of Misiones was Volodymyr Hnatiuk, who lived in Tres Capones. An agricultural system of single-crop cultivation emerged with time, wherein only one or two products were raised for sale, while others, such as vegetables or fruits, were grown only for private consumption. The transition to a one-crop system called for an intensive, mechanized farming system. Among the first to modernize his agricultural methods was the Ukrainian settler Oleksander Varenytsia.

Besides the one-crop system of agriculture, Ukrainian settlers in Misiones also developed fruit culture, growing lemons, oranges, nuts, and, in some places, bananas. Almost every settler raised dairy cattle. The production of meat was for the settlers' own needs and those of the local population rather than for export, even though Argentina is one of the world's leading meat exporters.

Lately, there has been a widespread increase in the exploitation of forests, in response to a high demand for cellulose, used primarily in making paper. Land that was formerly jungle, or even cultivated land, is increasingly being used for planting high-quality trees, especially coniferous trees. This trend is supported by the government, which waives taxes and gives long-term, low-cost loans to encourage the residents to engage in forestry.

The province of Chaco has a very different climate from that of Misiones. The temperatures are high, reaching 80.8°F, or 27.1°C, by the middle of January, and the rainfall is

considerably lower (35.4 inches, or 900 mm, on the average). Since the hot and arid climate was not favorable for growing the crops they had known in Ukraine, the settlers had to learn new methods of agriculture. Today, almost all Ukrainian settlers, as well as the entire population of the province, are engaged in one-crop agriculture, growing cotton and sorghum and raising cattle for their own use. In some places, the settlers sow corn, sunflowers, and mandioca (tapioca), while others are engaged in forestry.

As in Misiones, the government also gave parcels of land of 123.6 acres, or 50 hectares, to the settlers in Chaco. Today, these managed farms often resemble the farms of Volhynia, Ukraine, the region of origin of most of the Ukrainian settlers of this province. As opposed to Misiones, the soil here is not red but black, and the terrain is level, not hilly. Since the growing of cotton requires heavy mechanization, which in turn necessitates large capital investments, Ukrainian settlers turned to cooperative farming. Such cooperatives do not have an ethnic character, but unite all interested residents of a given area.

Very similar to the settlement in Chaco is the settlement of Ukrainian immigrants in Formosa, where one finds similar activities and similar terrain, and a climate that is less arid. The settlement in Corrientes, however, is very similar to that in Misiones.

Misiones, Chaco, Formosa, and Corrientes all lie approximately on the same parallel. The province of Mendoza lies farther to the south, almost at the foot of the Andes, the highest mountain range in South America. Here, the climate is cooler and more continental. The frosts and snowfalls in the winter make the climate of this province somewhat similar to that of Ukraine. After the initial period of integration, Ukrainian immigrants who settled in Alvear, in the southeastern part of the province, began to cultivate vineyards and make wine. Today, they also tend fruit trees, grow grain and melon crops for their own use, and raise cattle. As in the province of Chaco, these settlers joined local cooperatives to improve their efficiency in agriculture. However, the cooperative movement is rather weak in this area.

The occupation of Ukrainian agricultural settlers who settled in other provinces is different. In Río Negro, Ukrainians are engaged primarily in fruit growing and forestry. In Santa Fé, Entre Ríos, and Buenos Aires, their chief occupation is the cultivation of grain and fruit and melon crops and sometimes the raising of cattle. Since land was purchased privately in these provinces and not with the help of the government (as in Misiones, Chaco, and Mendoza), these properties are not all alike and are found scattered among the settlements of other ethnic groups.

Lately, there has been a noticeable decline among Ukrainian agricultural settlements, as has been the case among agricultural settlements in general. The younger generation, enticed by the easier life of the city, abandons the parental settlement and goes to work in the factories, leaving aging parents alone and often forced to sell the family agricultural homestead. This tendency is especially evident in settlements located near industrial centers, in the provinces of Buenos Aires, Santa Fé, and Entre Ríos. Indeed, those settlements have almost disappeared because of the outmigration of youth and the elderly, as well as through assimilation.

Integration into Industry and Construction

Besides agriculture, the first settlers in the province of Misiones engaged in various trades, including blacksmithing, carpentry, wheelwrighting, and harness making. Migrating to an almost unpopulated region where it was impossible to find skilled workers who knew how to manufacture the necessary agricultural implements, the settlers found it necessary to make and repair their own implements, often without any prior training. With the passage of

time, persons with an inclination toward a particular trade abandoned agriculture and devoted themselves entirely to that trade. In this way, workshops producing primarily agricultural tools, including plows, harrows, wagons, and harnesses for horses and oxen, sprang up. Later, more complex work was done in such workshops, including the production of simple agricultural machinery and the construction of mills, kilns, and sawmills. Some of the skilled workers became widely known; Lev Spasiuk, for example, who settled in Apóstoles in 1901, founded and patented several agricultural machines, including a saw for cutting wood in sawmills and the first machine in Misiones for collecting tea. Thanks to his skills and resources, the workshop was transformed in 1918 into a prosperous industrial enterprise.

With the modernization of agriculture, traditional implements were abandoned and farming became less labor intensive. The younger generation migrated to the industrial centers or settled in nearby cities to work in various enterprises or to start their own businesses, such as repair shops for cars and agricultural machines and construction and commercial enterprises.

People who settled in the cities began to work as common unskilled laborers in the large butcheries and meat-processing plants, in the shipbuilding industry, and in railroad, road, and building construction. Having learned the language and a trade, some individuals opened their own repair shops, where they repaired tools and simple machinery. With time, these establishments grew and became involved in more complicated endeavors – the manufacture of electric and electronic apparatus for domestic, trade, and industrial use; the recasting of metals; the production of items made of plastic; and the construction of large industrial machines. The following establishments were among those located in the city of Buenos Aires and its environs: a factory that manufactured electrical motors (owner: Burban; "Electropropulsora" (owners: the Dranyk brothers); the plastics factory "Dinplast" (owner: Oleskiv); and a textile factory (owners: the Rudyk brothers).

Numerous Ukrainian-owned firms also sprang up in the field of construction. Among the many Ukrainians in the construction industry in Buenos Aires and its environs are Osyp Halatio, Evhen Khalupa, Teodor Khomyshyn, Mykhailo Rokush, and Vasyl Tsap. In the cities, many Ukrainians are also involved in carpentry, particularly in the manufacture of furniture. Thirty-six percent of the industrial firms that advertised in the Ukrainian calendars of Prosvita (Enlightenment Society) and Vidrodzennia (Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine) in 1976 were engaged in carpentry and furniture making.

The development of industry among Ukrainian settlers broadened in scope after the Second World War, especially during the 1960s. Based on the advertisements in the calendars of the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine, there were only eleven industrial establishments in 1958, whereas in 1976, there were thirty-six (along with trade and professional establishments). In addition to those previously mentioned, firms engaged in the following areas were represented among the advertisers: chroming and nickeling of metal; aluminum products; production of tools for mechanics, carpenters, and other craftsmen; lathing of metal; production of factory equipment; production of cartons and metal containers; smelting of metals; production of automobile parts; automobile repair; production of musical instruments; shoe manufacturing; production of matrix dies; and meat production.

Integration into Business and Services

Ukrainian settlers went into business several years after arriving in Argentina, when they were able to speak some Spanish. One of the first Ukrainian businessmen was Petro Yuzviak, who in the beginning of this century opened a variety store in the town of

Apóstoles and named it "Casa Polaca" (The Polish House). His clientele consisted primarily of Ukrainian and Polish immigrants who had not yet mastered the Spanish language. In 1913, Lviv-born Yosyf Varenytsia opened a similar store in Apóstoles, naming it "La Ucraniana" (The Ukrainian Girl).

Business and service firms eventually appeared almost everywhere that Ukrainians lived. Food, textile, porcelain, and iron works stores became most popular. Stores and dealerships specializing in automobile parts, automobiles, industrial machines, furniture for domestic use, watches, and gold products are also successful. Service establishments include hotels, restaurants, dry cleaners, gasoline stations, funeral homes, real estate agencies, florists, shoe- repair shops, and tailors. There are also several small import and export firms, as well as philatelic enterprises.

There were attempts to organize cooperatives, but they usually failed. Credit cooperatives (Vidrodzennia, Fortuna, Tryzub) fared best, surviving for more than three decades. Organized by cooperative experts from Ukraine (including Sterniuk and Yakhno), they developed successfully, but, as time went on, they fell into the hands of inexperienced people and were unable to survive the economic crisis of the eighties.

Integration into Professional Life

The first Ukrainian professionals, notably engineers and physicians, settled in Argentina between the two world wars. There must have been a considerable number of them, since they were able to organize an association of Ukrainian engineers. But in a comparatively short time, they either emigrated from Argentina or left the Ukrainian community after marrying non-Ukrainians. A larger group of various professionals migrated to Argentina after the Second World War.

Upon arriving in the country, the professionals of the postwar immigration found themselves in totally unfamiliar circumstances. Local laws prohibited foreign professionals who had graduated from universities in countries with which Argentina had no special agreement concerning education from practicing their professions in the larger cities in Argentina. At that time, such agreements existed only with Spain, Italy, and neighboring South American countries. Professionals who completed their studies in Ukraine or some other country were required to retake all their academic exams, starting from the final year of elementary school. This required considerable time and work, and proved to be almost impossible for most older professionals with family responsibilities. Consequently, many individuals who were able to find jobs in their professions worked only as auxiliary personnel or lower-level technicians. A great number of physicians, dentists, veterinarians, jurists, agriculturists, various types of engineers, and others were employed in this way. Although it is true that people in some professions, notably those in technical occupations as well as physicians and dentists, had the option of working in the villages and towns in the country, poor living conditions and the lack of a Ukrainian environment discouraged many. The situation of writers, specialists in language and literature, and teachers of elementary and secondary school was the most difficult. Without opportunities such as those available to the technicians, they had to switch to occupations in the business and service sectors. For a long time, it was not uncommon to find a shop worker with a master's degree or a professor turned butcher. Such difficulties, combined with the economic crisis of the fifties, caused Ukrainian professionals and others to emigrate from Argentina, primarily to the United States and Canada.

Since the mid-1950s, the loss of Ukrainian professionals from Argentina has been compensated by the emergence of a new generation of professionals, graduates of Argentine

universities. Taking advantage of the fact that state universities in Argentina are free, the children of many settlers, especially those from the cities, eagerly turned to education. In 1976, there were approximately two hundred young professionals of Ukrainian descent in greater Buenos Aires alone, whereas twenty-five to thirty years ago, they numbered fewer than twenty. Some of these young professionals also left Argentina after completing their studies, but others remained in the large cities in the hope of finding employment in their field. However, there was a surplus of professionals in certain disciplines, and hence a scarcity of jobs. It is for this reason that, in recent years, many young professionals have sought their fortune in the provinces, where, after overcoming initial hardships, they have been able to establish themselves.

The most popular professions among the descendants of the Ukrainian settlers are medicine and engineering. More than 50 percent of the young professionals are engaged in these fields. In addition, there are lawyers, economists, sociologists, psychologists, and theologians. There is comparatively little interest in humanistic and political studies, although the number of students in these disciplines has increased noticeably in recent years. Young professionals usually complete their university studies with a bachelor's degree. It is not known whether anyone has earned a doctorate, except in the case where a scholarship for study abroad was available. In addition, in the last few years, those with bachelor's degrees in such professions as medicine, dentistry, law, and economics acquired the right to use the title "doctor" in their relationships with their patients or clients. As a result, the time and energy required to complete a doctorate became superfluous for many.

Integration into Social and Political Life

Considering the number of Ukrainian settlers and their descendants and the contributions they made to the development of the economy of the country, the participation of Ukrainians and their influence in the social and political life of Argentina is not large. With the exception of Dr. Bohdan Halaichuk, university professor and international law specialist, who was a long-time adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is not known whether any other Ukrainian settler or descendant held an important position in the central government apparatus or in the municipal government of the capital, Buenos Aires. It is known, however, that the two Skaliany brothers achieved high positions in the army: one became a colonel and army attaché at the embassy in Israel, and the other, a general.

However, in provinces where Ukrainians settled in larger numbers – specifically, Misiones and Chaco – their participation in the social-political life of the country has been more significant. One of the first Ukrainians who participated actively was the Reverend Ivan Senyshyn, who was mayor of the city of Apóstoles for several years and a long-time member of the city council. The post of mayor of Apóstoles was also held for several terms by two other Ukrainians, Oleksander Varenytsia, who was also a member of the provincial parliament, and Yurii Ostapchuk. Senator Roland Hnatiuk and Member of Parliament Ivan Balanda also came from Misiones. Arkadii Baluk was mayor of the town of San Bernardo, in the province of Chaco.

It is well known that Ukrainian settlers contributed greatly to the development of the Argentine Catholic Church. Many persons of Ukrainian descent served as Latin-rite priests or members of religious orders; one of them was even ordained a bishop.

Ukrainians, especially the descendants of the first settlers, actively participated in other areas of political and social life. Many of them worked in the fields of education, as teachers of elementary, secondary, and higher schools of learning, and health care, as directors of hospitals; in the police force; and in the army. Ukrainians have occupied high

positions in both federal and provincial government, as well as in private establishments and firms; some have served as advisers in government institutions.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

It is difficult to ascertain the identity and date of arrival of the first Ukrainian immigrant in Argentina or, for that matter, South America. It is generally accepted that the first Ukrainians to migrate were a group of families who came to Argentina in 1897 and settled in the area of Apóstoles, in the province of Misiones. However, as early as the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, many persons with Slavic surnames had appeared in this country; for example, there are records of names such as: Badeliak, Bilevych, Chaikovsky, Dembitsky, Dobry, Doroshenko, Dunin-Borkovsky, Hrodny, Khodasevych, Mansovych, Moskovsky, Nedbalsky, Ostrovsky, Sadovsky, Semashko, Semyradsky, Shymansky, Stelmachuk, Sudnyk, Voinylovych, Vozniak, Vusetych, Vysotsky, Zhurovsky, and Zilinsky. It is difficult to determine whether these surnames belonged to Cossack refugees from the Hetman State or to Ukrainian nobles serving under the Polish flag in the Poles' fight against Muscovy. In immigration records, the country that issued a person's passport was usually given as the country of origin, and it was only in certain circumstances and at the demand of the immigrant that nationality was also recorded.

The documented history of Ukrainian settlement in Argentina begins only in 1897, when the first large group of Ukrainian immigrants came to settle permanently. The immigration movement of Ukrainians to this country lasted more than half a century, until 1950, with interruptions caused by the two world wars, and can be divided into three periods: (1) 1897 to 1914; (2) 1922 to 1939; and (3) 1946 to 1950. A general review of the major characteristics of the settlers of these periods shows considerable differences in terms of place of origin, marital status, national consciousness, reasons for emigration, and attitudes about their own status as immigrants and their entrance into agricultural employment.

The first period began with the arrival of a group of Ukrainian immigrants in Misiones on August 27, 1897. Twelve Ukrainian and six Polish families, a total of sixty-nine people, settled in the area of Apóstoles. Included in the group were the families of Illia Bily, Toma Vynnyk (from Holhochi), Hnat Hertsyna (from Tovmachchyna), Illia Dutko (from Dolyna), Semen Kozachyk, Teodor Kotsur (from Teplytsi), Ivan Maksymovych and Toma Musii (from Dolyna), Mykhailo Opykhany (from Shulhanivka), Teodor Pysmenny (from Kosiv), and Yosyf Sobchyshyn.

It is believed that these immigrants had originally planned to migrate to North America, where their families and friends had already settled. Lacking proper information about emigration requirements, they liquidated their households in Ukraine and set out on their journey. However, the American immigration commission at the port of Hamburg turned them down after a medical examination. Finding themselves in hopeless circumstances, they were persuaded by the immigration authorities to emigrate to Argentina, even though they knew nothing about the country and had no family or relatives living there, because at that time, Argentina did not require immigrants to pass a thorough medical examination. Thus, the Ukrainians soon found themselves in the port of Buenos Aires.

Once settled, they immediately began to look into the possibility of purchasing land. It quickly became evident, however, that fertile land in a temperate climate was not as cheap

as the immigration officials had promised; rather, it sold at high speculative prices, and was inaccessible to the settlers with their minimal financial resources. Consequently, they gladly accepted an offer of arable land, on reasonable terms, by the governor of the province of Misiones. The apparent satisfaction of this first group of immigrants drew new immigrants, so that, by the end of 1898, their total number had grown to 250. When payment on government land became due after five years, all promissory notes were paid up without exception, and many settlers were even able to pay off new promissory notes that were not yet due.

According to the governor's account, as early as 1902, there were already more than five thousand immigrants from Eastern Galicia in Misiones: (250 persons arrived in 1897–8; 1,600 in 1900; 1,700 in 1901; and 1,600 in 1902). It is believed that, by 1914, at least fifteen thousand Galician immigrants settled in Misiones, among them more than ten thousand Ukrainians.

Ukrainian immigrants of this period settled not only in Misiones, but also in the capital city of Buenos Aires and its surroundings and in the nearby town of Berisso. These settlers were primarily unmarried individuals or families without children, some of whom already had experience working in the cities of Austria, France, or Prussia. Their number is estimated at approximately four thousand people, which, combined with the settlers in Misiones, brings the total to approximately fourteen thousand Ukrainians settled in Argentina during this early period.

Settlers of the second period (1922–39) were more diverse: although the great majority were Galicians, there were also many immigrants from Volhynia and Polisia, central Ukraine, and Bukovyna and Transcarpathia. Besides agricultural settlers, there were also many immigrants who settled in the cities. Many had gone out into the world in order to earn money as quickly as possible and return to their native land. There were also a number of educated people, including former soldiers and individuals involved in Ukrainian freedom struggles, many of whom had been persecuted or threatened with persecution by those who occupied their native lands. The Ukrainian immigration of this period, which numbered approximately seventy thousand, can be viewed as sociopolitical. More than half of this number settled in Buenos Aires and its surroundings, while the remainder went into the interior of the country, primarily to agricultural areas, strengthening the Ukrainian settlements in Misiones and creating new ones in the provinces of Chaco, Mendoza, Formosa, Córdoba, Entre Ríos, Corrientes, Río Negro, and Buenos Aires.

The third and last large immigration wave of Ukrainians to Argentina lasted from 1946 to 1950. (The few Ukrainian immigrants who arrived after that came from the neighboring countries of Paraguay and Uruguay.) The postwar immigration was political, consisting primarily of refugees fleeing the Soviet government, and comprised different social types from the primarily agrarian, peasant groups of earlier immigrations. Among the postwar immigrants were university professors, professionals, technicians, skilled workers, businessmen, military personnel, political activists, and patrons of the arts. Some five to six thousand immigrants, most classified as displaced persons, settled in Argentina.

Many reasons, but primarily an economic crisis and stringent requirements for recertification in professional careers, brought about an emigration movement of Ukrainians from Argentina. One part of the movement was to the United States and Canada and the other to the Soviet Union. Approximately three thousand people, primarily highly qualified individuals and able-bodied young people, left for the United States and Canada. In 1956, a few shiploads of "returnees to the homeland," who had been deceived by Soviet agents about the "prosperous life in the homeland," left for the USSR. Their number is also

estimated to have been about three thousand. Quickly becoming disappointed with Soviet reality, the majority initiated efforts to return to Argentina, but, after many attempts, only about one-third of them succeeded. This number, together with the Ukrainian settlers who came to Argentina from Paraguay and Uruguay, approximately balanced the losses resulting from the emigration to the United States, Canada, and the Soviet Union. The total number of Ukrainian settlers arriving in Argentina between 1897 and 1960 can be estimated at approximately seventy thousand.

Religious Life

A certain relationship exists between the time and place of settlement and place of origin of the Ukrainian immigrants and their participation in church and religious life. The latter, strongest in the province of Misiones, which was settled primarily by immigrants from Galicia, is measured by attendance at Sunday Divine Liturgies and by the frequency of baptisms and marriages in Ukrainian churches. In other provinces, primarily in areas settled by refugees from Polisia and Volhynia, participation in church life is much lower than in Misiones. In the capital of Buenos Aires and its environs, home to approximately half of Argentina's Ukrainian settlers and their descendants, the number of participants in Sunday services in all Ukrainian churches is barely a thousand. Although it is true that that number grows fivefold at Christmas and Easter, the proportion of the total number of settlers it represents is nevertheless very small. A large percentage of Ukrainians are indifferent to religion, and their relationship to the church is, at best, limited to marriages, funerals, and baptisms. A considerable number of Ukrainian settlers went over to the Latin-rite church. A certain percentage of Ukrainians were pro-Soviet, and exhibited total indifference or even hostility to the church and religion. A similar, large percentage currently attend Russian Orthodox churches, either the church established by Russian immigrants or the one that falls under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate. The large degree of religious indifference among Ukrainians in Argentina is largely attributable to the long years during which they had no Ukrainian churches to minister to their spiritual needs. Active participation in organized religious life is relatively low, especially in urban areas and in provinces that had no congregations for an extended period of time.

Catholics constitute the majority among Ukrainians in Argentina (more than 50 percent). Of the remainder, 30 percent are estimated to be Orthodox, and 20 percent, Evangelical or indifferent or hostile to religion.

Almost all Ukrainian Catholics in Argentina belong to the Eastern-rite Ukrainian Catholic Church. There are also some Ukrainian Roman Catholics, especially in the province of Misiones and in Buenos Aires. They are usually either descended from families who joined the Roman Catholic Church at the turn of the century under the influence of Polish missionaries, or devout families who attended local Latin churches because of the lack of Ukrainian priests and who subsequently became accustomed to the Latin rite. Most are nationally assimilated and do not take part in Ukrainian community life. A rather large number of Latin-rite priests come from this group. The biggest cause of Latinization today is mixed marriages.

The Orthodox are divided into two basic groups: those who belong to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and those who have joined one of the two Russian churches noted above. Ukrainians, especially those from Volhynia and Polisia, constitute the majority of faithful and priests in both of the Russian Orthodox churches.

The majority of Evangelists belong to the Evangelical-Baptist Church and band together in so-called Slavic Evangelical-Baptist communities, which are predominantly Russian-Argentine in spirit. The Ukrainian Evangelical community, which is not large, first became active in Oberá, in the province of Misiones, and later spread to the province of Buenos Aires and surrounding provinces.

Ukrainian Catholic Church

The first Ukrainian immigrants who settled in the province of Misiones were Ukrainian Catholics or, as they were known then, Greek Catholics. From 1897 to 1908, they had no spiritual guidance from their church and were open to the influence of several Polish missionaries, who worked hard to bring Ukrainian Catholics over to the Latin rite. The missionaries were partly successful, but the majority of Ukrainians were indignant at the tactics they used and began to boycott Polish and Latin priests and to work against their actions. At that time, a number of Ukrainian Catholics in the area of Tres Capones went over to Orthodoxy.

The organization of church life among Ukrainian Catholics in Misiones was started by the faithful themselves, without help from their Mother Church in Galicia. They formed church committees; built churches, chapels, and homes for priests; and petitioned church authorities in Galicia to send them a Ukrainian priest.

The formal beginning of organized church life among Ukrainian settlers in Argentina, specifically among Ukrainian Catholics, occurred on March 16, 1908, when the Curia of the Eparchy of Paraná issued a decree appointing the Reverend K. Bzhukhovsky, a Basilian priest from Brazil, pastor of Ukrainians in Misiones, with full authority for one year. Father Bzhukhovsky immediately began his spiritual work, offering church services and administering the sacraments of baptism and matrimony, none of which had been done during the years when there was no Ukrainian priest. He also organized the first missions, blessed chapels, initiated the building of new churches and chapels, and established religious organizations. After six months of work, Father Bzhukhovsky returned to Brazil, and the Reverend Yaroslav Karpiak, from Ukraine, replaced him in April 1909. Continuing the work begun by his predecessor, Father Karpiak founded the first Ukrainian reading room, in memory of the Reverend M. Shashkevych; took steps to normalize relations between the Ukrainian parish in Misiones and the Latin parishes; and obtained acknowledgment that some of the privileges given North American Ukrainians by the Papal Bull "Ea Semper" pertained also to Argentinian Ukrainians. Father Karpiak returned to Ukraine because of ill health. Among the priests who succeeded him in Misiones were the Reverend O. Ananevych, I. Senyshyn, S. Turchyn, and S. Vaprovych, and the Basilian priests O. Dub, M. Kotovych, V. Kovalyk, I. Maika, Yu. Melnychyn, P. Niunka, and V. Zinko.

In the province of Buenos Aires, the first organizer of church life was the Reverend Ipatii Maika, who arrived in September 1940. After serving in various Latin-rite parishes, he finally settled in the town of Berisso. There, with his own hands, he built a hut for himself out of leftover pieces of wood and metal on a lot donated by a wealthy Argentine family. On the same lot, a church center was started on Father Maika's initiative, and today there is a church, a school, and a residence for the Basilian Fathers and the Basilian Sisters. With the arrival of the postwar immigration in 1948, a parish was established in the capital city of Buenos Aires. Its first pastor was the Reverend Dr. V. Kovalyk. In time, other parishes were established in the surrounding areas, organized by lay priests, the Reverends I. Baluk and M. Kunytsky.

There were efforts to spread church life to other provinces, but at first these met with opposition from Latin circles. Only with time and, especially, with the appointment of a Ukrainian bishop for Argentina was this goal achieved.

The Ukrainian church hierarchy did not forget the Ukrainian settlements in Argentina. In June 1922, Archbishop of Lviv and Metropolitan of Halych Andrii Sheptytsky visited his faithful in Misiones, stopping at almost all the parish centers. In 1930, Bishop Constantine Bohachevsky, of the United States, visited Argentina, and in 1939, Bishop Ivan Buchko, of Lviv, visited Ukrainian settlers in Misiones, Córdoba, Buenos Aires, and Paraguay, calling for the organization of parish centers everywhere. In 1952, Bishop Nil Savaryn, of Canada, visited Argentina and chaired the First Congress of Ukrainian Catholics. In 1968, Archbishop Major Yosyf Cardinal Slipy, of Rome, came to Argentina, blessed the Cathedral Church in Buenos Aires, and visited Ukrainian settlements in Misiones. In 1986, his successor, Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky, visited Ukrainian parishes in the capital and in the provinces of Buenos Aires and Misiones.

After repeated requests by Argentinian Ukrainians for a bishop, Archbishop Ivan Buchko consecrated the Salesian rector of the Ukrainian Minor Seminary in Rome, the Reverend Andrii Sapeliak, Bishop of Ukrainians in Argentina – first as Apostolic Visitator, then as Exarch-Ordinary, and, since 1978, as Bishop of the new Ukrainian Eparchy created on the basis of Pope Paul VI's Papal Bull of April 24, 1978. The newly consecrated bishop developed widespread organizational and religious activity. First of all, Bishop Sapeliak searched for Ukrainians among the Latin-rite priests and persuaded several of them to come back to the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Afterward, he strengthened activity in the provinces, creating new parishes and religious centers. In consultation with Yosyf Cardinal Slipy, the Most Reverend Sapeliak opened a branch of the Ukrainian Catholic University at the Cathedral Church in Buenos Aires.

Women's monastic orders grew along with the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In 1939, two Basilian Sisters arrived from Ukraine, Sister Sofronia Erdeli and Sister Margaryta Fendio. They settled in Apóstoles and, with time, their activity spread to other towns and provinces. Other orders were established in Argentina as well: the Catechists of the Sacred Heart settled in Oberá, Misiones, and the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate began their work in Buenos Aires in 1964 and later expanded their activity to other provinces.

In 1987, the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy in Argentina, with its seat in Buenos Aires, consisted of twelve parishes, as follows: the Cathedral in Buenos Aires (Salesian Rev. H. Harasymovych, pastor); in the province of Buenos Aires: Sarandi (Rev. M. Hrymach), Villa Adelina (Salesian Rev. I. Fedorovych), Lavallol (Franciscan Rev. Dr. L. Hlynka), and Berisso (Basilian Rev. Dr. V. Kovalyk); in the province of Misiones: Apóstoles (Basilian Rev. D. Kashchuk), Oberá (Basilian Rev. O. Karpliuk), Posadas (Rev. E. Ryndych), L.N. Alem (Rev. D. Novak), and Jardin de America (Rev. H. Tsimer); in the province of Mendoza: Boven (Rev. Dr. V. Vynnychuk); and in the province of Chaco: Sáens Peña (Verbist Rev. D. Mykytsei). Parishes were organized in Villa Caraza, Haedo, Hudson, San Miguel, near Buenos Aires; El Colorado (Formosa); Bolson (Río Negro); and Libig (Corrientes), as well as in various localities in the province of Misiones. All are served by visiting priests.

In July 1990, Pope John Paul II named the Reverend Mykhailo Mykytsei Auxiliary Bishop for Ukrainian Catholics in Argentina. A total of twenty priests and approximately one hundred nuns serve the Eparchy. Many parishes have active Apostolstva Molytvy (Apostleships of Prayer), Brotherhoods, committees, Marian sodalities, and schools, all organized under the auspices of the Ukrainske Katolytske Obiednannia (Ukrainian Catho-

lic Alliance). The Eparchy has fifty churches and chapels (including the Cathedral Church), several monastic residences, and other dwellings. The Church in Argentina follows the Gregorian calendar. Church services are celebrated in the Ukrainian language, but in many instances, the homilies and official functions are now bilingual or in Spanish only.

Two men's and three women's orders as well as individual monks belonging to other orders and several lay priests serve the Eparchy. Nine Basilian Fathers, based in Apóstoles, administer three parishes and many parish centers. They have homes in Apóstoles, Oberá, Berisso, and Buenos Aires. In Apóstoles, the Basilians maintain a parochial elementary school and the seminary of Saint Josaphat.

The Salesian Fathers, who include a Bishop and four priests, have their seat in Buenos Aires. They administer the cathedral parish and several parish centers and operate the Sunday Ukrainian School and a branch of the Ukrainian Catholic University.

There are more than seventy Basilian Sisters in Argentina. The Sisters, who have their seat in Berisso, run a school for girls and a novitiate in Berisso. They have their own homes in Buenos Aires, Villa Adelina, Apóstoles and Posadas (where they also run schools), L.N. Alem, San Vicente, and Boven. They take care of the parishes, run kindergartens, and conduct catechism classes for youth, mainly during school vacations and especially in the colonies.

The Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate, who number seventeen nuns, have their seat in Lavallol, where they run a kindergarten and take care of the parish. The Sisters also have homes in Sáens Peña, Colorado, and Jardin de America, where they tend the parishes, operate kindergartens, and teach catechism classes for children in various parish centers.

The Catechists of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, who number twelve nuns, have their seat in Oberá. They have their own home and a boarding school for girls, and several Sisters run professional counseling centers. During vacation, they hold catechism classes for children and youth.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church

The Reverend Tykhon Hnatiuk of Volhynia can be considered the pioneer of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Argentina. Father Hnatiuk was pastor of the community in Tres Capones, which converted from Ukrainian Catholicism to Orthodoxy in 1908. Although his parish came under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church, Father Hnatiuk nevertheless showed himself to be a true Ukrainian in his work. In addition to providing spiritual care, he was also involved in community work, organizing a school of Ukrainian studies and a brotherhood in his parish. He also organized and administered an Orthodox parish in Las Breñas, in the province of Chaco. In 1934, the parish acknowledged the authority of Metropolitan Ivan Teodorovych of the United States. This act constituted the formal beginning of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Argentina. With the arrival of the new immigration after the Second World War, Orthodox parishes arose in Buenos Aires, Berisso, and Villa Caraza. Several Orthodox priests were among the new immigrants (the Reverends B. Ariichuk, S. Rykhlytsky, M. Saliy, S. Shumakiv, Ya. Vitenko, and I. Yaroslavsky). The majority of these priests belonged to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, headed by Metropolitan Polykarp Sikorsky of Europe. As a result of a conflict between the Brotherhood of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Metropolitan over a controversial bishop, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Argentina came under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Ihor Huba of the United States. When the Archbishop fell ill and could not perform his duties, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Argentina once more came under the administration of

Metropolitan I. Teodorovych. The Metropolitan visited Argentina in 1962, consecrated several priests, and widened his jurisdiction to include Paraguay. In 1968, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Argentina came under the authority of the Most Reverend Yov Skakalsky, of the United States; after his death, it was overseen by the Most Reverend Volodymyr Hai; and finally, after Hai's death, it became subject directly to Metropolitan (since 1990, Patriarch) Mstyslav Skrypnyk, under whose jurisdiction it continued until his death in 1993. For many years, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Buenos Aires had used rented accommodations for the celebration of church services, but in 1978, it built its own church. The Reverend Ivan Demchuk serves the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox faithful in Buenos Aires.

Ukrainian Evangelical-Baptist Church

Ukrainian Evangelicals in Argentina consider the Evangelical movement among Ukrainian settlers to have begun with the arrival from Volhynia, in 1925, of two Evangelical families, D. Semeshuk's and I. Tabashchuk's, to Yapeyu, Misiones. Within a year, several more families had immigrated, creating the first Evangelical community. Symon Kusik was chosen as the group's leader. With time, the Evangelical movement spread to other parts of the province of Misiones and to the province of Buenos Aires.

Since all the activities of the Evangelical community were conducted in the Russian language, which was not understood by all Ukrainians, some activists of Ukrainian descent proposed the idea of publishing an Evangelical journal in the Ukrainian language. This brought on a fierce reaction from the Russians and their followers, who began to impede efforts to Ukrainianize the Evangelical Church and ousted the pro-Ukrainian activists (among them, the Reverend M. Soltys). As a result, a meeting of Ukrainian Evangelists was called in Buenos Aires in 1955, during which, at the initiative of P. Antoniuk, M. Bakhor, M. Pasichnyk, M. Yanchuk, and others, an Ukrainske Obiednannia Yevanhelskykh Khrystyian i Baptystiv v Argentini (Ukrainian Alliance of Evangelical Christians and Baptists in Argentina) was formed.

In 1958, the first Ukrainian Baptist Church was organized in Oberá and, in 1960, with the help of the nationally conscious Ukrainian leader S. Nyshchyk, from the United States, the building of the Ukrainskyi Bibliinyi Instytut (Ukrainian Biblical Institute), also in Oberá, was completed.

Today, the Ukrainian Evangelical-Baptist Church consists of three active centers: in San Andres, near Buenos Aires (Pastor M. Bakhor); in Oberá (Pastor I. Mosiichuk); and in Posadas (Pastor M. Pasichnyk).

Education and Professional Life

The beginnings of Ukrainian education in Argentina date back to the arrival in the country of Ukrainian priests. The first school was organized in 1910, in Apóstoles, at the Reverend Markiian Shashkevych Reading Room, by the Ukrainian Catholic priest Reverend Yaroslav Karpiak. The Orthodox priest, Reverend Tykhon Hnatiuk, ran a Ukrainian school at his parish in Tres Capones, Misiones, for many years. The first Ukrainian school in the city of Buenos Aires also originated in 1910 and was run by P. Bak. With the establishment of Ukrainian organizations and the creation of Ukrainian parishes in the capital and in the province of Buenos Aires, other Ukrainian-studies schools became active; in time, they came to be known as *ridni shkoly*, or native schools. Ukrainian education in the city of Buenos

Aires and its surroundings as well as in other provinces developed further with the arrival of the postwar immigration. At that time, two types of Ukrainian schools emerged: all-day schools and supplementary Ukrainian-studies schools.

All-day schools were established at the initiative of Ukrainian Catholic priests and nuns. Classes are taught in Spanish and follow the approved Argentine curriculum. Until recently, Ukrainian subjects were offered several times a week and were mandatory only for children of Ukrainian descent. The Ukrainian all-day schools, by city, are as follows:

Apóstoles – Saint Josaphat School. Elementary school and secondary school under the direction of the Basilian Fathers. Average enrollment 400.
– Christ the King School. Elementary school and secondary school under the direction of the Basilian Sisters. Includes kindergarten. Average enrollment 600.
Posadas – Saint Basil School. Elementary school and secondary school under the direction of the Basilian Sisters. Includes kindergarten. Total enrollment 1,200.
Berisso – Kindergarten and elementary school under the direction of the Basilian Sisters. Average enrollment 750.
San Vicente – Kindergarten and elementary school under the direction of the Basilian Sisters. Total enrollment 300.
Boven – Parochial elementary school and kindergarten under the direction of the Basilian Sisters. Average enrollment is 350.
Villa Adelina – Kindergarten under the direction of the Basilian Sisters.
Lavallol – Kindergarten under the direction of the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate.
Sáens Peña – Kindergarten under the direction of the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate.

Supplementary Ukrainian-studies schools still exist in affiliation with Ukrainian organizations and parishes in Buenos Aires and its environs. Ukrainian subjects are taught for three to four hours on Saturdays or Sundays. In 1957, a pedagogical society was formed in conjunction with the Ukrainska Tsentralna Reprezentatsiia (Ukrainian Central Representation), with the task of coordinating the curricula of the schools and overseeing the quality of education they provided. In practice, however, the work of this group was very limited, chiefly because of a lack of cooperation between the organizations and the parishes. The majority of these schools have ceased to exist. In 1987, the following were still active, with an approximate total enrollment of 250 pupils:

Prosvita (Enlightenment Society) – A beginner's level Ukrainian-studies course is offered at the organization's headquarters in Buenos Aires, and elementary-level courses are taught at its branches in Berisso, Villa Adelina, and Villa Caraza.
Vidrodzhennia (Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine) – A beginner's level Ukrainian-studies course is offered at the organization's headquarters in Buenos Aires, and an elementary-level course is given at the branch in Avellaneda.
Ukrainian Catholic Church – An elementary school and a secondary school are operated at the cathedral parish in Buenos Aires, and elementary schools are run by the parishes in Berisso, Sarandi, and Lavallol.

The Buenos Aires branch of the Philosophy Department of the Ukrainian Catholic University was established in 1966 by Yosyf Cardinal Slipy, who appointed Bishop Andrii Sapeliak as patron and Dr. Bohdan Halaichuk as first director. A Slavic Department was

also created, with courses in Slavic, Ukrainian, and Slovene studies. In recent years, about ten students have been enrolled annually.

Cultural Life

Language Spoken

The Ukrainian language is slowly taking second place as a means of daily communication among Ukrainians, in family life as well as in social situations, including organizations and even churches. Language assimilation is occurring among the rural as well as the urban Ukrainian population. When Ukrainian is studied and preserved, it is for sentimental rather than for utilitarian reasons: the people do not seem to see a practical use for the Ukrainian language.

Use of the Ukrainian language is weakening at an accelerated pace among the younger generation born in Argentina. The majority of younger people think in Spanish and translate directly from Spanish when speaking Ukrainian, thereby preserving Spanish phrases and syntax. The majority of younger people who can still speak Ukrainian have a limited vocabulary that suffices only for basic domestic communication. A very small percentage of children attend Ukrainian-language schools and, even there, time constraints prevent them from learning much. Lacking an adequate vocabulary, they are unable to read Ukrainian books, which would improve their knowledge of the Ukrainian language.

In the youth organizations, young people tend to converse with one another in Spanish, both privately and in formal meetings. Ukrainian is used mostly ritualistically, to open meetings, read greetings and, in some cases, lead meetings and write minutes. Discussions and conversations are conducted in a mixture of the two languages. It has become customary at national holiday celebrations to include a lecture in Spanish, even when the gathering is exclusively Ukrainian. In church services, since about 1975, the homilies and sometimes even the Epistle and Gospel are read in both Ukrainian and Spanish, in order to encourage young people who do not understand Ukrainian to attend services.

The Arts

Applied arts, including embroidered tablecloths and towels, *kylymy* (woven rugs), wood carvings, Ukrainian painted ceramics, and *pysanky* (Ukrainian Easter eggs), are popular among Ukrainians, both urban and rural. They are commonly used to decorate homes, churches, and gathering places. The following people have worked in the field of applied arts: Mykhailo Karavan, Lidia Kriukov, Ivan Parkolap, Olesia Prokopovych, Volodymyr Shulupata, Ivan Yaremchuk, and others.

Notable achievements in the field of architecture and sculpture are churches and monuments designed on the basis of Ukrainian themes. Included among the more beautiful buildings of artistic value are the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of the Protection of the Blessed Virgin in Buenos Aires, designed in the Ukrainian baroque style by architects Yu. Hrinenko and Yu. Shulminsky; the Church of the Holy Trinity in Apóstoles; the church in Oberá; and the Orthodox church in Buenos Aires. Among churches that are beautifully painted on the inside in the Ukrainian Byzantine style are the Cathedral Church in Buenos Aires (artist: M. Holodyk); the chapel of the Basilian Fathers in Buenos Aires (artist: V. Kaplun); and the church in Berisso (artist: O. Klymko).

Several monuments have been erected in the last twenty years. Among them are three monuments to Taras Shevchenko – the first by Leonid Molodozhanyn, erected in 1972;

the second, by Argentine Raul Deliavi, erected in 1977 in Apóstoles on the occasion of the eightieth anniversary of the arrival of the first Ukrainian settlers in Argentina; and the third, in Oberá. Other monuments are found in the Ploshcha Heroiv (Heroes' Square) at the resort "Veselka" (The Rainbow), including the busts of Stepan Bandera, Gen. Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych, Col. Evhen Konovalets, and Symon Petliura; all are the work of Argentine sculptor Leonard Rodriguez. Among Ukrainian sculptors, Konstantyn Buldyn and Petro Kapshuchenko worked on the decoration of the Dytiache Misto (Children's City) located near the city of La Plata.

The following Argentinian Ukrainians worked in the field of graphics and painting: Mykola Azovsky (landscape artist, portraitist, decorator); Konstantyn Buldyn (sculptor, artist); Ivan Denysenko (artist); Volodymyr Kaplun (graphic artist, painter); Oleksander Klymko (artist, caricaturist, decorator); Borys Kriukov (graphic artist, painter); Volodymyr Lasovsky (artist, portraitist); Serhii Makarenko (portraitist); Anna Sokol (self-taught artist); Nadia Somko (artist); and Viktor Tsymbal (graphic artist, painter). With the exception of V. Kaplun, all of the above have either passed away or left Argentina. Among the young people who have completed art school are Luba Korbutiak-Velychko and Marsela Sukhinska.

A few Ukrainian literary works appeared in Argentina in the period between the two world wars, but it was not until the years 1947–60 that literary activity gathered momentum, when a number of writers and poets settled in the country and when publishing houses, literary journals, and the Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Mysttsiv, Literatoriv i Naukovtsiv (Association of Ukrainian Artists, Writers and Scholars) were founded. Among the more accomplished Ukrainian writers who worked for some time in Argentina were Anatol Halan (writer-satirist); Ihor Kachyrovsky (poet, writer); Yurii Krokhmaliuk-Tys (novelist); Evhen Onatsky (memoirist, journalist); and Oleksa Satsiuk (writer). All of them have either died or left Argentina, and no new literary figures have emerged to take their place.

In the field of theater arts, there was both a well-developed amateur theater, which was especially active between the two world wars and immediately after the Second World War, and a professional theater, the Natsionalnyi Teatr (National Theater), under the direction of Vasyl Semenets, which was active for a few years. The latter employed actors who had been well known in Ukraine or in the displaced-persons camps in Germany and Austria: H. Hryhorenko, Nina and Anatol Kabantsiv, Oleksander Khlebych, and Tamara Lykholai. The Teatralna Studiia imeny Lesia Kurbasa (Les Kurbas Theatrical Studio), under the direction of H. Hryhorenko, was also active for a time; M. Burchak, M. Holodyk, and H. Maksymenko were among the actors who studied there. Through the efforts of these two theater groups, the following works were staged in Buenos Aires: *Zaporozhets za Dunaiem* (Cossack Beyond the Danube); *Kateryna; Lisova pisnia* (The Forest Song); *Boiarynia* (The Noblewoman); and *Sorochynskyi yarmarok* (The Sorochyntsi Fair). Few Ukrainians have taken part in the Argentine theater. Halyna Andreadis, Nina Kabantsiv, Halyna Maksymenko, and Iryna Vit-Ivanyk all worked for a time in the Colón theater.

Among the few composers and musicians who lived in Argentina were Atanas Likhniakevych, author of, among other works, the operas *Prychynna* (The Bewitched Girl) and *Maria;* Taras Mykysha, whose major works included *Lyrnytska poema* (The Lyre Poem) and *Ukrainska rapsodiia* (Ukrainian Rhapsody); violinists the Chumachenkos and V. Lysy; pianists O. Dmytriv and V. Saprun. Even though many young people study music, none has made a name for him- or herself in the past few years.

In the area of choral arts, which are fostered by almost every organization, the male choir "Surma" (The Trumpet), under the direction of V. Vasylyk, and the Natsionalnyi

Khor (The National Choir), under the direction of I. Kopitovych, both achieved prominence in the years 1948–60. In addition, the *bandura* became a popular instrument. Bandurists S. Chorny and I. Snizhny made the instruments and taught people how to play them. V. Kachurak, a student of S. Chorny, organized the Kapelia Bandurystiv imeny Tarasa Shevchenka (Taras Shevchenko Bandurist Kapelle).

Folk dancing is widespread, having typically been fostered in Ukrainian organizations and parishes. The dance ensembles of Prosvita and Vidrodzhennia, as well as "Krylati" (The Winged Ones) and others, met with success in their performances before Argentine audiences, as well as in performances in the neighboring countries of Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

The Media

The Ukrainian press emerged in Argentina along with the establishment of Ukrainian organizations. The first Ukrainian weekly, *Ukrainske Slovo* (The Ukrainian Word), an organ of Prosvita, appeared in 1928. Later, Vidrodzhennia began to publish its weekly, *Nash Klych* (Our Call), and, more recently, the monthly *Holos Ukrainskoi Tserkvy* (Voice of the Ukrainian Church) appeared, in two languages, as an organ of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy. Many other periodicals appeared in the meantime, but they were short-lived. Among those that survived for a longer period of time were: *Pluh ta Mech* (The Plough and the Sword), *Ovyd* (The Horizon), *Porohy* (The Rapids), the satirical journal *Mitla* (The Broom), *Zhyttia* (Life), *Dzvin* (The Bell), and *Evanhelska Zirka* (The Evangelical Star).

Several book publishers were also active in Argentina, including "Poltava"; M. Denysiuk's "Literaturna Biblioteka" (Literary Library); and the Yulian Serediak Publishing Company, which is active to this day. The press organs of the larger organizations, the Ukrainian Central Representation, and the branch of the Ukrainian Catholic University also engaged in publishing activity.

The Ukrainskyi Informatyvno-Vydavnychyi Instytut (Ukrainian Information and Publishing Institute) was established with the mandate of providing information to the Spanish-speaking world. It published the quarterly *Ucraina Libre* (A Free Ukraine) and the press bulletin *Informativo Ucraino* (Ukrainian Bulletin), as well as a series of books on Ukrainian themes in the Spanish language, including a large illustrated work on the Ukrainska Povstanska Armiia (UPA, Ukrainian Insurgent Army) entitled *Guerillas Detras la Cortina de Hierro* (Guerillas behind the Iron Curtain).

Various Ukrainian radio programs appeared after the arrival of the postwar immigration. The first Ukrainian radio transmission, "Vilna Ukraina" (A Free Ukraine), was organized by Lidia and Vasyl Ivanytsky at the end of the 1950s. Broadcast to this day in the metropolitan Buenos Aires area, it experienced various interruptions and went through the hands of different directors over the years. The character of the radio programs is primarily informative and artistic, although the radio program hosted by Dr. Lidia M. Ivanytska on the government radio station "National" was devoted entirely to the arts. Other radio programs were broadcast for varying lengths of time in Buenos Aires, Córdoba, San Bernardo, and other cities.

Social and Political Life

Concrete facts about the beginnings of community activity among the Ukrainian settlers in Argentina are available only for Misiones, where the organizers were the parish priests. They founded schools, reading rooms, and clubs in affiliation with the churches, but their activity soon died down, for a variety of reasons.

Attempts at organizing Ukrainian community life in Buenos Aires and its environs were initated by the settlers themselves. Oral history has it that various amateur groups emerged immediately after the arrival of larger groups of settlers, but that their activity was usually short-lived.

A more enduring organized community life began with the formation of the Ukrainian dramatic group "Moloda Ukraina" (Young Ukraine) in Berisso in 1924. That same year, the group changed its name to Prosvita (Enlightenment), accepted the statutes of the Prosvita Society in Galicia, Ukraine, and became a member of the parent organization in Lviv. At the same time, but independently of this organization, another association came into being in Buenos Aires, also calling itself Prosvita. Eventually, the two organizations united, and the one in Buenos Aires became the headquarters, while the Berisso group became its first branch. As a result of this merger and with the arrival of new immigrants after the Second World War, more branches were formed in various localities, especially within the province of Buenos Aires (in Dok Sud and Valentin Alcina), but also in other provinces, including Chaco (in Las Breñas), Misiones (in Tres Capones), Mendoza (in La Escandinava), and others.

New organizations were being formed during the 1930s, but the rate at which new groups emerged rose dramatically after the Second World War. Cultural-educational, political, professional, and youth organizations appeared. Some of these groups lasted for only a short time. In 1955, there were approximately thirty different organizations and associations, most of which were united under the Ukrainska Tsentralna Reprezentatsiia (Ukrainian Central Representation), which had been created in 1947 for the purpose of coordinating activities and representing Argentinian Ukrainian organizations externally. The first president of the Ukrainian Central Representation was Volodymyr Savych, one of the leading activists of the Enlightenment Society. A few pro-Soviet organizations existed in Argentina, but they did not belong to the Ukrainian Central Representation.

In 1987, the following Ukrainian organizations existed in Argentina:

Ukrainska Tsentralna Reprezentatsiia (Ukrainian Central Representation). Official umbrella organization that coordinates the activity of its member associations, organizes joint commemorations of important national holidays, disseminates information, and cultivates external ties. The current Chairman of the Board of Directors is Bohdan Koval, and the current Chairman of the General Council is Ivan Zhybak.

Prosvita (Enlightenment Society), consisting of a headquarters and sixteen branches. The headquarters operates a Ukrainian-studies school, together with a school of folk dance and a resort center, "Veselka" (The Rainbow). Some of the branches also have Ukrainian-studies schools, folk-dancing ensembles, and choirs. Prosvita has twenty meeting halls. It publishes the weekly *Ukrainske Slovo* (The Ukrainian Word). Its current president is Mykola Kapeniak.

Vidrodzhennia (Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine), consisting of a headquarters and four branches. The headquarters operates a Ukrainian-studies course and a resort center, "Kalyna" (The Viburnum). Some branches have Ukrainian-studies schools, and folk-dancing groups and conduct other activities as well. The Organization has four centers. It publishes the weekly *Nash Klych* (Our Call). Its current president is Ivan Regei.

Bratstvo Sviatoi Pokrovy (Brotherhood of the Holy Protectress), consisting of a center and

two branches. The Brotherhood is affiliated with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. It is located on the church premises, and looks after the churches. Its current president is Rev. Stepan Serhichuk.

Ukrainske Katolytske Obiednannia (Ukrainian Catholic Alliance), consisting of a center and five branches. The organization unites the parish brotherhoods, committees, Marian sodalities, and Apostleships of Prayer and helps to run the parishes and their Ukrainian-studies schools. Its current caretaker is the Most Reverend Andrii Sapeliak, and its current president is Dr. Mykhailo Wasylyk.

The following organizations are affiliated or sympathize with the Enlightenment Society and attract supporters of the Vyzvolnyi Front (Liberation Front):

Ukrainskyi Informatyvno-Vydavnychyi Instytut (Ukrainian Information and Publishing Institute). The Institute has organized conferences and protest manifestations against the USSR. It is headquartered at the Enlightenment Society. Its current president is Ihor Vasylyk.

Obiednannia Zhinok Prosvity (Alliance of Prosvita Women). The Alliance aids in the cultural-educational and social work of the Enlightenment Society, where it is headquartered. Its current president is Olena Dmytriw.

Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (SUM, Ukrainian Youth Association). The Association educates youth in the spirit of Ukrainian nationalism; besides holding regular meetings, it organizes yearly camps, primarily at the "Prosvita" and "Veselka" resorts. Headquartered at the Enlightenment Society, the Association is currently headed by Mykhailo Rokush.

The following organizations are affiliated or sympathize with the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine and attract supporters of the Ideolohichno Sporidneni Natsionalistychni Orhanizatsii (ISNO, Ideologically Related Nationalist Organizations):

Orhanizatsiia Ukrainok Vidrodzhennia (Organization of Ukrainian Women of Vidrodzhennia). The Organization aids in the cultural-educational and social work of the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine, where it is headquartered. Its current president is Maria Koval.

Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Organization of Ukrainian Youth). The Organization educates youth in the spirit of Ukrainian nationalism. Headquartered at the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine. Its current president is Danylo Pena.

The following organizations are adherents of the position of the Ukrainska Natsionalna Rada (Ukrainian National Council):

Tovarystvo Spryiannia Uriadovoi UNR (Society of Friends of the Ukrainian National Council). The Society organizes commemorations of national holidays and lectures dealing primarily with Ukrainian community-political themes. In the past, it included two more organizations, of veterans and individuals formerly repressed in the USSR, both of which are practically inactive now. Headquarters at the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Buenos Aires. The current president is Oleksander Rymsky.

The following organizations have no specific party or religious affiliation:

Ukrainskyi Plast (Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization [Ukrainian Scouts]). Besides educating youth in the tenets of scouting, the organization instills a spirit of Ukrainian patriotism in its members. In addition to its regular meetings, Plast also organizes annual camps, primarily at a site it owns at Punta Indio. The current Head of the Kraiova Plastova Starshyna (National Plast Command) is Viktor Agres, and the current Head of the Kraiova Plastova Rada (National Plast Council) is Dr. Mykhailo Wasylyk.

Soiuz Ukrainok (Ukrainian Women's Association of Argentina). For many years, this organization managed the social services sector of the Ukrainian Central Representation. Headquartered at the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Buenos Aires. The current president is Evhenia Ivanyk.

Bratstvo Pershoi Dyvizii UNA (Brotherhood of Former Soldiers of the First Division of the Ukrainian National Army). The Brotherhood unites veterans of the "Halychyna" (Galicia) Division. It does not have permanent headquarters. Its current president is Stepan Taurydsky.

Shevchenkivska Fundatsiia (Shevchenko Foundation). The Foundation looks after the Taras Shevchenko monument and the Ukrainian cemetery in Buenos Aires. Headquartered at the Enlightenment Society. Its current president is Dr. Vasyl Ivanytsky.

Komitet za Patriiarkhat Ukrainskoi Katolytskoi Tserkvy (Committee for the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church). The Committee unites supporters of the patriarchal structure of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Headquartered at the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine. Its current president is Antin Khlopetsky.

Tovarystvo Argentinsko-Ukrainskykh Vysokoshkilnykiv v Argentini (Society of Argentine-Ukrainian Graduates). The Society unites Ukrainian graduates of various universities and higher education courses, both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian. It does not have its own permanent headquarters. Its current president is Yurii Ivanyk.

Ukrainske Tovarystvo Sokil (Ukrainian Sokil Society). The Society conducts cultural-educational and sports activities. Its current president is P. Nestorovych.

The following organizations are not formal members of the Ukrainian Central Representation, but cooperate with it:

Ukrainskyi Sotsiialnyi Kliub (Ukrainian Social Club). The Club conducts cultural and social activities. Its current president is M. Zadorozhny.

Ukrainske Kulturne Tovarystvo 26-ho Serpnia (Ukrainian Cultural Society of August 26). The society operates in the province of Misiones. Founded to commemorate the date of arrival of the first Ukrainian immigrants, it conducts cultural and social activities. Its current president is Mykola Moroz.

Argentinsko-Ukrainskyi Kliub v Oberá (Argentine-Ukrainian Club in Oberá) The Club conducts cultural and social activities. Its current president is P. Gutovsky.

With the coming of the democratic government into power in the country, several sovietophile organizations have renewed their activities, but because they are primarily of mixed Ukrainian-Russian character, they are not included in this list of Ukrainian organizations.

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

From the very start of their settlement, the most important problems of Ukrainians as an ethnic group were integration and assimilation. Other problems included the geographic dispersion of Ukrainians, especially urban settlers, and material hardships, which, for the most part, continue to the present day.

The integration of Ukrainian settlers into Argentine life was accompanied by many hardships, among the worst of which were the lack of knowledge of the local language, differences in customs and behavior, meager financial resources, the lack of spiritual care by their own churches, and feelings of homelessness and yearning for the homeland. The degree of these hardships depended on the place of settlement and the economic sector in which the immigrants found themselves.

For the agricultural settlers, the lack of knowledge of the local language did not pose a great problem, for they settled in groups in the same areas, where they continued to speak their native tongue and observe their own customs and traditions. Contacts with the local population were only sporadic. Experiencing pride in their accomplishments, the settlers soon also developed a sense of local patriotism. This not only gave them a feeling of full integration into the local society, but also served as a barrier against swift assimilation. Even today, after ninety years of Ukrainian settlement, one can find Ukrainians who speak Spanish poorly despite the fact that they were born in Argentina.

The assimilation process among Ukrainian agricultural settlers commonly followed the integration process. The Spanish language usually permeated immigrant families through the children, who attended schools, and through the youth, who served in the army or went to the city to work. The language increasingly being used in the home was a mixture of Ukrainian and Spanish. After coming into contact with urban life, young people had to reassess their own value systems, built on Ukrainian agricultural standards, and adapt them to those of the urban population, a process that resulted not only in the loss of an agricultural life style but of Ukrainian norms and values as well.

It was much more difficult for Ukrainian urban settlers to integrate into the local society. Knowledge of the local language was immediately essential to them in their daily encounters. The language barrier, the lack of spiritual guidance in their own rite, the lack of contact with fellow Ukrainians, and the perpetual conflict between their own value system and that of the local population deepened their feelings of homelessness, uprootedness, and yearning for their native land. Besides the language barrier, there was also a socioeconomic barrier, since the early Ukrainian immigrants were peasants who, lacking the necessary professional qualifications, were forced to take the worst and lowest-paying jobs, for example, as domestic servants and in road, underground railway, and railroad construction.

At first glance, it might seem that the Ukrainian immigration in Argentina is headed for total and swift assimilation. The disappearance of Ukrainian as the spoken language of the people and the decline in membership in community organizations point in that direction. Yet, a closer examination of the life of the younger generations of Ukrainians, who were born in Argentina, reveals some new phenomena that give cause for hope – if not for a

halt in the assimilation process, then at least for its slowdown or for the preservation of Ukrainian identity in other forms. One such positive phenomenon is the steady growth of religious life: despite the fact that the descendants of the Ukrainian settlers are scattered throughout the country and have often totally assimilated the Spanish language, they nevertheless lean toward their own Church, their own rite, and their own customs and beliefs. Another positive phenomenon is the creation of new sociocultural organizations for persons of Ukrainian descent.

Ties with Ukrainians in Other Countries

Ties with Ukraine are kept mainly through the Ukrainian press in Europe, the United States, and Canada, as well as through the foreign press and radio. Recordings of Ukrainian songs, music, and folk tales reach Argentina primarily through the United States and Canada. There have been some visits by choirs and folk-dancing groups from Ukraine in the last few years. Visits by private individuals from Ukraine as well as visits by Ukrainian Argentines to the homeland have been limited; however, more contacts can be expected in the future, in view of Ukraine's new-found independence.

The Ukrainian community maintains ties with the Svitovyi Kongres Vilnykh Ukraintsiv (World Congress of Free Ukrainians) through the Ukrainian Central Representation. Normally, the chairman of the Board of Directors and the chairman of the General Council of the Representation are also members of the board of directors and the secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. In addition, the Enlightenment Society and organizations affiliated with the Liberation Front, the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine and the Ideologically Related Nationalist Organizations, and women's, youth, military, and religious organizations maintain ties with their international headquarters in the United States, Canada, and Europe.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church maintains close ties with neighboring countries, notably Brazil, through the visits of bishops, joint Pastoral Letters, and common areas of activity of the monastic orders (Basilian Fathers, Basilian Sisters, Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate, and Sister Catechists of the Sacred Heart of Jesus). The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church also maintains ties with Brazil, as do individual organizations. Similar ties exist with Paraguay, and much weaker ones with Uruguay.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

1984: Dr. Petro Savaryn, President of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, visited Argentina, marking the ninetieth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Argentina, the sixtieth anniversary of the Enlightenment Society, and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Ukrainian Catholic Eparchy.

1985: Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky, Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, together with Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk, of Canada, and Bishop Yefrem Kryvy, of Brazil, visited many Ukrainian parishes in the provinces of Buenos Aires and Misiones. The visit of His Eminence included an audience with the President of Argentina.

1987: Pope John Paul II visited the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, attending the coronation of the mosaic of the Mother of God by artist B. Kriukov. Both the press and television covered the event extensively.

Addresses

Asoc. Cultural "Prosvita," Soler 5039, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Asoc. Cultural "Renacimiento," Maza 150, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Asoc. Juvenil Ucrania "Plast," Enrique Rodó 2868, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Catequistas del Sagr. Corazon de Jesus, Oberá, prov. de Misiones, Argentina

Club Argentino-Ucranio, Oberá, prov. de Misiones, Argentina

Club Social Ucranio, Apóstoles, prov. de Misiones, Argentina

Congr. de las Siervas de la Virgen Immaculada, Ucrania 50, Lavallol, pr. Buenos Aires, Argentina

Hermandad Sta. Virgen del Patrocinio, Tarija 4063, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Hnas. Basilianas, Ucrania 1733, Berisso, pr. Buenos Aires, Argentina

Iglesia Autocefalica Ortodoxa Ucrania, Tarija 4063, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Iglesia Catolica Ucrania, R.L. Falcon 3960 Buenos Aires, Argentina

Iglesia Evangelica Bautista Ucrania, Aristobulo del Valle 465, Villa Ballester, Argentina

Padres Basilianos, O.S.B.M., Taras Shevchenko 155, Apóstoles, Misiones, Argentina

Padres Salesianos, R.L. Falcon 3960, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Representacion Central Ucrania, Maza 150, Buenos Aires, Argentina

"Sokil," Ucrania 871 Córdoba, prov. de Córdoba, Argentina

Union Catolicos Ucranios, R.L. Falcon 3960, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Note

1 Translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.

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UKRAINIANS IN BRAZIL

Oksana Boruszenko and Rev. Danyil Kozlinsky[1]

Country Data

Official Name – República Federativa do Brasil (Federative Republic of Brazil)

Geographic Location – The largest country in South America and the fifth-largest in the world, Brazil lies between 5°15′ north and 33° 45′south latitude and between 34°50′ and 74° west longitude. It borders with Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname, French Guiana, and the Atlantic Ocean on the north; the Atlantic Ocean on the east; Uruguay on the south; and Argentina, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia on the west.

Area – 3,286,500 sq. mi., or 8,511,996 sq km (including land area and inland water)

Population Density – 46.1 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 17.8 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Brasília

Form of Government – Multiparty federal republic with two legislative houses, the Senate (81 seats) and the Chamber of Deputies (503 seats)

Official Language – Portuguese

Population – 151,381,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 53.0% Brazilian White (15.0% Portuguese, 11.0% Italian, 10.0% Spanish, 3.0% German); 22.0% Mulatto; 12.0% Mestizo; 11.0% Black; 0.8% Japanese; 0.1% Amerindian; 1.1% other (1980)

Religious Affiliation – 87.8% Roman Catholic; 6.1% Protestant; 2.0% Afro-American Spiritist; 1.7% Spiritist; 1.0% nonreligious; 0.4% atheist; 0.3% Buddhist; 0.2% Jewish; 0.5% other (1980)

Literacy – 81.2% (1989)

Percent Urban – 74.9% (1990)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 63.5 years; female, 69.1 years (1990–95)

Per Capita GNP – US$2,680 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Brazil

Demographic and Social Characteristics

There are approximately 350,000 Ukrainians in Brazil today, 310,000 in the state of Paraná, and the remainder in São Paulo, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul (with a very small number in other states). It is difficult to obtain exact numbers of Ukrainians in Brazil, because official government statistics recorded various ethnic backgrounds for Ukrainian immigrants arriving from Europe, and children born in Brazil are registered as Brazilians. Barely 10 percent of Ukrainians were born outside of Brazil. The third and fourth generations of the first settlers are now active in community life.

Participation in the Economic, Political, Professional, and Social Life of the Country

Ukrainians in Brazil are integrated into the economic life of the country. Seventy percent live in the villages, or "colonies," as they are called in Brazil; in all of Brazil, only 40 percent of the total population is employed in agriculture. Most agricultural holdings have approximately 49.4 acres, or 20 hectares, of land or more. The land is sufficiently fertile, and agricultural technology is becoming modernized. Ukrainians are settled in villages, farms, or rows of farms. They tend "old-world" crops, such as wheat, rye, buckwheat, and flax, as well as local crops, such as *mandioka*, rice, black beans, mint, and the local tea, *erva maté*.

In the 1930s, approximately five hundred Ukrainian families migrated to northern Brazil, to the states of Mato Grosso and Rondônia, where they cultivate industrial crops, such as coffee, cacao, beans, and mint, for profit. The sale of the agricultural products grown by Ukrainian farmers is in the hands of non-Ukrainians. Ukrainians do not have their own cooperatives, but make use of those found in the community.

The territory inhabited by Ukrainians encompasses approximately 1,930 square miles,

or 5,000 square kilometers (the state of Paraná is approximately 77,200 square miles, or 200,000 square kilometers). Ukrainians live side by side with the descendants of earlier settlers, including native Brazilians, Germans, Italians, and Poles, and with more recent settlers, including the Japanese, Koreans, Lebanese, and Syrians.

Approximately 30 percent of Ukrainians live in the cities. They are employed as laborers, technicians, and employees in private, municipal, and government institutions. Some of those who live in the cities constitute an unorganized middle class; they include skilled workers, business people, and owners of small industrial enterprises, such as saw-mills and furniture manufacturing firms.

More recently, there has been an increase in the number of professionals of Ukrainian descent; currently, there are approximately fifty physicians, seventy dentists, thirty pharmacists, sixty engineers, forty lawyers, and seventy economists.

Many Ukrainians are elected officials in the counties and towns, some holding such posts as village elder or leader of a local department. Ukrainians have their own mayors in some of the localities where they are most highly concentrated: in the state of Paraná – Curitiba (the capital of Paraná), Prudentópolis, Mallet, União da Vitória, Dorizón, Pitanga, Roncador, Pato Branco, Campo Mourão, Ponta Grossa, Paulo Frontin, Vera Guarani, Apucarana; in the state of Santa Catarina – Pôrto União, Iracema, Papanduva, Canoinhas; in the state of São Paulo – São Caetano do Sul.

Many Ukrainian professors are employed in various fields of study in the state universities. The following scholars have been designated by the federal government as full professors in Brazilian universities: Oksana Boruszenko (history and demography), Oleksander Dmytrychenko (agronomy), Ihor Khmyz (archeology), and Vira Selianska (German literature). Contract professors include Olha Baran (dentistry), Adriian Bida (botany), Lidia Dobrianska (psychology), Volodymyr Kavaliar (soil science), Volodymyr Kulchynsky (linguistics), Iryna Lysa (pharmacology), Daria Rybka (microbiology), and Taras Savytsky (economics).

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

Sources document the arrival in Brazil of the Mykola Morozovych family from Zolochiv, in Western Ukraine, in 1872. A small group of Ukrainians arrived in 1876 from the Bukovyna region in Ukraine. However, 1891 is generally considered the beginning of Ukrainian immigration to Brazil; mass immigration, which occurred in several phases, began in 1895. The first wave of immigration, called the "Brazilian fever," took place in the years 1895–7 and saw the arrival of more than twenty thousand small farmers and landless peasants, who settled in Brazil after being promised cheap land by agents of Italian shipping companies. The circumstances of settlement were very unfavorable for these first settlers. When they received lots of uncleared forest in Paraná instead of the promised black soil, some of them returned to Galicia. Much smaller groups, of seven hundred to a thousand people per year, followed this first wave. The second wave of immigration, in 1907–14, consisted of Ukrainians from Galicia and Volhynia. This group of fifteen to twenty-five thousand people migrated in response to the call of the Brazilian government for construction workers to lay a railroad from São Paulo through Paraná to Rio Grande do Sul. In the period between the two world wars, some nine thousand Ukrainians from Galicia, Volhynia, Polisia, and, to a lesser extent, Bukovyna and Transcarpathia, as well as from

Ukrainian settlements in Yugoslavia, immigrated to Brazil. Another immigration wave took place in 1947–51, bringing approximately seven thousand Ukrainians from displaced persons camps in Germany and Austria. For the most part, these last immigrants were better educated and more skilled, as well as socially more diverse as a group, than the earlier immigrants. Most of them settled in the cities and pursued their professions. Among them were many intellectuals, most of whom later emigrated to other countries, notably Canada and the United States.

Religious Life

Ukrainian Catholic Church

Approximately 85 percent of the Ukrainian population in Brazil belongs to the Ukrainian Catholic Church. There are 17 parishes, and 3 missions, and 184 churches and chapels, a strong representation that attests to the spiritual growth of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The faithful have Ukrainian-style churches, including the Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist and the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary in Curitiba as well as others, located in Campo Mourão, Dorizón, Mallet, Pato Branco, Pitanga, Ponta Grossa, Prudentópolis, Roncador, São Paulo, and União da Vitória. The Ukrainian Catholic Church has sixty priests, forty-seven of whom belong to the Order of Saint Basil the Great and thirteen of whom are diocesan clergy. The Eparchy of Saint John the Baptist, in existence since December 1971, is headed by the Most Reverend Yefrem B. Kryvy, OSBM.

The Basilian Fathers in Brazil constitute the Province of Saint Joseph, with its headquarters in Prudentópolis. The main monastery and the Minor Seminary (secondary school) of Saint Joseph have been located there since July 4, 1935. Since July 24, 1969, Curitiba has been the home of the Major Seminary of Saint Basil the Great, where candidates for the priesthood study philosophy and theology. There is a monastery and novitiate in Ivaí and a monastery in Iracema, Santa Catarina. There are also eight residences in various locations near the parish church. The Superior of the Basilian Fathers is the Reverend Tarsykii Zalusky, OSBM.

With the arrival of the first priests in Brazil in 1896, the diocesan clergy began and, with real dedication, continue to this day to carry on the work of Christ's mission on Brazilian lands. The thirteen diocesan clergy live near their parish churches, and, like the Basilians, educate their candidates for the priesthood. On November 20, 1959, a diocesan minor seminary was opened in Mallet, Paraná; it was renamed the Saint Josaphat Minor Seminary in 1973. The boys in this seminary receive their elementary education in the Nikolão Kopernico state school in Mallet, while courses in religion are taught at the seminary. The present rector of the Minor Diocesan Seminary of Saint Josaphat is the Reverend Edison L. Boiko.

The Major Seminary of Saint Josaphat in Curitiba opened its doors on March 6, 1975. Candidates for the priesthood in this seminary receive their philosophical training at the Seminary of Saint Basil the Great in Curitiba and complete their theological studies at the Studium Theologicum of the Clareton Fathers in Curitiba. The rector of the Major Seminary is the Reverend Danyil Kozlinsky.

The Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate of the Eastern Rite have been carrying on their apostolic activity in Brazil since April 11, 1911. Preserving its true character and mission in accordance with the spirit of its founders, this congregation meets the needs of a large segment of the Eastern Church in Brazil, a country that provides a large number of vacations to the religious life. A novitiate was established in Prudentópolis on September 12,

1915; it was moved to Ivaí on October 1, 1981. In 1939, the Province of Saint Michael the Archangel was formed, with headquarters in Prudentópolis; the seat was moved to Curitiba on May 15, 1979.

The Sister Servants in Brazil own fifty-three homes, four of which are in Argentina and one in Germany. They operate two secondary schools, in Canoas and Prudentópolis, and approximately thirty elementary schools and kindergartens. The Sisters also have two orphanages and one old-age home, work in two hospitals that they own, are responsible for the administration of three other hospitals, and minister to the sick in six ambulatory stations (medical units) in Posto de Saúde.

The Province of Saint Michael the Archangel includes approximately 355 sisters who work in schools, teach catechism in the parishes, work in hospitals in the colonies, look after the churches, conduct the Apostoliat Molytvy (Apostleship of Prayer), and organize the youth and the Evkharystiine Lytsarstvo (Eucharistic Knighthood). The Provincial Superior is Sister Zita F. Prokhyra.

The Sister Catechists of Saint Anne were founded in Mallet in 1932 by the Reverend Omelian Ananevych. Their headquarters and novitiate were located in Vera Guarani until April 1983, when they were relocated to Rio d'Areia, Prudentópolis. The Sisters run two orphanages, two old age homes, and one elementary school and are also responsible for the administration of three hospitals and the finances of the kitchen of the Minor Diocesan Seminary in Mallet. They have thirteen homes in Brazil and two in the United States and are responsible for the administration of one home in Rome. Involved in catechization and visitations of the sick, this congregation numbers approximately fifty-two Sisters. The Provincial Superior is Sister Serhia R. Gavdyda.

The Institute of the Catechists of the Sacred Heart, with its headquarters in Prudentópolis, was founded in 1940. It has eight homes in Brazil, one in Argentina, and one in Paraguay, as well as Saint Olha's boarding school in Prudentópolis, one boarding school in Ponta Grossa, and six elementary schools. The members are involved in catechization, teach in schools and in the Seminary of Saint Josaphat in Prudentópolis, and run the finances of the kitchens of the diocesan home and the Major Seminary of Saint Basil the Great in Curitiba. Eighty-four members belong to the Institute of the Catechists of the Sacred Heart. The executive director is Ms. Myroslava Kryvy.

The Sisters of Saint Joseph came to Brazil from Canada in 1968 and settled in Linha Vitória-Cruz, Machado-Paraná. They teach catechism, visit the sick and the poor, and work in hospitals, old age homes, and orphanages. The order, which numbers seventeen nuns, has a novitiate in União da Vitória and three homes.

The Sisters of Saint Basil the Great have been in Brazil since 1972, when two Sisters arrived from the United States and were later replaced by other nuns from Argentina. They founded their home in Canoinhas, Santa Catarina, where they have one kindergarten and a boarding school for girls. Another home and a novitiate are in Curitiba. The order has eleven Sisters, who teach catechism and work in the parishes.

Every church has an Apostleship of Prayer, the strength and guardian of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The Apostleship prays, visits the sick, helps the church, and conducts monthly meetings.

Ukrainians have a strong devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. As a result, Marian Sodalities for boys and girls exist in various parishes and communities. The members conduct monthly meetings and days of prayer and take part in recollections for Ukrainian youth.

An Asotsiiatsiia Ukrainsko-Brazyliiskoi Molodi (Association of Ukrainian-Brazilian

Catholic Youth) exists in the diocese. It holds an annual congress with the goal of reviewing the concerns of the younger generation and of better understanding and preserving Ukrainian national identity.

The Eucharistic Knighthood, which is found throughout the parishes, is an organization where small children can gather together to pray, learn catechism, sing and attend monthly meetings in an effort to grow spiritually.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church

Orthodox Ukrainians are descendants of the immigrants from the Bukovyna and Volhynia regions in Ukraine, as well as Ukrainians from Galicia who converted to Orthodoxy in 1922 for reasons of rite. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Brazil, with its seat in Curitiba, is under the jurisdiction of the Metropoly in the United States of America (as are all the Orthodox churches in South America). The Reverend Yeremiia Ferens was consecrated Bishop for South America in September 1993, to succeed Bishop Paisiy. The Administrator is Protopresbyter Reverend Nykola Mylus.

There are approximately twenty-two thousand Orthodox faithful in Brazil, with twelve parishes served by four priests in the state of Paraná, and one each in the cities of São Paulo and Pôrto Alegre in the state of Rio Grande do Sul. Well organized and influential in church self-government, Sisterhoods and Brotherhoods exist at the individual churches, especially in Curitiba and São Paulo. The Sisterhoods have their headquarters in Curitiba. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Brazil follows the Julian Calendar, which celebrates Christmas on January 7.

Education and Professional Life

There are no schools conducted exclusively in the Ukrainian language. However, at the Basilian Minor Seminary of Saint Josaphat in Prudentópolis, some courses are taught in Ukrainian in the elementary and secondary school for boys (130 students).

The Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate operate thirty elementary schools, seventeen kindergartens, and two secondary schools. They teach the Ukrainian language in the elementary and boarding schools of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Prudentópolis. The Sisters also instruct children, youth, and older people in the Ukrainian language on Saturdays, in the convent homes and in schools.

Students take full advantage of the opportunity for extra hours of instruction in the Ukrainian language in both the schools conducted by the Institute of Saint Olha (domestic household and catechism education) in Prudentópolis and the boarding schools, where the students are obliged to live throughout the school year and where only Ukrainian is spoken.

The Ukrainian language is now being taught in the state schools of Paraná as a result of an amendment to the new constitution of Paraná that was initiated by Ukrainian Brazilian Deputy Vira Vichymyshyn Azhibert, of the legislative assembly in Curitiba. Four schools in Paraná began Ukrainian instruction in March 1991, where six hundred students were learning their native language. It is expected that other schools will add Ukrainian as a second language to their curriculum over the next few years. Also included in this project is the establishment of libraries and reading rooms where both teachers and pupils will have access to books, films, and other instructional materials. The Federal University of Paraná and the Educational Council of the Ukrainsko-Brazyliiska Tsentralna Reprezentatsiia (Ukrainian-

Brazilian Central Representation) organized a pedagogical course for Ukrainian-language instructors, which is currently coordinated by Dr. Volodymyr Kulchynsky and Prof. Oksana Boruszenko. The 180-hour course, taught by Canadian professors Olenka Bilash, of the University of Calgary, and Ivan Sokolovsky, director of bilingual programs at the Ministry of Education in Alberta, was first offered in December 1990 and attracted forty-five teachers from Paraná and neighboring Argentina.

A Ukrainian supplementary Saturday school exists in Curitiba; it has recently increased its enrollment considerably – the number of pupils now stands at 139. Students who attend the school include not only children of kindergarten age, but many adolescents and adults as well. Every Saturday following the Ukrainian-language classes, students receive instruction in Ukrainian folk dancing. In the spring of 1989, the director of the Saturday school, Evhenia Mazepa, organized a course in the art of making *pysanky* (Ukrainian Easter eggs), which was attended by ninety-eight students. In May, the pupils celebrated a traditional Easter, including the blessing of Easter foods, by the Reverend A. Ditkun; the youngsters then received awards for the 130 *pysanky* they had made. Adults who do not have the time to attend classes on Saturdays are taught on Tuesdays and Fridays.

Cultural Life

Language Spoken

Ukrainian farmers and those who live in the colonies use the Ukrainian language at home, in church, and in community life. Youth who attend state schools know the Portuguese language. In general, older people as well as youth are very conservative in their manners, traditions, and language. However, Ukrainian settlers in both the cities and colonies quickly integrate economically as well as in terms of customs and language, so that even when they do speak Ukrainian at home, they mix it with Portuguese. There are some mixed marriages in the colonies, but these tend to take on a Ukrainian character. In the cities, mixed marriages occur more often, and these families are more quickly assimilated.

The Arts

Ukrainian writers in Brazil include Olena Kolodiy, a member of the Literary Academy of Paraná, who translates the works of Taras Shevchenko into Portuguese and introduces Ukrainian elements into Brazilian literature; Vira Vovk (pen name of Vira Selianska), who published an anthology of Ukrainian literature and a collection of contemporary Ukrainian poetry, both in Portuguese translation; and Volodar Buzhenko (pen name of the Reverend Vasylii Zinko), who wrote Ukrainian narratives about the pioneer days of the first settlers.

The painters Mykhailo Bakun and Dmytro Izmailovych (a portraitist) are gaining increasing attention among both art critics and the public. The performances of pianist Larysa Borushenko-Moro are well received at both state and international festivals.

The custom of organizing a festival on the feast-day of the patron saint of the parish has survived among the Ukrainian people in the colonies. Family and friends from neighboring colonies are invited to attend. Customs from various regions of Ukraine are preserved by the people in their celebrations of weddings, christenings, Christmas, and Easter. Cultural groups that arrange vocal, dance, and theatrical public appearances have been formed in some colonies. In the cities, Ukrainian women's groups arrange exhibits of embroideries, *pysanky*, and national costumes on various occasions. Ukrainians take part in Brazilian folkloric festivals, especially through the efforts of the Ukrainsko-Brazyliiskyi

Kliub (Ukrainian–Brazilian Club) at the Khliborobsko-Osvitnyi Soiuz (Agricultural-Educational Society). Folkloric dance ensembles include the popular "Barvinok" (The Periwinkle) and "Poltava."

The Media

The Ukrainian Catholic news weekly *Pratsia* (Work) is published by the Basilian Fathers in Prudentópolis. Its current editor is the Reverend Vasylii Zinko, OSBM. The Catholic monthly *Ukrainskyi Misionar u Brazylii* (The Ukrainian Missionary in Brazil) is also published in Prudentópolis by the Basilian Fathers. The newsletter of the Diocese of Saint John the Baptist, *My Rostemo* (We Grow), has been published by the Asotsiiatsiia Ukrainsko-Brazyliiskoi Molodi (Association of Ukrainian-Brazilian Catholic Youth) since 1981. The monthly *Khliborob* (The Farmer) is published by the Agricultural-Educational Society in Curitiba.

Social and Political Life

Community life in the colonies is limited to general participation in church life and events organized by the parishioners, most of which do not extend beyond one locality. Church brotherhoods and youth groups in one locality do not have ties with their counterparts in other localities.

The following community organizations have nationwide importance:

Khliborobsko-Osvitnyi Soiuz (União Agrícola Instrutiva; Agricultural-Educational Society). Established in 1922, the Society, which has branches in various localities throughout Brazil, publishes the monthly *Khliborob* (The Farmer) and broadcasts a weekly radio program in the Portuguese language in Curitiba. Oleksander Ravlyk became president of the organization in 1988.

Tovarystvo Prykhylnykiv Ukrainskoi Kultury (Sociedade dos Amigos de Cultura Ucraniana; Society of Friends of Ukrainian Culture). Established in 1947, the Society has a number of branches throughout the country. Yosyf Groshko was elected president in 1988.

Ukrainsko-Brazyliiska Tsentralna Reprezentatsiia (Representação Central Ucraniano-Brasileira; Ukrainian-Brazilian Central Representation).

Tovarystvo "Sobornist" (Sociedade Ucrania Unificação; Unification Society). The Society also has an affiliated women's group.

Brazyliiskyi Oseredok Ukrainskykh Studiy (Centro Brasileiro de Estudos Ucranianos; Brazilian Center for Ukrainian Studies). The Center's task is to gather documentary information and materials on the Ukrainian settlement in Brazil and to conduct publishing activity. Petro Yedyn currently heads the organization.

Komitet Zemelnoho Fondu (Agricultural Fund Committee). The goal of the Committee is to aid the landless in the acquisition of their own property. The organization, which has its seat in Prudentópolis, is currently headed by the Reverend Petro Baltsar.

Relihiino-Kulturnyi Tsentr Poltava (Centro Religioso-Cultural Poltava; Poltava Religious-

Cultural Center for Ukrainian Youth). Founded by the Eparchy of Saint John the Baptist, the center today comprises a folkloric group, the children's ensemble "Fiialka" (The Violet), a Ukrainian-studies school, and a choir. The current honorary president of the Center is the Most Reverend Yefrem Kryvy.

Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Zhinok (Organização Feminina Ucraniana; Organization of Ukrainian Women). An autonomous association affiliated with the Agricultural-Educational Society, the Organization of Ukrainian Women is a member of the Svitova Federatsiia Ukrainskykh Zhinochykh Orhanizatsiy (World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations). The past president was Oksana Boruszenko; the current president is Rezhina Shpak-Rubinets. An organization of women also exists at the Unification Society.

Literaturno-Sportovyi Tsentr Molodi (Centro Litero Esportivo da Mocidade, KLEM; Literary-Sports Youth Center). A youth organization consisting primarily of university students. The current president is Ihor Mazepa Baran.

Folkloric Ensemble "Barvinok" (The Periwinkle). In existence for some fifty years, the ensemble has as its goal the preservation and teaching of Ukrainian folk dance and Ukrainian customs to young Brazilian Ukrainians. It is currently headed by Yaroslav Voloshchuk.

Asotsiiatsiia Ukrainsko-Brazyliiskoi Molodi (Associação da Juventude Ucraniano-Brasileira; Association of Ukrainian-Brazilian Catholic Youth). The goal of the Association is to unite Ukrainian youth and encourage them to preserve the Ukrainian language and traditions. An annual Kongres Ukrainskoi Molodi (Congress of Ukrainian Youth) is organized for this purpose. The Association, which is currently headed by Ivan Stadnyk, publishes the bimonthly *My Rostemo* (We Grow).

Plast, Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization; the Ukrainian Scouts). The organization was only recently revived in Brazil. A four-day seminar for Plast educators was held toward this end in the Poltava Club in Curitiba on August 31–September 3, 1990.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

1984 January: Dr. Petro Savaryn, President of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, visited Brazil and met with the Governor of Paraná, José Richa.

1985 April 28: The blessing of the Cathedral Church in Curitiba. The Apostolic Nuncio D. Karlo Furno, His Eminence Major Archbishop Myroslav Cardinal Lubachivsky, and Ukrainian Catholic bishops in the free world took part in the Divine Liturgy.
- *April 29:* Pre-Synodal conferences of the Ukrainian Catholic bishops took place at the headquarters of the Eparchy of Saint John the Baptist in Curitiba.
- *May 5:* The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Seminary of Saint Joseph was celebrated in Prudentópolis.
- *August:* Concerts in Curitiba and Prudentópolis by the Oleksander Koshyts Choir from Winnipeg, Canada.
- *November:* Vira Vichymyshyn was elected to the Paraná Parliament.

1988 February: Congress of Youth in Prudentópolis on the occasion of the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity.
- *May:* Congress of Ukrainian Intellectuals and Professionals in the Poltava Club in Curitiba.
- *September:* The Ukrainian Folkloric Ensemble "Barvinok" performed outside Brazil for the first time, appearing a total of sixteen times in Canada and the United States.
- *October:* Celebration of the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity in the Catholic Cathedral in Curitiba.
- *November*: A Ukrainian cultural and religious exhibit organized by the women's associations of Curitiba was held in the Poltava Club in Curitiba on the occasion of the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity.
- *December:* Blessing of the old-age home Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary, built by the Eparchy of Saint John the Baptist for Ukrainians in the colony of Marcelino, Paraná.

1991: The year 1991 marked the hundredth anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Brazil. A jubilee exhibit of Ukrainian culture, tradition, and arts was opened in the Paraná Museum on March 7, 1991, to commemorate the event.

1992: In October, Prime Minister of Ukraine Vitold Fokin and other members of the Ukrainian government visited Brazil, where they had an audience with Brazilian president Fernando Collor de Mello and the opportunity to meet the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the governors and businessmen of the states of Rio de Janiero and Paraná. The Paraná government and the local Ukrainian community feted the Ukrainian guests in Curitiba. The meeting between the Ukrainian delegation and the ministers and businessmen in Paraná was held to discuss economic ties and trade between the two countries.

Addresses

Associação da Juventude Ucraniano-Brasileira, Cx. Postal 2845, 80.000 Curitiba, Paraná, Brasil

Centro Brasileiro de Estudos Ucranianos, Cx. Postal 1.111, 80.000 Curitiba, Paraná, Brasil

Centro Religioso-Cultural Poltava, Rua Pará, 1035, Cx. Postal 6192, Curitiba, Paraná, Brasil

Instituto das Catequistas do Sagrado Coração de Jesus, Srta. Miroslava Krevei, Cx. Postal 10, 84.400 Prudentópolis, Paraná, Brasil

Irmas Servas de Maria Imaculada, Sr. Zita F. Prokhyra, Cx. Postal 8383, 80.021 Curitiba, Paraná, Brasil

Excia. Revma. D. Efraím Basílio Krevey, OSBM, Cx. Postal 6.192, 80.021 Curitiba, Paraná, Brasil

Exmo. Mons. Nicolas Millus, Rua Amintas de Barros 519, Apt. 207, 80.060 Curitiba, Paraná, Brasil

Organização Feminina Ucraniana. Rua Augusto Stellfeld 799, 80.000 Curitiba, Paraná, Brasil

Plast, A/C João Kindra, Cx. Postal 2988, 80.001 Curitiba, Paraná, Brasil

Pracia, Semanário, Cx. Postal 02, 84.400 Prudentópolis, Paraná, Brasil

Representação Central Ucraniano-Brasileira, Cx. Postal 3424, CEP 80.000 Curitiba, Paraná, Brasil

Seminário Maior São Josafat, Revmo. Danyil Kozlinsky, Cx. Postal 6.192, 80.021 Curitiba, Paraná, Brasil

Seminário Menor Diocesano São Josafat, Revmo. Edison L. Boyko, Cx. Postal 28, 84.570 Mallet, Paraná, Brasil

Sociedade dos Amigos de Cultura Ucraniana, Rua Brigadeiro Franco, 374, 80.000 Curitiba, Paraná, Brasil

Sociedade Ucrania Unificação, Cx. Postal 142, 09.501 São Caetano do Sul, São Paulo, Brasil

União Agrícola Instrutiva, Rua Augusto Stellfeld, 799, 80.000 Curitiba, Paraná, Brasil

Revmo. Pe. Tarcísio Zaluski, OSBM, Cx. Postal 02, 84.400 Prudentópolis, Paraná, Brasil

Note

1 Translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.

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UKRAINIANS IN PARAGUAY

Mykhailo Rubinec and Ann Lencyk Pawliczko[1]

Country Data

Official Name – República del Paraguay (Republic of Paraguay)

Geographic Location – Country in South America located between 19°20′ and 27°40′ south latitude and 54°15′ and 62°40′ west longitude. It is bordered by Bolivia and Brazil on the north; Brazil on the east; Argentina on the south; and Argentina and Bolivia on the west.

Area – 157,048 sq. mi., or 406,752 sq km

Population Density – 28.8 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 11.1 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Asunción

Form of Government – Multiparty republic with two legislative houses, the Senate (36 seats) and the Chamber of Deputies (72 seats)

Official Language – Spanish

Population – 4,519,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 90.8% Mestizo (Spanish-Guarani); 3.0% Amerindian; 1.7% German; 4.5% other (1980)

Religious Affiliation – 96.0% Roman Catholic; 2.1% Protestant; 1.9% other (1980)

Literacy – 90.1% (1990)

Percent Urban – 47.5% (1990)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 65.1 years; female, 69.5 years (1990–5)

Per Capita GNP – US$1,110 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Paraguay

Demographic and Social Characteristics

Approximately five thousand to eight thousand Ukrainians live in Paraguay today. They are found in more or less compact groups in and around the city of Encarnación in the southeastern part of the country, which borders on the Argentine province of Misiones. There are several Ukrainian villages, or colonies, surrounding the city, including Alborada, Carmen del Paraná, and Fram. Some Ukrainians can also be found in the capital city of Asunción.

The majority of Ukrainians in Paraguay are engaged in agriculture. They cultivate cotton, rice, corn, *yerba maté*, and wheat for export, and garden vegetables for their own consumption. Some raise cattle and keep bees. A number of Ukrainians are employed in the cities as artisans and laborers, primarily in the lumber industry. Those with higher education are employed in commerce, government, and the professions. Some have achieved high positions in various government offices. In Encarnación, many work in trade and commerce; others are professionals in their fields.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

Although a few Ukrainians settled in Paraguay in the 1920s, the first sizable groups began to arrive in 1930–2 from neighboring Argentina, which was suffering from an economic crisis and unemployment at the time. In 1935–9, Ukrainians began to migrate to Paraguay from the Polisia, Volhynia, Galicia, and Transcarpathia regions of Ukraine. Several hundred Ukrainians arrived in 1946–7, and more came later, in 1948–50, from the displaced-persons camps in Europe; others were refugees from China and Manchuria who came by way of the Philippines. There were approximately ten thousand Ukrainians in Paraguay at the end of the 1940s. Many Ukrainians who settled in Paraguay did not remain in the country permanently, but emigrated, mainly to Argentina, the United States, and Canada; some returned to the Ukrainian SSR in response to strong Soviet agitation.

On arriving in Paraguay, Ukrainians gave their settlements typically Ukrainian names, such as Nova Volyn, Nova Ukraina, Bohdanivka, and Tarasivka. However, government laws have since forbidden the use of foreign names, and these towns were subsequently renamed in Spanish. Streets in some localities were named after noted Ukrainians, for example, Symon Petliura and Taras Shevchenko. A monument to Taras Shevchenko was unveiled in Encarnación in the 1970s, in a ceremony attended by the President of Paraguay.

Organized Ukrainian community life in Paraguay began in 1937 in Encarnación with the founding of Prosvita (Enlightenment Society). At one time, Provista had ten branches, some of which had their own community centers, with reading rooms, libraries, and Ukrainian-language instruction. A youth organization was formed in 1948 under the auspices of Provista; it was later transformed into the Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (SUM, Ukrainian Youth Association), which survived until 1955. In 1945, the Ukrainskyi Dopomohovyi Komitet (Ukrainian Relief Committee) was established as an auxiliary to the Paraguayan Red Cross. The Committee was instrumental in helping Ukrainian refugees from Europe to settle in Paraguay. The Ukrainskyi Oseredok (Ukrainian Center) was founded in Paraguay in 1949, and was subquently approved by the government as the official representation of Ukrainians in the country. The pioneers of organized Ukrainian community life (whose names have been gleaned from Prosvita publications in Argentina) included A. Bachun, A. Harmatiuk, I. Humen, M. Kushliy, Ya. Lavrychenko, I. Martyniuk, I. Mazunik, I. Paduchak, I. Paliatynsky, V. Rozumovsky, M. Vorobei, and H. Znatovsky. Omelian Iliia Paduchak is considered the pioneer of Ukrainian settlement in Paraguay.

Ukrainian schools in Paraguay did not develop beyond a rudimentary level. Ukrainian-language courses were occasionally offered in the Prosvita reading rooms and in church centers.

As the years went by, Ukrainian cultural and community life in Paraguay declined, primarily because of the emigration of the community's intelligentsia and youth to the United States, Canada, Argentina, and other countries. The second generation of Ukrainians

has essentially been assimilated into Paraguayan society, a phenomenon reflected in the predominant use of Spanish as opposed to Ukrainian. Only membership in the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches serves to keep the second generation within the Ukrainian community, at least to some degree.

Religious Life

The majority of Ukrainians in Paraguay belong to the Orthodox churches, especially to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Approximately 30 percent are Catholics, and the remainder belong to the Baptist, Stundist, and Mennonite churches. The Reverend Evstakhii Havryliuk, Tykhon Hnatiuk, and Yosyf Semeniuk were among the priests who served the Orthodox faithful in the early days of settlement; Basilian Fathers from Misiones, Argentina, along with Catholic priests who were among the refugees settling in Paraguay, ministered to the Ukrainian Catholics. Later, the Reverend Ivan Bugera served as pastor for the Ukrainian Catholics. The Brotherhood of Saint George the Victorious of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, founded in 1953 and incorporated in 1955, served as the center of Orthodox life. Today, there are six Orthodox parishes in Paraguay. The pastor of the Orthodox faithful is the Reverend Serhii Kovalchuk; the Reverend Joseph Risinger, a German priest who speaks fluent Ukrainian, is pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Encarnación. The Apostolic Visitator for Ukrainian Catholics in Paraguay is Bishop Andrii Sapeliak of Argentina.

Ukrainian Community Life in Paraguay Today

Today, Encarnación remains the center of Ukrainian cultural life in Paraguay. There is an Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Dim (Ukrainian National Home [Community Center]) and both a Ukrainian Catholic and a Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the city.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

1988: The Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine was commemorated with Divine Liturgies in Fram and Encarnación, as well as with concerts, speeches, and banquets attended by Bishop Andrii Sapeliak, from Argentina, and Paraguayan government officials. The occasion was also marked by the dedication of Catholic and Orthodox churches; the erection of a monument in the form of a cross, in Encarnación; and the renaming of the street on which the cross was placed, to "Ukraina." The festivities, which were also attended by Ukrainians from neighboring Argentina, were organized by Volodymyr Baransky, President of Prosvita, and Volodymyr Oliinyk, President of the Brotherhood of Saint George.

Note

1 The information provided for this article by Dr. Mykhailo Rubinec was compiled, supplemented, and translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.

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UKRAINIANS IN URUGUAY

Mykhailo Rubinec and Ann Lencyk Pawliczko[1]

Country Data

Official Name – República Oriental del Uruguay (Oriental Republic of Uruguay)

Geographic Location – Country in South America located between 30° and 35° south latitude and 53° and 58°25′ west longitude. It is bordered by Brazil on the north; Brazil and the Atlantic Ocean on the east; the Atlantic Ocean on the south; and Argentina on the west.

Area – 68,037 sq. mi., or 176,215 sq km (including land area and inland water)

Population Density – 46.3 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 17.9 inhabitants per sq km (based on land area only) (1992)

Capital City – Montevideo

Form of Government – Republic with two legislative houses, the Senate (31 seats) and the Chamber of Representatives (99 seats)

Official Language – Spanish

Population – 3,130,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 85.9% mixed Spanish–Italian; 3.0% Mestizo; 2.6% Italian; 1.7% Jewish; 1.2% Mulatto; 5.6% other (1980)

Religious Affiliation – 62.9% Christian (including 59.5% Roman Catholic); 35.1% nonreligious and atheist; 1.7% Jewish; 0.3% other (1980)

Literacy – 95.0% (1985)

Percent Urban – 85.5% (1990)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 68.9 years; female, 75.3 years (1985–90)

Per Capita GNP – US$2,560 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Uruguay

Demographic and Social Characteristics

In the past, the number of Ukrainians in Uruguay was given as ten thousand; today, it is doubtful whether half that number remains. The decline in the Ukrainian population is attributable primarily to the emigration of Ukrainians to Argentina, Brazil, and, especially, the United States and Canada, as a result of the poor economic conditions in the country.

Approximately 50 percent of Ukrainians in Uruguay reside in the capital city of Montevideo; the remainder, with the exception of a small colony in the Department of Salto, are scattered throughout the country, predominantly in the cities.

The majority of Ukrainians are employed in industry, many in their own businesses and trades. A number of Ukrainians, prevented by certain government regulations from acquiring their own land, have leased land from wealthy landowners and are employed in agriculture.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

The first group of Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Uruguay in 1924, primarily from the Volhynia, Polisia, Galicia, Bukovyna, and Transcarpathia regions of Ukraine. Afterward, several families migrated to the country from Argentina and Brazil. After the Second World War, approximately fifty Ukrainians arrived in Uruguay from displaced-persons camps in Germany and Austria. In the mid-1950s, influenced by Soviet propaganda, a number of Ukrainians returned to the USSR.

On settling in Uruguay, the Ukrainian community became organized in the Tovarystvo imeny Tarasa Shevchenka (Taras Shevchenko Society), which included members from both the Catholic and Orthodox faiths. The Society worked very smoothly, staging various exhibits, founding a choir, and organizing the youth. Before long, however, the Society was infiltrated by Communist agents, who voted themselves into leadership positions within the organization and renamed it the Maksym Gorky Society. These changes took the nationally aware Ukrainians by surprise, and they left the organization. But rather than reestablishing

the original association (under either the original name or a new one), they allowed themselves to be guided by imprudent political beliefs, and founded two organizations, the Tovarystvo Prosvita (Enlightenment Society) and the Tovarystvo Vidrodzhennia (Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine). These were patterned after two organizations by the same names in Buenos Aires, the former affiliated with the Bandera faction of the Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), the latter with the Melnyk faction. The Enlightenment Society was the larger of the two organizations; it even had its own community center. Today, neither group is in existence. Other organizations that were active in Uruguay in the past include the Committee to Assist the Ukrainian National Council and the Committee for the Struggle against Communism.

Religious Life

The first and only Ukrainian Catholic parish in Uruguay was established in Montevideo in 1952; a Ukrainian Orthodox parish was founded later. Because of the lack of Ukrainian priests, the settlers were ministered to by Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox priests. Basilian Fathers from Argentina occasionally visited the Catholic faithful in Uruguay. Neither the Catholic nor the Orthodox Church exists in Uruguay today. A small number of Ukrainians belong to the Baptist churches, the Seventh-Day Adventists, and other denominations.

Ukrainian Community Life in Uruguay Today

The wide dispersion of a small population and the limited number of intelligentsia account for the fact that Ukrainian religious, cultural, educational, social, and political life in Uruguay has remained undeveloped.

There is no organized Ukrainian community life in Uruguay today. Until recently, one Ukrainian organization existed in the country, but it was Communist and directly influenced and governed by the Soviet Embassy. Its status since the collapse of communism is not known.

Note

1 The information provided for this article by Dr. Mykhailo Rubinec was compiled, supplemented, and translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.

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UKRAINIANS IN VENEZUELA

Fedir Jakymec and Ann Lencyk Pawliczko[1]

Country Data

Official Name – República de Venezuela (Republic of Venezuela)

Geographic Location – Country in South America located between 0°38′ and 12°13′ north latitude and 59°47′ and 73°25′ west longitude. It is bordered by the Caribbean Sea on the north; Guyana and Brazil on the east; Brazil on the south; and Colombia on the west.

Area – 352,144 sq. mi., or 912,050 sq km

Population Density – 57.3 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 22.1 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Caracas

Form of Government – Federal multiparty republic with two legislative houses, the Senate (49 seats) and the Chamber of Deputies (201 seats)

Official Language – Spanish

Population – 20,184,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 69% Mestizo; 20% White; 9% Black; 2% Indian (1981)

Religious Affiliation – 91.7% Roman Catholic; 8.3% other (1987)

Literacy – 92.2% (1990)

Percent Urban – 84.0% (1990)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 67.0 years; female, 73.3 years (1990)

Per Capita GNP – US$2,560 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Venezuela

Demographic and Social Characteristics

The total number of Ukrainians in Venezuela is estimated to be between 800 and 1,300. The majority, approximately 700, live in the capital city of Caracas, while the remainder are found in other cities, including Maracay, Valencia, Barquisimeto, and several smaller localities.

The average age of Ukrainians in Venezuela is 69.7 years. The sexes are evenly divided. There are approximately 205 married couples, of which some 63 percent are Ukrainian and 37 percent are mixed marriages. Most Ukrainians are citizens of the country; in fact, the majority were born in Venezuela. Members of the younger generation have attained higher education and have become part of Venezuelan society. Members of the older generation continue their work within the Ukrainian community, remaining a close-knit group and preserving the existing organizations and the acquired property. Special attention is paid to the youth, with the aim of passing the helm of future Ukrainian life and activity on to them.

The growth rate of the Ukrainian population is 3.4 percent, the same as that of the total Venezuelan population. The family typically consists of four or five members.

There are many highly qualified specialists among Ukrainians in Venezuela. Education is mandatory, and government secondary schools and universities are free. Needy students receive government aid.

Participation in the Economic, Political, Professional, and Social Life of the Country

With rare exceptions, most Ukrainians in Venezuela have not been interested in political activity. One Ukrainian who stands out in the history of Venezuela is Mykhailo Skybitsky, who left Kiev in 1825 and later became the famous Venezuelan freedom fighter known as Colonel Miguel Rolia.

Although Ukrainians have not participated in politics to any great degree, they have nevertheless become very much a part of the country's economic and professional arena. This is especially true of the younger, better educated generation of Ukrainians.

Many Ukrainian engineers, technicians, and craftsmen contributed to the development of Caracas and other Venezuelan cities. Among them were architects R. Kosarych and B. Vasiuk; professor of engineering V. Koval; engineer and surveyor A. Korol; agronomist V. Vasiuk; engineers I. Lazarenko and R. Prypkhan; technicians M. Hrechka and V. Levytsky; and surveyors A. Khrushch and V. Zakrevsky. The Ukrainian construction firm of V. Lintsytsky, in Valencia, contributed greatly to the development of that city.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

Sources indicate that there were Ukrainians living in Venezuela during the time of Spanish rule. A well-known hotel named "Ukraina," which had extraterritorial rights and which attracted sailors from all parts of the world with its exemplary service, existed in the port city of Maracaibo, which became the center of the petroleum industry. A colonial villa

named "Ukraina" stands in Maracaibo to this day. Built in approximately 1830, it was the property of Mykhailo Skybitsky (Miguel Rolia).

The Ukrainian community in Venezuela is relatively new and relatively small. Approximately 1,500 Ukrainian settlers arrived in the country in 1947 from the displaced-persons camps in Germany, but a large percentage of them later emigrated to the United States and Canada. Those who remained in Venezuela gained a satisfactory standard of living as skilled workers, merchants, small businessmen, professional and scientific specialists, and artists. They built and preserved a rather strong community and church organization.

Forty years have passed since Ukrainians first began to immigrate in larger numbers to Venezuela. All told, approximately 3,400 people were accepted by the Venezuelan government, in accordance with the agreement of the International Refugee Organization (IRO). Ukrainians settled, in varying concentrations, in communities throughout the country. They came from all strata of society; among them were specialists with higher education, skilled workers, peasants, and laborers. After mastering the language, Ukrainian professionals began to work in their respective fields. Ukrainians owned various enterprises, including several food stores, a bakery, a butcher shop, a bookstore, an ironworks store, shoe stores, shoe repair shops, jewelry shops, photography studios, cement-block factories, a dry cleaner's, and a construction firm. Two Ukrainians had coffee and tobacco plantations, several families managed their own farms, and one family operated a dairy farm.

The beginnings were not easy for the Ukrainian settlers. Not having any of the government support or protection that other nationalities enjoyed, they were able to overcome their hardships only through their own innate perseverance and hard work. Families were sometimes left without housing or financial means, and with no knowledge of the Spanish language. The postwar period was a time of unemployment and community uprisings in Venezuela. Even the tropical climate added to the hardships of a people accustomed to the mild continental climate of Ukraine. Although the local population was favorably disposed toward Ukrainians, government authorities were not interested in the new immigrants. Ukrainians therefore helped one another to rise above the difficult conditions of starting life anew in a foreign country.

On settling in Venezuela, Ukrainians immediately began to organize social, cultural, educational, and political activity. They founded various societies, organizations, committees, and charitable institutions. Their first priority was to help those Ukrainians who found themselves in difficult financial circumstances and harsh climatic conditions in the virgin forests of Venezuela. They then provided financial assistance to the displaced persons who remained in Europe, and took up collections to aid Ukrainian invalids. They also gave financial support to various organizations, including the Vyzvolnyi Front (Liberation Front) of the Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), and the Ukrainian press.

In 1948, the first two parishes were organized, one Catholic and one Orthodox. The first pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was the Reverend Dean Pavlo Khrushch; the Reverend Petro Kovalchuk was the first pastor of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Soon, two Orthodox churches were built. An old, unused church that was still in good condition was assigned to the Ukrainian Catholics by the Venezuelan Archbishop and was subsequently restored in the Ukrainian style.

Two Ukrainian national homes (community centers) were built, one in Caracas and one in Valencia. Through the efforts of the Ukrainian community, two city streets in Caracas were named "Ukraina."

Religious, social and community, and political life was centered in Caracas, where it is

strong to this day, as it is in Valencia as well. An organized Ukrainian community was also active for a brief period in the cities of Maracay and Barquisimeto. Ukrainian community life was organized under an umbrella association known as the Ukrainska Hromada Venesueli (Ukrainian Community of Venezuela), which had three branches, in Valencia, Maracay, and Barquisimeto. The following social and community organizations were active: Soiuz Ukrainok (Association of Ukrainian Women); Ukrainska Molod Venesueli (Ukrainian Youth of Venezuela); Plast, Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization; the Ukrainian Scouts); Komitet za Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Committee for the Liberation of Ukraine); Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (SUM, Ukrainian Youth Association); Tovarystvo Inzheneriv (Association of Engineers); Tovarystvo Ukrainskykh Veteraniv (Association of Ukrainian Veterans); Sportove Tovarystvo "Chornomortsi" ("Sailors of the Black Sea" Sports Association); and Stanytsia ABN (Chapter of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations). The Ukrainian community also boasted a supplementary Saturday school of Ukrainian studies, a kindergarten, a Prosvita (Enlightenment Society) reading room, a choir, a folk-dance ensemble, and a drama group. The Ukrainian parishes had brotherhoods and sisterhoods.

Ukrainian radio programs were broadcast on the Venezuelan government station in Spanish, informing listeners of the struggle for freedom of the Ukrainian nation, its heroic fighters, and the terrorist Bolshevik regime. The weekly broadcasts, which also transmitted Ukrainian folk songs and music, boosted the morale of the Ukrainian community and proved an invaluable source of information about the Ukrainian nation. The radio programs had an important impact on the indigenous population as well, who learned more about Ukraine and its people.

After more than a decade in Venezuela, Ukrainians began to emigrate to other countries. The mass exodus was attributable to several factors, among them, unemployment, the tropical climate, riots in the country, and anti-Ukrainian action on the part of Communist agents. Ukrainians were persecuted by underground agents, and a number of active young Ukrainians were killed, while several died under mysterious circumstances. In 1950, Venezuela ousted the chief Moscow agent, who had posed as a Ukrainian poet, and other agents, and later liquidated the Soviet Embassy in Caracas.

The majority of Ukrainians emigrated to the United States, Canada, and Argentina. Three families settled in Australia, three in Germany, and one each in Brazil, Austria, and Poland, while three families and two single individuals emigrated to Ukraine. The fate of most of these emigrants is unknown. One family returned to Venezuela after a number of years. Those who emigrated to the United States and Canada became part of the social, community, and religious life there, while still maintaining contact with their friends in Venezuela.

Religious Life

Within a year of their arrival in Venezuela, the Ukrainian settlers organized active parishes for both Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox. Today, there is a Ukrainian Catholic parish in Caracas and Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox churches in Caracas and Valencia. The interior of the Catholic church was destroyed by vandals in 1986, and plans are under way for the construction of a new church. The pastor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is the Reverend Zenovii Khrushch; the Reverend Protopresbyter Leonid Lototsky is the pastor of the Orthodox parish. There are no members of Ukrainian religious communities in

Venezuela. There are approximately 150 Catholic and 100 Orthodox families, and a small number of Pentecostals and Baptists. The majority of Baptists joined the Venezuelan Baptist-Evangelical Church.

Education and Professional Life

There are no Ukrainian schools in Venezuela. Similarly, there are no Ukrainian professional societies or publications.

Cultural Life

The language spoken among older Ukrainians is the native Ukrainian tongue; that used by the younger generation is Spanish, the local language.

The Ukrainian dance ensemble "Barvinok" (The Periwinkle), under the direction of Marusia Yudin-Shchutalo, frequently takes part in international festivals, often winning well-deserved acknowledgments and prizes for its artistic performances of Ukrainian folk dances.

The painter Halyna Mazepa-Koval lives in Venezuela.

There are currently no Ukrainian print or broadcast media in Venezuela.

Social and Political Life

As is the case throughout the diaspora, a certain percentage of Ukrainians have left the community, some because of discouragement and others as a result of assimilation. However, the majority of Ukrainians remain conscious of their nationality and continue to work within the Ukrainian community and in support of Ukraine.

The following Ukrainian organizations continue to exist in Venezuela:

Ukrainska Hromada (Ukrainian Community). Headquartered in Caracas. The Hromada has approximately 150 members. There is also a branch in Valencia, with about 30 members.

Soiuz Ukrainok (Association of Ukrainian Women). The Association has approximately 60 members.

Komitet Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Committee for the Liberation of Ukraine).

Barvinok (The Periwinkle). A folk-dance ensemble with about 40 members.

Asotsiiatsiia Ukrainskykh Pravoslavnykh Parafiian (Association of Ukrainian Orthodox Parishioners). The association has about 50 members.

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

A major concern of Ukrainians in Venezuela is the severe denationalization that is taking place.

Ties with Ukrainians in Other Countries

Ukrainians in Venezuela maintain ties with Ukrainians in other countries (Canada, the United States, Argentina, Brazil, France, and Germany) through the press.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

1985 January: Pope John Paul II visited Venezuela. Ukrainians greeted the Pontiff and took part in all church services.

1987 May: The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the ordination to the priesthood of its pastor, the Reverend Mitred Leonid Lototsky, and the renewal of activity of the Orthodox Church in Venezuela. The Church was elevated to the status of a Cathedral, and its pastor to that of Protopresbyter.

- *July:* The Association of Ukrainian Women organized a children's summer camp, where the youngsters were taught reading and writing in Ukrainian, the history of Ukraine, and Ukrainian songs.
- *August:* The commemoration of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine began in Caracas with a Moleben celebrated in the Orthodox Church of the Holy Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary by Mitred L. Lototsky, of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, and the Reverend Z. Khrushch, of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. A reception followed the church service.

1988: The year 1988 marked the celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine.

- *July 9:* The Ukrainian Orthodox Parish in Valencia held celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity of a local character, almost solely for the Orthodox parishioners and special invited guests.
- *September 24:* The major commemoration of the Millennium took place, organized by a specially formed committee that included the pastors and faithful of both the Catholic and Orthodox churches. It was attended by the faithful of both parishes as well as by invited guests of other nationalities. The January 1989 issue of the journal *Patriiarkhat* (The Patriarchate) published an article by Prof. Fedir Jakymec describing these Millennium celebrations, which included a Divine Liturgy with the participation of the Apostolic Nuncio, three bishops, eight priests, and numerous parishioners; performances by the "Barvinok" dance ensemble, the *bandurist* Jakymec brothers, violinist Prof. Bohdan Khrushch, and pianist Dr. Velia Khrushch; and a traditional dinner.
- *November 12:* The Ukrainian community continued its celebration of the Millennium of Christianity with a Divine Liturgy in the Cathedral Church in Caracas, attended by the Apostolic Nuncio, one cardinal, and thirty-five priests, and a dinner for invited non-Ukrainian guests.

Note

1 The information provided for this article by Prof. Fedir Jakymec was compiled, supplemented, and translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko. Professor Jakymec gathered his information from interviews with the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox pastors of Venezuela. Special thanks go to Osyp Panchyshyn of Chicago, Illinois, former resident of Caracas, Venezuela, for providing additional information in the form of his book *Ukraintsi u Venesueli* (Ukrainians in Venezuela).

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UKRAINIANS IN OTHER SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES

Mykhailo Rubinec and Ann Lencyk Pawliczko[1]

Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, French Guiana, Guyana, Suriname

There are no known Ukrainian communities in these South American countries.

Chile

The first transport of Ukrainian displaced persons from Europe arrived in Chile in June 1948, through the efforts of the International Refugee Organization. More Ukrainians arrived in later transports, and by 1949, when Ukrainian immigration to Chile had ceased, there were approximately three hundred Ukrainian immigrants living in the country. Although the group was composed primarily of skilled workers (Chile was not issuing visas to unskilled workers or farmers at the time), there were also several professionals and other individuals with secondary and university education. The Ukrainians settlers organized an Ukrainska Hromada (Ukrainian Community) in early 1949. A mixed choir, under the direction of L. Gizhevsky, was formed within the Hromada; it served an important role, for it performed not only during celebrations of Ukrainian holidays but at the invitation of Chilean organizations as well. It made appearances at concerts in Chilean monasteries, attended by top-ranking members of the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy; at the university and the polytechnic; at festivals of Chilean choirs in San Fernando; in the municipal theater of Santiago; and during the Chilean national holiday festivities of September 13; it was also featured in several radio broadcasts. On many such occasions, the choir was able to inform the Chilean population about Ukraine and its people. With the subsequent emigration of many of its members to Argentina and Canada, the choir ceased its activities. An active women's group was also organized at the Hromada.

A Ukrainian Catholic Church was established at approximately the same time as the

Ukrainian Hromada, with the Reverend M. Pavliuk as spiritual head; the Reverend A. Porodko succeeded as pastor when Father Pavliuk emigrated to Canada in 1953. There was no Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Chile, for there were no available priests.

Economically, the Ukrainians fared well in Chile. There was no unemployment; in fact, Ukrainians often worked overtime, which left them little time for Ukrainian community work. As a result, many of them became very well off financially. The majority lived in the capital city of Santiago and its environs, and several settled in the southern part of the country. Several Ukrainian families lived in Temuco, Concepción, and Osorno. Unfortunately, Ukrainians in Chile were very isolated from other Ukrainian communities in South America.

Ukrainian community life in Chile began to disintegrate with the emigration of Ukrainians to other countries. Today, there is no organized Ukrainian community life in Chile. Several Ukrainian families are known to reside in the country, but there are no Ukrainian organizations.

Peru

Although there is no organized Ukrainian community life in Peru, several Ukrainian families do reside in the country, and some of them subscribe to Ukrainian weekly newspapers from Argentina.

Note

1 The information provided for this article by Dr. Mykhailo Rubinec was compiled, supplemented, and translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko.

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9
Ukrainians in Australia and New Zealand

UKRAINIANS IN AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA

Eugene Seneta[1]

UKRAINIANS IN AUSTRALIA

Country Data

Official Name — Commonwealth of Australia

Geographic Location – Australia consists of the island-continent of Australia and the island of Tasmania. The only continent occupied by a single nation, Australia is located between 10°40′ and 43°40′ south latitude and 113°10′ and 153°40′ east longitude. It is bordered on the north by the Timor Sea, the Arafura Sea, and the Gulf of Carpentaria; on the east, by the Coral Sea and the Pacific Ocean; on the south, by the Southern Ocean and the Tasman Sea; and on the west, by the Indian Ocean.

Area – 2,966,200 sq. mi., or 7,682,300, sq km

Population Density – 5.9 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 2.3 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Canberra

Form of Government – Federal parliamentary state (formally a constitutional monarchy) with two legislative houses, the Senate (76 seats) and the House of Representatives (148 seats). Australia is a federation of six states and several territories.

Official Language – English

Population – 17,562,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 95.2% White; 1.5% Aboriginal; 1.3% Asian; 2.0% other (1986)

Religious Affiliation – 73.0% Christian (including 26.1% Roman Catholic, 23.9% Anglican

Church of Australia, 17.4% other Protestant, 2.7% Orthodox); 0.7% Muslim; 0.5% Buddhist; 0.4% Jewish; 12.7% nonreligious; 12.7% other (1986)

Literacy – 99.5% (1980)

Percent Urban – 85.4% (1986)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 73.8 years; female, 79.9 years (1990)

Per Capita GNP – US$17,080 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in Australia

Demographic and Social Characteristics

There are more than 30,000 Ukrainians in Australia today. According to a sample survey analysis from 1983, based on data from S. Radion's *Dictionary of Ukrainian Surnames in Australia* and described in E. Seneta's "On the Number of Ukrainians in Australia in 1979" (1986), the estimated number of persons of Ukrainian descent in Australia is approximately 31,510, with a 95 percent confidence interval (plus or minus 2,590; hence, 28,920 to 34,100). Before the census of 1986, the questionnaires used in censuses were not adequate to determine whether or not a person was of Ukrainian origin,[2] and the main "ethnicity surrogate" question on country of birth was clearly inadequate even to describe the original immigrants themselves. The response "Ukraine" to this question in postwar censuses provides the results noted in Table 1.[3]

Breakdowns by age and sex of the "Birthplace: Ukraine" group prior to the 1986 census may be found in the sources cited.

In the census of June 30, 1986, there was, for the first time, a direct ethnicity question ("What is each person's ancestry?"), to which up to two answers were accepted. As a result, 29,885 persons stated that they were of Ukrainian ancestry, either wholly (21,888) or in part (7,997).[4] However, 6.8 percent of the total Australian population did not respond to the ethnicity question; if the same phenomenon, in the same proportion, is true for persons of Ukrainian ancestry, the total number of such persons must be 32,065. That figure is consistent with the sample survey results. Table 2 provides a breakdown by state or territory of people claiming Ukrainian ancestry.

Also of interest is the breakdown of the 29,885 persons by country of birth: 45.5 percent, Australia; 31.3 percent, Ukraine; 9.9 percent, Austria and Germany; 3.5 percent, Poland; 10.2 percent, elsewhere or not stated.[5]

At the time of writing, it was not envisaged that tables other than those listed[6] would be available from the Australian Bureau of Statistics in relation to ancestral origin. Thus, a breakdown of the entire group by age, religion, income, and educational status, for example, is not currently available. There was, however, a question in the 1986 census on languages other than English spoken at home. The answer "Ukrainian" was given by 15,167 persons.[7] A similar question in the 1976 census[8] resulted in approximately 17,584 such responses; thus, there was a decline of 14 percent in the intervening ten years.

Very detailed studies of Ukrainians living in small regions have been made by H. Komyshan, for Tasmania, and J. Malecky, for Canberra-Queanbeyan.[9] The latter study provides a number of illuminating tables, including distribution by age, generation, sex,

Table 1 The number of Ukrainians in Australia reporting Ukraine as their birthplace, by census year

Census year	Number born in Ukraine
1954	14,757
1961	13,873
1966	(included under USSR)
1971	12,450
1976	11,434
1981	10,942
1986	10,470

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, *1986 Census of Population and Housing*. Table CX0003 – Total Persons – Religion by Birthplace by Age by Sex.

Table 2 Number of persons of Ukrainian ethnicity in Australia

	State/Territory								
	New South Wales	Victoria	Queens-land	South Aus-tralia	Western Aus-tralia	Tas-mania	Australian Capital Territory	Northern Territory	Total
Pure	6,730	7,716	1,669	3,469	1,514	292	441	57	21,888
Mixed	2,600	2,324	798	1,173	637	156	276	33	7,997
Total	9,330	10,040	2,467	4,642	2,151	448	717	90	29,885

Source: *ABS, 1986 Census of Population and Housing – Australia*, Tables VF035, VF036, VF039.
For detailed titles of tables, see Sources Consulted.

religion, profession, education; use of the Ukrainian language; contact with Ukrainian churches; contact with Ukrainian organizations; and types of marriages. However, the Ukrainian population of Canberra-Queanbeyan is uncharacteristic of Australia as a whole.

Some tentative deductions regarding the number of people of Ukrainian ethnicity in Australia who have some tertiary qualifications may be made from Radion's *Dictionary of Ukrainian Graduates in Australia*. The most accurate figures come from sources for the states of Tasmania (H. Komyshan) – 33 names – and South Australia (T. Pasichynsky) – 464 names. All such qualifications are assumed to have been obtained by persons classified in 1986 as born *outside* Ukraine. For Tasmania, the number of such persons is 310, and for South Australia, it is 3,072,[10] so the overall percentage of persons with tertiary education is, at present, between 11 and 15 percent. The corresponding overall Australian figure is approximately 8.5 percent.[11] There is certainly strong informal evidence of parents at all stages strongly encouraging their children to attain tertiary education, mainly in the highly paid professions such as medicine, dentistry, law, architecture, and engineering, well beyond the Australian norm for tertiary education. Because of the emphasis on education by their parents, the Australian-born Ukrainians' earning power is higher than the Australian norm.

Retirement from work, most often to a government pension, is at age sixty-five for males and, usually, age sixty for females. Of the 10,470 persons (5,536 males, 4,932 females) born in Ukraine, as reported in the 1986 census, there were 2,277 retired males and 3,622 retired females, or a proportion of approximately 56 percent.[12] This group is generally materially comfortable.

Participation in the Economic, Political, Professional, and Social Life of the Country

The European professional qualifications of most immigrants of the postwar wave were not recognized in Australia, although a number of professionals, for example, physicians, did eventually practice in Australia. With very few exceptions, the postwar immigrants were consequently unable to have a significant influence on Australian society. Among the exceptions, in the technical-scientific arena, one should mention the animal biologist Dr. R. Mykytowycz, who arrived in Australia on September 28, 1949, and who, by 1972, had risen to prominence as Senior Principal Research Scientist with the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization in Canberra. Currently, he is the Federal Head of the Naukove Tovarystvo imeny Shevchenka (Shevchenko Scientific Society) in Australia. R. Pavlyshyn arrived in Australia in 1948 and by 1982 had been elevated to Life Fellow of the Institute of Architects of Australia, in which he had served in various distinguished capacities during his long tenure with the Queensland Government's Public (Civil) Service. He has also been the driving force of the Ukrainian community in Queensland. A number of immigrants have become successful businessmen, for example, I. Kontek, who heads the large Victorian real estate firm of John Kontek and Son. There have been a number of highly successful artists, such as M. Kmit. The work of a number of older immigrants within the Ukrainian community was eventually recognized through Imperial and Australian Government awards (for example, to the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop I. Prashko, and to T. Pasiczynskyj and M. Sybaczynskyj for Ukrainian schooling).

A slightly different class were those young immigrant arrivals who obtained at least their tertiary qualifications in Australia. The majority of them are in the professions. The small number who became academics include T. Babij, I. Gordijew, I. Hawryszkiewycz, O. Katchan, H. Koscharsky, V. Motyka, and the author of this article, E. Seneta, who is Professor and Head of the Department of Mathematical Statistics at the University of Sydney and a Fellow of the Australian Academy of Science.

No Ukrainians, to the author's knowledge, have been successful in the political arena. Australian-born Ukrainians are found in highly paid professions, including medicine, dentistry, law, architecture, and engineering. There appears to be an underrepresentation of persons in sociological areas, although a number of younger people, such as S. Dajuk and A. Piechowiak, have received government awards in this field. There are also a number of younger academics, including Dr. L. Lawriwsky and Dr. M. Pavlyshyn.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

There were very few Ukrainians living in Australia before the Second World War. According to an agreement with the International Refugee Organization, Australia admitted a small number of war refugees and displaced persons from Western and Southern Europe, Asia, and Africa. According to Australian naturalization statistics, approximately twenty-one thousand Ukrainians migrated to Australia in the postwar wave, between the years 1948 and 1951.[13] This was essentially the only major wave of Ukrainian immigration to Australia.[14] On arriving, the immigrants were obliged to work for two years at locations assigned by the government, without regard for the immigrants' education or professional training, since

the government's goal was to meet the postwar demand for unskilled labor. Thus, after a short stay in transfer camps, the immigrants were dispersed in small groups throughout the country and were forbidden to change their place of residence or employment without government authorization. After two years, the immigrants automatically received the right of permanent residency and the right to choose their own work, and after five years, they became eligible for Australian citizenship. After fulfilling their employment contracts, most immigrants migrated to the large cities in search of better jobs in industry and the opportunity to participate in Ukrainian community life. In later years, few Ukrainians migrated to Australia; those who did come were primarily from England, Yugoslavia, and the Far East.

Until 1965, the history and achievements of the Ukrainian settlers are documented in the monumental compilation in the Ukrainian language *Ukraintsi v Avstralii* (Ukrainians in Australia), published by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in 1966. Subsequent, briefer, accounts, such as that by Wolowyna, Gordijew, and Gordijew (also entitled "Ukraintsi v Avstralii" and published in 1980), are based almost entirely on this work. In some measure, this work has been continued by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in its Conferences on the History of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia, which were held in Sydney in 1983 and in Melbourne in 1985, in conjunction with the Department of Slavic Languages at Monash University. The English-language papers published as a result of these conferences are found in *Ukrainian Settlement in Australia: Second Conference* (Pavlyshyn, ed., 1986) and *Istoriia ukrainskoho poselennia v Avstralii* (History of Ukrainian Settlement in Australia) (Pavlyshyn, ed., 1986). An Australian Bicentennial Conference was held in Sydney in 1988, in conjunction with the Foundation of Ukrainian Studies in Australia.[15] A recent historical sketch in the English language, based in part on these materials, is *Ukrainians in Australia*, by M. Lawriwsky, published in 1985. A second volume of *Ukraintsi v Avstralii*, along the lines of the first, is in preparation; these materials were not available to the author. A valuable source with a strong sociological slant is *A Culture within a Culture: Ukrainians in Australia*, by Z. Kolomyjec, published in 1983.

A continuing source of history is represented by the various newspapers listed in the catalog *Newspapers in Australian Libraries. A Union List*, part 2, *Australian Newspapers*, 4th ed. (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1985). They include the following:

1 *Vilna Dumka* (The Free Thought). Weekly. In publication from July 10, 1949, to the present. The National Library of Australia (Canberra) holds January 28, 1951, to the present. (Earlier numbers are not held in any Australian library).
2 *Yednist* (Concord). Weekly. In publication from October 16, 1949, to September 23, 1956. Between them, the State Libraries of South Australia (Adelaide) and Victoria (Melbourne) have a complete holding.
3 *Ukrainets v Avstralii* (The Ukrainian Settler). Fortnightly. In publication from December 12, 1956, to 1985. The Australian National Library (Canberra) has a complete holding.
4 *Tserkva i Zhyttia* (Church and Life). Weekly. In publication from May 10, 1968, to the present. The State Library of Victoria (Melbourne) has a complete holding.

This survey undertakes primarily to present the most recent sources and data available on the status and history of the Ukrainian community in Australia. Very little of what may be found in the Shevchenko Scientific Society's *Ukraintsi v Avstralii* will be mentioned; however, it should be noted that that work remains, for the present, the only available source for some aspects of Ukrainian settlement not treated in this article.

Religious Life

Responses to a question on religious affiliation (found in all censuses up to 1986, inclusive) are tabulated against country of birth; in the 1986 census, for the 10,470 people born in Ukraine, we have the following information: Catholic, 50.5 percent; Orthodox, 34.3 percent; other Christian, 7.0 percent; not stated, 4.4 percent; and no religion, other, and non-Christian, 3.7 percent.[16] The ratio of Ukrainian Catholic to Ukrainian Orthodox among the Ukrainian-born population is thus approximately three to two. Whether this proportion holds for the entire ethnic Ukrainian population depends on demographic pressures over the last forty years, which may differ between Catholic and Orthodox.

Radion's *Dictionary of Ukrainian Surnames in Australia*, which accurately predicted the total number of persons of Ukrainian descent, gives the ratio of Catholic to Orthodox surnames as 2,925 to 1,492 – that is, approximately two to one – but this may underestimate the number of Orthodox, because church attendance and/or record keeping in the Orthodox churches may differ from attendance and/or record keeping in the Ukrainian Catholic churches.

Ukrainian Catholic Church

On October 19, 1983, Ukrainian Catholic faithful in Australia celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the creation by Pope Pius XII of an Apostolic Exarchate for Ukrainians in Australia, New Zealand, and Oceania, with Bishop Ivan Prashko as Exarch. The Exarchate became an Eparchy on December 19, 1982, and Bishop Prashko continued as its head until 1993.[17] On January 12, 1993, the Holy Father appointed the Reverend Peter Stasiuk, CSSR, to the post of Bishop of the Eparchy of Melbourne, serving Ukrainians in Australia, New Zealand, and Oceania. At present, the Eparchy has fourteen churches in Australia, including the Cathedral, which is situated in Melbourne. Each church usually has adjacent church buildings (if the church is the center of a parish, it is likely to have a hall and a presbytery). Some churches have accommodations for Ukrainian schools. Table 3 summarizes church statistics.

As of 1988, the Eparchy was served by thirteen priests (including the Bishop), one deacon, and twelve nuns. Each church usually has a Brotherhood and a Sisterhood. Most of the churches are new in the sense of having been constructed by the Ukrainian parishioners.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church

There are two branches of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Australia: the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Autocephalous).

Table 3 Statistical data on the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Australia

	State/Territory					
	NSW/ACT*	**Victoria**	**Queensland**	**South Australia**	**Western Australia**	**Total**
Parishes	3	2	1	1	1	8
Churches	5	4	1	2	2	14
Convents	1	1	0	1	0	3

Source: Data obtained from church records.
*New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory

Table 4 Statistical data on the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Australia

	State/Territory					
	NSW/ACT*	Victoria	Queensland	South Australia	Western Australia	Total
Parishes	4	3	1	1	1	10

Source: Data obtained from church records.
*New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory

Table 5 Statistical data on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Autocephalous) in Australia

	State/Territory						
	NSW/ACT*	Victoria	Queensland	South Australia	Western Australia	Tasmania	Total
Parishes	–	2	1	2	–	1	6

Source: Data obtained from church records.
*New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory

A history of the Orthodox Church can be found in "Ukrainska Avtokefalna Pravoslavna Tserkva v Avstralii i Noviy Zeliandii" [The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Australia and New Zealand], by N. Pliczkowski, published in 1985.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church is an Eparchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church abroad. Until his death in January 1990, Archbishop Volodymyr Didovych, who resided abroad, was Bishop of the Eparchy; Archbishop Antonii Shcherba is the interim Archbishop of Australia and New Zealand. The Church was under the jurisdiction of Patriarch Mstyslav Skrypnyk, in the United States, until his death in 1993. It consists of ten parishes (see Table 4) and two centers (*oseredky*), one in Victoria and the other in New Zealand. Each parish has one church and, in most cases, some church buildings. Currently, there are eight priests serving all the parishes and centers.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Autocephalous) is under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada and constitutes one of its eparchies. Its bishop is the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada, currently Metropolitan Wasyly Fedak. In his absence, the bishop is represented by an administrator, currently Archpresbyter B. Stasyshyn. The responsibilities for the Eparchy are divided among the administrator, a triennial conference, and the Eparchial Council and its executive organ, the Consistory. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church consists of six parishes, as shown in Table 5. Each parish has one church, and most have some church buildings. Currently there are five priests serving all the parishes.

Radion's analysis in his *Dictionary of Ukrainian Surnames in Australia* estimates the ratio of the number of faithful of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church to that of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Autocephalous) as 6,778 to 4,179 (1.62, or approximately eight to five).

Education and Professional Life

The Ukrainska Tsentralna Shkilna Rada v Avstralii (Ukrainian Council of Education in Australia) is the overall planning, supervisory, and coordinating body of the school system of

Table 6 Number of students in Ukrainian schools in Australia, 1984–6

Year	State/Territory: New South Wales	Victoria	Queensland	South Australia	Western Australia	Australian Capital Territory	Total students	Total teachers
1984	362	441	15	132	32	32	1,014	131
1985	363	437	13	136	32	31	1,012	127
1986	327	406	14	140	30	29	946	132

Source: T. Slipetska, "Zvit Holovy Ukrainskoi Tsentralnoi Shkilnoi Rady," and M. Slipetsky, "Statystyka uchniv ukrainskykh shkil Avstralii." (See Sources Consulted for complete bibliographic data.)

the Ukrainian community in Australia. It is elected by a conference of Ukrainian teachers that is held every three years. Most of the larger individual states also have school councils, which are elected by state teachers' conferences (for example, the Board of Ukrainian Ethnic Schools, New South Wales). The Ukrainian Council of Education in Australia regularly publishes the *Informatyvno-Metodychnyi Lystok* (Informational-Methodological Newsletter) in Melbourne, which has appeared in its new series since 1976. It contains, *inter alia*, progressive statistical information.

Ukrainian schools are conducted outside normal school hours, generally on weekends, for several hours per week. Apart from State Matriculation courses in Ukrainian (Years 11 and 12), they are outside the jurisdiction of the individual state governments' education departments.

Two publications on Ukrainian education in Australia (as listed in the source note to Table 6) provide useful summaries of statistical information for the years 1984–6. The breakdown of the number of students by state and territory in three successive years is shown in Table 6. The number of schools in 1986 was as follows: New South Wales, 5; Victoria, 5; Queensland, 2; South Australia, 1; Western Australia, 1; Australian Capital Territory, 1.

Table 7 gives student enrollments in various class groupings at five-year intervals from 1976 to 1986, constructed on the basis of data from the sources cited in Table 6 and the work of B. Kovalenko, who provides a summary for that ten-year period. The table shows a marked decline over the years in Grades 1–10. It is possible that the increase in the Matriculation Courses is associated with the introduction of Ukrainian Studies as a subject at the university level in 1983–4.

Finally, we note that according to *Ukraintsi v Avstralii*, published by the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the total number of students decreased from 2,072 in 1959 to 1,765 in 1965. In this earlier period, there was a large number of schools, many of which were quite small.

In Australia, the academic year, like the school year, is contained within the calendar year. Tertiary courses in Ukrainian exist at two Australian universities. At Macquarie University, in Sydney, Ukrainian courses were introduced within the School of Modern Languages at the beginning of 1984, with an academic staff consisting of one lecturer, Dr. N. Pazuniak, and one tutor, H. Koscharsky. At the time of writing, the Ukrainian Studies Centre within the School is financed entirely by the Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia (headed by Dr. I. Gordijew), from contributions by the Ukrainian community in Australia and with the particular support of V. Shumsky, publisher and editor of *Vilna*

Table 7 Distribution of students in various grades in Ukrainian schools in Australia, 1976–86

Year	Kinder-garten	Pre-School	Grade English Language Class	Grades 1–7	Grades 8–10	Matric-ulated	Pedagogy, Grades 1–3	Total
1976	101	90	3	745	169	2	20	1,130
1981	138	105	7	669	114	16	18	1,067
1986	129	112	9	586	78	26	6	946

Source: See Table 6; also, B. Kovalenko, "Statystyka uchniv ukrainskykh shkil Avstralii." (See Sources Consulted for complete bibliographic data.)

Dumka. The Centre offered twelve distinct one-semester courses in the three-year undergraduate program in 1988, making it possible for students to major in the Ukrainian language. The staff consisted of three lecturers (H. Koscharsky, M. Harasowska-Luelsdorff, and S. Cipko) and several tutors. All courses are currently offered both internally and by correspondence. According to "Slovo na zborakh Fundatsii Ukrainskykh Studiy v Avstralii" [Report at the Meeting of the Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia], by H. Kosharska, total enrollments for all courses were 34 in 1984, 93 in 1985, and 118 in 1986. In the latter year, 29 students enrolled in degree programs at Macquarie University were taking at least one Ukrainian course. Further English-language information on the history of the Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia may be found in the work of I. Gordijew.[18] In addition, the *Ukrainian Studies Foundation Newsletter* is published at Macquarie University.[19]

At Monash University, in Melbourne, Ukrainian courses were introduced in the Department of Slavic Languages (Prof. J. Marvan, head) in 1983, with an academic staff of one lecturer, Dr. M. Pavlyshyn. The Ukrainian Studies program at Monash has been funded largely by Australian Ukrainians, with the administrative support of the Ukrainska Hromada (Ukrainian Community) of Victoria, lately through its affiliate, the Ukrainian Studies Support Fund, headed by S. Lysenko. Since 1988, Ukrainian courses have been offered at all three undergraduate levels, as well as at the fourth-year Honors level. From 1983 to 1987 inclusive, fifty-six internal students took Ukrainian courses at Monash.[20] Besides Dr. Pavlyshyn, there is currently a tutor in Ukrainian, Dr. O. Rosalion. The Department of Slavic Languages has become particularly active in Ukrainian-related research publishing and conference participation in Australia and overseas.[21]

Book Publishing

Dmytro Nytchenko has produced a detailed catalogue of books written by Ukrainian authors or published by Ukrainian publishers in Australia between 1949 and 1983. Table 8 provides a summary of that publishing activity.

Nytchenko himself is a leading figure in Australia's Ukrainian literary activity. By 1983, he had authored fifteen works, of which several had gone into second editions. Nytchenko is also the editor of nineteen additional works, notably a series of almanacs, *Novyi Obrii* (The New Horizon), published five times annually, which he edits under the pseudonym Dmytro Chub. *Novyi Obrii* serves primarily as a vehicle for creative writing in the Ukrainian language, although it also reports on art and other cultural forms; the seventh volume in the series appeared in 1985. Stepan Radion's various dictionaries and bibliographies, some of which are cited in the references to this article, are a valuable research tool.[22]

Table 8 Statistical data on the number of Ukrainian books published in Australia, 1949–83

Type of publication	Number of books published	Total number of pages	Total number of copies printed
Creative prose	22	3,948	33,500
Poetry	11	1,187	12,400
Sketch/reportage	5	437	6,000
Memoirs	4	908	7,730
Children's books	16	446	13,750
Almanacs, commemorative and jubilee editions	8	1,970	8,750
Literary studies	8	2,189	7,250
Handbooks, dictionaries, reference books	26	4,751	54,530
History, science, bibliography	19	2,589	9,220
Religious books	4	336	24,100
English language editions	12	1,779	20,700
Total number of books published	135		

Source: D. Nytchenko, "Ukrainska knyzhka v Avstralii, 1949–1983." (See Sources Consulted for complete bibliographic data.)

Cultural Life

Language Spoken

In response to a question in the 1986 census regarding languages other than English spoken at home, 15,167 people, or 50.8 percent of all persons of Ukrainian ancestry, answered "Ukrainian." Of those respondents, 11,070 were thirty-five years of age or older; that number represents approximately 74 percent of all Ukrainians born outside Australia. Among those aged thirty-four or under, who are assumed to have been born in Australia, approximately 30 percent speak Ukrainian.

The Arts

The Ukrainska Hromada in each of the larger centers commemorates several important holidays every year: Sviato Derzhavnosty (Ukrainian Independence Day), on January 22; Shevchenkivske Sviato (Taras Shevchenko Day), in March; Den Materi (Mother's Day), in May, and Sviato Heroiv (Heroes' Day). The commemorations include speeches; performances by choirs, *bandurist* ensembles, and folk-dancing groups; individual poetry recitations; and, occasionally, dramatic performances.

In recent years, there has been considerable interest in the *bandura* among young people, and numerous small groups of *bandura* players have sprung up in the larger centers.

There are several long-standing choirs in Australia, including "Boian" (The Bard) and "Surma" (The Trumpet), in Sydney; "Chaika" (The Lapwing), the Melbourne SUM choir, and the Ukrainian Youth Cathedral Choir of the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral, in Melbourne; and "Homin" (The Echo), in Adelaide. Recently, Sydney has seen the formation of a large and very successful choir, the Ivasiuk Ukrainian Folk Ensemble, composed primarily of younger people and conducted by P. Deriazhny. Sydney's "Veselka" (The Rainbow) Ukrainian Dance Ensemble, under the direction of Natalia Tyrawski, continues its high-quality

performances. Both ensembles are regular and popular participants in Sydney's Folkloric Festivals, and overseas tours are envisaged for them in the near future.

The young Melbourne lyric soprano Lucia Yurkiv won the Heinz Australian Youth Aria Award in 1988 and was one of six finalists in the 1989 Sun Aria (the most prestigious competition for operatic singers in Australia). She has appeared with the Victorian State Opera, and has also been active in the Ukrainska Hromada.

At the time of writing, a number of the older generation of painters are still active, for example, S. Chwyla and V. Savchak, in Sydney, and V. Burak, in Adelaide. Among the younger painters, Mstyslava Ivanna Chorney, of Adelaide, is notable for her work in watercolors. Graphic artists L. Denysenko, of Sydney, and Luba Kyrylenko-Descy, of Melbourne, are often commissioned for projects such as the cover design of Ukrainian books and the illustration of Ukrainian greeting cards. Irene Madei, of Sydney, has been active in ceramic work. Her pictorial representations adorn the walls of the structure commemorating the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity on the grounds of the Ukrainian Catholic Presbytery in Sydney.

There are various occasional cultural events, such as lectures on Ukrainian issues. However, it is clear that the level of cultural and political activity has declined over the years, as the first-generation immigrants advance further into retirement, although this phenomenon has been temporarily counteracted by the activities of the pensioners' clubs and related groups, such as the *knyholiuby* (book-lovers). Most social and cultural functions in Sydney are now scheduled for approximately midday on weekends, to follow church services and to avoid the necessity of traveling at night, especially for older people.

The Media

Four Ukrainian newspapers have been published in Australia; the oldest, *Vilna Dumka* (The Free Thought), and the youngest, *Tserkva i Zhyttia* (Church and Life), are still in existence today. An analysis of the content of these two extant newspapers is given by Pavlyshyn in "The Ukrainian Press in Australia: Some Observations."

The dominant role of *Vilna Dumka*, as defined by its founding editor V. Shumsky, is to support the Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia. Its function in general is perceived as bringing Ukrainians in Australia closer together. It tends to cater to the original immigrants of the 1948–52 wave, featuring surveys of and commentary on Australian and world events in Ukrainian. It also chronicles current events and issues in the Ukrainian community, particularly in Sydney. While profit is not its chief goal, the newspaper is able to support itself. Its nationwide circulation is approximately 1,500.

Tserkva i Zhyttia, under the editorship of M. Boliukh, is sponsored by the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Australia. It continues to dedicate substantial space to ecclesiastical matters, but, aiming at a wider audience, has now become a general-interest newspaper, with a particular focus on Melbourne and a significant English-language component, introduced to attract the younger reader. Its nationwide circulation is approximately 2,000.

Several periodicals are worthy of note in that they continue to appear regularly. These include the previously mentioned *Informatyvno-Metodychnyi Lystok* (Informational-Methodological Newsletter) of the Ukrainian Council of Education in Australia and the *Informatyvnyi Lystok* (AFUO Newsletter) of the Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations; *Nasha Hromada* (Our Community), the monthly newsletter of the Ukrainska Hromada of South Australia, first published in 1975 and edited by T. Pasiczynskyj; and the English-language quarterly *Australian-Ukrainian Review*, published in Melbourne since 1982

and edited by Dr. M. Lawriwsky. The first three of these periodicals are mimeographed. S. Radion's "Bibliohrafiia ukrainskykh periodychnykh vydan i broshur v Avstralii, 1965–1979" [A Bibliography of Ukrainian Periodicals and Brochures in Australia, 1965–79] lists periodicals and brochures that originated during the fifteen-year period 1965–79.

Ukrainian-language radio programs are broadcast on ethnic radio in several cities, including Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Canberra-Queanbeyan. In the first three cities, these programs have aired three hours per week. M. Swiderski was the coordinator of the program in Sydney until his death. A definitive paper on the history of the Melbourne radio scene was read by D. Pyrohiw at the Canberra National Conference of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (October 4–5, 1986). The radio programs provide listeners with music, commentary on historical and political topics, and news from Ukraine.

Social and Political Life

The Soiuz Ukrainskykh Orhanizatsiy Avstralii (Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations, AFUO), based in Melbourne, is the umbrella organization for Ukrainian community activity in Australia. Since 1986–8, it has been headed by M. Moravsky. The Federation publishes the *Informatyvnyi Lystok*, the first issue of which appeared in 1984. It contains a list of all the member organizations that pay annual dues and that are entitled to send representatives to vote in the election of the AFUO membership. The member organizations are as follows (where the official English-language name is not known, a free translation is used):

- Ukrainska Hromada (Ukrainian Community), with groups in Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia (Perth and Northam), Queensland (Brisbane and Oxley), A.C.T. (Canberra), and Tasmania
- Ukrainska Rada (Ukrainian Council) of New South Wales
- Soiuz Ukrainok Avstralii (Ukrainian Women's Association in Australia)
- Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (SUM, Ukrainian Youth Association)
- Plast, Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization; the Ukrainian Scouts)
- Tovarystvo Spryiannia Derzhavnomu Tsentru Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Rady (Society of Friends of the Ukrainian National Council)
- Soiuz Ukrainskykh Kombatantiv v Avstralii (Union of Ukrainian Veterans in Australia)
- Soiuz Hetmantsiv-Derzhavnykiv (United Hetman Organization)
- Association of Ukrainian Catholic Organizations
- Legion Symona Petliury (Legion of Symon Petliura)
- Ukrainske Vilne Kozatstvo (Ukrainian Free Cossack Brotherhood)
- Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Association for the Liberation of Ukraine)
- Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia
- Association of Orthodox Sororities
- Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church
- Ukrainian Catholic Church
- Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Autocephalous)
- Ukrainian Evangelical-Baptist Church
- Council of Ukrainian Cooperatives in Australia
- Ukrainska Tsentralna Shkilna Rada v Avstralii (Ukrainian Council of Education in Australia)
- Naukove Tovarystvo imeny Shevchenka (Shevchenko Scientific Society) in Australia

- Spilka Ukrainskykh Obrazotvorchykh Mysttsiv Avstralii (Union of Ukrainian Artists in Australia)
- Liga Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (League for the Liberation of Ukraine)
- Ukrainske Likarske Tovarystvo Avstralii (Ukrainian Medical Association in Australia)
- Tovarystvo Buvshykh Voiakiv Pershoi Ukrainskoi Dyvizii Ukrainskoi Narodnoi Armii (Brotherhood of Former Soldiers of the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army)

Of the above organizations, it must be noted that the Ukrainska Hromada of Victoria embraces a number of branches, while the Ukrainska Rada of New South Wales represents a number of distinct local "Communities" (*Hromady*). The Ukrainian Women's Association continues its hard-working and valuable tradition of service to the Ukrainian community in Australia and overseas.

The Naukove Tovarystvo imeny Shevchenka (Shevchenko Scientific Society) in Australia, with approximately eighty members, has branches in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Canberra. The Federal Executive Committee has been based in Canberra since 1981. The Society's history in Australia has been documented by Radion.[23]

The two main youth groups are the Ukrainian scouting organization, Plast, and the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM). The most recent concrete information on membership available to the author is based on the number of pupils in Ukrainian schools on June 30, 1980 (the total number of students may be regarded as encompassing all school-aged children – that is, to the age of about eighteen – who were taking part in these organizations at the time). Table 9 provides the relevant data. Approximately 43 percent of students enrolled in the Ukrainian schools belonged to one of the two youth organizations. The ratio of Catholic to Orthodox among the students was approximately three to one. There was a roughly equal representation of the sexes.

Table 9 Children and youth in Ukrainian schools and youth organizations in Australia, 1980 *

	State/Territory					
	NSW/ACT†	Victoria	Queensland‡	South Australia	Western Australia	Total
Ukrainian Catholic	237	378	29	139	30	813
Ukrainian Orthodox	78	70	9	73	13	243
Other	7	6	1	–	2	16
Total						1,072
Boys	180	215	22	102	24	543
Girls	142	248	17	110	21	538
Total						1,081
Plast	80	99	11	69	–	259
SUM	39	118	4	38	13	212

Source: *Informatyvno-Metodychnyi Lystok [Informational-Methodological Newsletter]*, no. 17–18 (1980) and no. 12 (1979).

*The actual number of students in 1980 was 1,076 (Kovalenko, "Statystyka uchniv ukrainskykh shkil Avstralii") rather than either 1,072 or 1,081. The distortion in the latter figures has two sources: (1) the unavailability of data for Queensland for 1980, and (2) a discrepancy in the Victoria figures, where the total number of boys and girls does not match the total number of children by religion.

†New South Wales and Australian Capital Territory

‡Data for Queensland are for 1976.

Table 10 Statistical data on Ukrainian cooperatives in Australia

	1977	1982	1986	1987
Members	5,240	7,972	9,608	9,844
Shares	14,906,034	29,756,663	45,706,228	48,503,860
Deposits ($)	13,322,620	28,405,204	41,928,640	44,500,000
Loans ($)	12,078,488	24,168,340	31,311,596	33,492,000
Reserves ($)	193,640	700,012	1,547,048	1,762,000
Contributions for community needs ($)	43,980	106,225	128,032	114,150

Source: Data obtained from records of Ukrainian cooperatives.

The Fifth Conference of the Council of Ukrainian Cooperatives in Australia took place on November 14, 1987 in Melbourne.[24] The cooperatives that took part in the conference included the Postup Ukrainian Co-op. Trading Society Ltd., the Dnister Ukrainian Co-op. Credit Society Ltd., and the Odessa Ukrainian Co-op. Building Society Ltd., from Melbourne; the Karpaty Ukrainian Credit Union Ltd. and the Dnipro Ukrainian Credit Union Ltd., from Sydney; and credit unions from Adelaide (Hoverlia), Brisbane (Yednist), and Perth (Kalyna). Table 10 summarizes the history of Ukrainian cooperatives in Australia.

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

The following remarks represent the author's personal view of the causes of the decline of the Ukrainian community as a separate ethnic group in Australia, despite the Australian government's policy of multiculturalism, which encourages the development of ethnic culture, language, and tradition.

Affluence and Career

The first priority of the older immigrants has been material prosperity for themselves and their children, to ensure that the latter might have a better life than they did in the old country. There has consequently been a strong emphasis on affluence and career, and entry into highly paid professions has been a benchmark of success. Australia's affluent and democratic society has been well suited to such aims, and its rampant materialism and relaxed lifestyle have been readily communicated to the young Ukrainians who grew up in it. The youth have adopted as their own the goals of professional attainment and affluence. At the same time, the close family bonds characteristic of Ukrainian society have been retained across the generations. These priorities leave little time for commitments to things Ukrainian and spiritual among most younger Ukrainians. A striking example of the effects of these priorities is the total lack of Australian-born Ukrainian priests in this country, resulting in a shortage of leaders in the religious domain, an area in which the possibility of survival of the community is strongest.

The Generation Gaps

One obvious "generation gap" has arisen partly as a result of the insistence of the older generation on the exclusive use of the Ukrainian language in all Ukrainian organized life. Although there was an obvious justification for this insistence on language retention, it masked the inadequacy of the older Ukrainians' skills in English, and simultaneously tended to alienate the "younger generation" (who are now in their thirties to mid-forties) because they could not easily or adequately convey their views in Ukrainian, in spite of their higher

education. The younger Ukrainians, in turn, rationalized their response to the situation by seeing in it a desire on the part of the elders to cling to power within the community organizations. Although that view was not without substance, it was used as an excuse by the young not to participate in Ukrainian society and to become assimilated into the Australian mainstream. This tendency was further reinforced by the alienating effect of the doctrines of Ukrainian political parties and organizations, which many younger people saw as rooted in the 1930s and 1940s and irrelevant to the Australian context. At a more disturbing level, the language problem has to some extent been responsible for the nonparticipation by younger people in Ukrainian church activities, which are conducted entirely in Ukrainian.

Another, less perceptible, "generation gap" is now becoming evident. It has become popular among young professionals to establish themselves in a career first and have (fewer) children in their (sometimes late) thirties. A few decades ago, it was customary for young people to marry and start families in their early twenties; the present tendency to postpone marriage and parenthood has resulted in a period of decreased birthrates. The effects of these new marital and fertility patterns on the Ukrainian community's ability to retain younger people may prove to be dramatic in a few years.

Mixed Marriages

A powerful and ever-growing agent of assimilation in Australia, as elsewhere in the bicultural diaspora, is the phenomenon of mixed marriage. Even in localities with larger concentrations of Ukrainians, mixed marriages constitute a large proportion of all marriages. It must be noted, however, that the geographic distribution of the approximately thirty-two thousand Ukrainians in Australia, scattered throughout various cities, is not conducive to finding a Ukrainian spouse. Similarly, the small number of Ukrainians in relation to the total non-Ukrainian population available for marriage in Australia does not encourage endogamous marriages.

Lack of Continuing Immigration

The lack of continuing Ukrainian immigration to Australia has resulted in a shortage of individuals with a direct and more recent experience of Ukrainian culture and language, who might have stepped into positions of leadership as they were being vacated by the aging postwar immigrants.

There is a progressive decline in the level of community life because of the lack of younger leaders as well as the lack of younger members. The older generation, for the most part, either have already retired comfortably or are fast approaching retirement. However, many older Ukrainians are without the community services that Australians enjoy, because of language and cultural barriers and because the bricks-and-mortar mentality of the Ukrainian community in past years gave little attention to the provision of such services for the elderly.

There are, however, hopeful signs for the future, among them, the recently created facilities for Ukrainian tertiary studies, which have attracted extraordinary support, and the existence of a few small groups of younger graduates and professionals who are trying to synthesize their Ukrainian with their Australian heritage.

Ties with Ukrainians in Other Countries

With the emergence of an independent Ukrainian state, both the number of trips taken by Ukrainian Australians to Ukraine and the number of visits by family members from Ukraine

to Australia are on the rise. When traveling in Europe, Australian tourists tend to stay at the Ukrainian Catholic Residence located at Piazza Madonna dei Monti in Rome. There is a certain amount of contact with Ukrainians in the United States and Canada, mainly by young people traveling abroad. Australia's geographic isolation makes substantial contact difficult and expensive.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

1988: Most notable was the celebration in 1988 of the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity. The Ukrainian Catholic Church organized a massive gathering in Canberra on August 14–16, 1987, with invited Australian and international church dignitaries. The Orthodox Church built a commemorative museum in Canberra.

The year 1988 also marked the Australian Bicentennial. The Australian chapter of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Studies Foundation in Australia, at Macquarie University, co-sponsored a conference, entitled "Ukrainian Settlement in Australia: A Bicentennial Conference," which was held in Sydney on April 22–24, 1988. The conference was opened by the then newly elected Premier of New South Wales, the Honorable N.F. Greiner, MP, and the then Federal Minister for Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs, who was also the Minister Assisting the Prime Minister in Multicultural Affairs, the Honorable C. Holding, MP.

1989: Since 1989, much interest has focused on the events in the USSR initiated by President Mikhail Gorbachev and on the Ukrainian rebirth in particular. The Ukrainian Professional and Business Association was organized in Australia on the Canadian model, to help sponsor eminent visitors from Ukraine. The local communities were privileged to meet a number of activists from Ukraine, including Dmytro Pavlychko and Volodymyr Yavorivsky. Consignments of medicaments and equipment for the victims of the Chornobyl nuclear disaster were sent to Ukraine, largely through the efforts of Dr. I. Kociumbas, of Sydney, and B. Chamula, of Melbourne.

1990: Irene Buschtedt became producer of the nationwide weekly television program "Vox Populi" (Voice of the People), a half-hour broadcast focusing on multicultural current affairs. Throughout her association with the program, there has been a strong and impartial Ukrainian aspect, including interviews with visitors, such as V. Yavorivsky.

On the negative side, the Federal Attorney-General's Department established the Special Investigations Unit (War Crimes). The Unit has focused exclusively on alleged war criminals from Eastern Europe during the Second World War, and has caused much distress in immigrant communities, though no one has yet been brought to trial.

1991: The Ukrainian community in South Australia commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the Ivan Franko Ukrainian School in Adelaide with a jubilee concert and speeches.

UKRAINIANS IN OCEANIA

A very small number of Ukrainians (approximately fifteen) can also be found in New Guinea. Most of them emigrated from Australia.

Notes

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1 This article is dedicated to the memory of my father, Myroslaw Seneta, born November 5, 1909, in Staryi Sambir, Western Ukraine; died October 2, 1984, in Adelaide, South Australia.
2 E. Seneta, "Ukrainians in Australia's Censuses," in *Ukrainian Settlement in Australia: Second Conference, Melbourne, 5–7 April 1985*, ed. M. Pavlyshyn (Melbourne: Department of Slavic Languages, Monash University, 1986), 15–27.
3 Ibid.
4 Australian Bureau of Statistics (hereafter ABS), *1986 Census of Population and Housing – Australia*, Tables VF035, VF036, VF039. For detailed titles of tables, see Sources Consulted.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 ABS, *1986 Census of Population and Housing – Australia*, Table VF017 – Total Persons – Languages Spoken by Age.
8 Seneta, "Ukrainians."
9 H. Komyshan, 1981, unpublished manuscript; see *Vilna Dumka* [The Free Thought], 20 May 1979; J. Malecky, "Ukrainians in Canberra and Queanbeyan," in *Ukrainian Settlement in Australia: Second Conference*, ed. Pavlyshyn, 28–41.
10 ABS, *1986 Census of Population and Housing – Australia*, Tables VF035, VF036, VF039.
11 ABS, *1986 Census of Population and Housing – Australia. Small Area Data, Format CSC 07.*
12 ABS, *1986 Census of Population and Housing – Australia*, Table CX0003 – Total Persons – Religion by Birthplace by Age by Sex.
13 E. Seneta, "On the Number of Ukrainians in Australia in 1979," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 21 (1986): 33–8.
14 V. Maruniak, *Ukrainska emigratsiia* [Ukrainian Immigration], vol. 1, *1945–51* (Munich: Petro Belei, 1985).
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UKRAINIANS IN NEW ZEALAND

Wasyl Krechowec and Ann Lencyk Pawliczko[1]

Country Data

Official Name – New Zealand; Aotearoa (Maori)

Geographic Location – An island country in the Southwest Pacific Ocean, New Zealand lies approximately 1,000 mi., or 1,600 km, southeast of Australia and approximately 6,500 mi., or 10,500 km, southwest of California. It belongs to a large island group called Polynesia. New Zealand is located between 34°05′ and 47°20′ south latitude and 166°10′ and 178°20′ east longitude. The country consists of two main islands, the North Island and the South Island, which cover about 99 percent of the total area of New Zealand; Stewart Island, the Chatham Islands; and several dozen much smaller islands in the South Pacific, many of which are uninhabited.

Area – 104,454 sq. mi., or 270,534 sq km

Population Density – 33.3 inhabitants per sq. mi., or 12.9 inhabitants per sq km (1992)

Capital City – Wellington

Form of Government – Constitutional monarchy with one legislative house, the House of Representatives (97 seats)

Official Languages – English, Maori

Population – 3,481,000 (1992)

Ethnic Composition – 73.8% New Zealand European; 9.6% New Zealand Maori; 3.6% Pacific Island Polynesian; 4.5% multiethnic; 8.5% other and not specified (1991)

Religious Affiliation – 21.4% Anglican; 16.0% Presbyterian; 14.8% Roman Catholic; 4.1% Methodist; 19.7% nonreligious; 24.0% other (1991)

Literacy – virtually 100% (1987)

Percent Urban – 75.9% (1991)

Life Expectancy at Birth – male, 72.0 years; female, 77.9 years (1991)

Per Capita GNP – US$12,680 (1990)

Ukrainian Population in New Zealand

Demographic and Social Characteristics

It is very difficult to determine exactly how many Ukrainians are currently living in New Zealand. Since they are not formally counted, their number can only be estimated. Individuals born of mixed marriages, who form a majority, pose the problem of whether they should be counted as Ukrainians when they are in reality New Zealanders of part-Ukrainian descent. Nevertheless, it has been estimated that there are approximately two hundred to three hundred Ukrainians in New Zealand today. The Ukrainian community in the country is small, and it is found in the larger cities, such as Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin. The largest Ukrainian community, in Auckland, is home to fewer than one hundred Ukrainians. In addition, individual Ukrainians have settled in the various provincial towns and farms. During the past thirty years, three centers of Ukrainian settlement have been quite active: Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch.

The Ukrainian population is dwindling in size as older immigrants die, while members of the younger generation, who were born in New Zealand of mixed parentage, do not fill the gap in their ranks. It is the opinion of some that, in the future, there will be no Ukrainian population as a separate ethnic group in New Zealand, but, rather, that Ukrainians will be totally assimilated. Indeed, the same holds true for all European settlers. Individual families of mixed marriages who live in the provinces, on the farms, and in the towns are already totally assimilated into New Zealand society.

The majority of Ukrainian immigrants had an elementary education; a small number completed secondary schooling; and a few individuals had university education. Ukrainians born in New Zealand normally obtain both secondary schooling and a university education. Almost all of the original immigrants have already retired, most of them having worked as common laborers in the various branches of industry; others were construction workers or electricians or worked in similar occupations, a small percentage were government employees or independent employers, and a small number became professionals in different fields. Those born in New Zealand are almost all educated professional people in high positions:

physicians, dentists, lawyers, university professors, teachers, engineers, business people, and proprietors of various business establishments. Professional people or those with higher education have high incomes, whereas common laborers receive roughly one-third less income, which is nevertheless satisfactory by New Zealand standards.

Participation in the Economic, Political, Professional, and Social Life of the Country

Individual Ukrainians take an active part in the professional, economic, and social life of the country and belong to political parties.

Ukrainian Life

History of Ukrainian Immigration and Settlement

New Zealand, the charming and exotic adopted country of the Ukrainian population, received Ukrainian postwar expatriates hospitably offering them protection and the opportunity to become part of the social and economic life of the country, to manifest creative initiative, and to become full-fledged citizens.

The year 1949 marked the beginning of Ukrainian settlement in New Zealand. On June 28, the first group of ninety Ukrainian immigrants, together with immigrants of other European nationalities, all the displaced persons from camps in Germany and Austria, disembarked in the city of Wellington. On October 10, 1950, a second, larger group, of ninety-eight Ukrainians, arrived in Wellington. Together with the settlers from the first transport, they formed the basis of organized Ukrainian community life in New Zealand. In Wellington, the first general meeting of Ukrainians took place in June 1951, and a similar meeting was held in Auckland in August of the same year. Shortly afterward, a third group, of approximately thirty Ukrainians, migrated to New Zealand and, since then, individual families or single persons arrived, finding the Ukrainian community active and well organized. Even today, one can still find some Ukrainians immigrating to New Zealand from other countries. In May 1991, a Ukrainian refugee fled from former Soviet Ukraine via several European countries, boarded a Polish ship en route to Auckland, and sought asylum from the New Zealand government.

A sizable number of Ukrainians did not participate in Ukrainian organized community life; rather, they drifted into New Zealand society and only occasionally came in contact with other Ukrainians.

Religious Life

When Ukrainians first settled in New Zealand, there were no prospects for a quick establishment of Ukrainian churches or even of ties with Ukrainian churches in other countries of the free world. Two-year work contracts dispersed the newly arrived immigrants throughout the country, creating a situation that was not conducive to the formation of organized religious life.

Ukrainian Catholic Church

Ukrainian Catholics immediately found favorable protection in the local Latin-rite churches. In March 1958, Archbishop and Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk, of Winnipeg, Canada, visited Auckland. This was a very important event for Ukrainians in the city, the first visit in

the history of New Zealand by a Catholic bishop of the Eastern rite. Archbishop James Liston, of Auckland, graciously welcomed his guest, and all the media gave His Excellency's visit favorable coverage.

In April 1959, on his way to Australia, the Reverend Mykhailo Melnyk, of Canada, visited Ukrainians in New Zealand, celebrated religious services, baptized children, administered the sacraments, and established close ties with Ukrainians living in New Zealand. Father Melnyk gave the Most Reverend Ivan Prashko, of Australia, a full report on the state and conditions of Ukrainian life in New Zealand.

In 1960, the Most Reverend Ivan Prashko, Bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Australia (with its seat in Melbourne, Victoria), visited the Ukrainian settlements in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin. There were church services, receptions, and meetings of local Ukrainians with the Bishop. The meeting of His Excellency with the Catholic Bishop of New Zealand was important, since it had good, practical results for continued cooperation between the two churches. After those first visits, Ukrainian Catholics in New Zealand were formally assigned to the Ukrainian Catholic Parish in Melbourne, Australia. His Excellency takes care of his faithful in New Zealand, sends priests from time to time and visits our country. Expenses associated with the visits of Catholic priests are covered by the faithful of New Zealand. Today New Zealand is under the jurisdiction of the Most Reverend Bishop Prashko, whose official title was Bishop of Australia – New Zealand until 1993, when the Holy Father appointed the Reverend Peter Stasiuk, CSSR, to succeed him. Ukrainian Catholics also attend the local Roman Catholic churches.

The most important event for Ukrainians in New Zealand was the visit to Auckland on October 22–3, 1968, of His Eminence Yosyf Cardinal Slipy, of Rome, who was accompanied by Their Excellencies Ivan Prashko, of Australia; Isidore Borecky and Nil Savaryn, of Canada; Joseph Shmondiuk, of the United States; and the Very Reverend Monsignor (now Bishop) Myroslav Marusyn, of Rome. These were the brightest moments in the history of Ukrainians in this country, particularly in Auckland. The press and radio covered the historic visit of five Ukrainian bishops. Cardinal Slipy was quoted as saying that even the smallest Ukrainian community was dear to his heart, and that if there were only ten Ukrainians in New Zealand, he would visit them.

Ukrainian Orthodox Church

When Orthodox Ukrainians arrived in New Zealand, they were able to satisfy their spiritual needs in the Greek or other Orthodox churches. The faithful received their first visit from a Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox priest on May 14, 1955, in the person of the Reverend Hryhorii Fomichevsky, of Melbourne, Australia, who visited Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, and Tauranga. Both Orthodox and Catholic Ukrainians welcomed Father Fomichevsky and took part in church services and receptions. At that time, Ukrainian community life was most active in Wellington, a center that influenced other communities in New Zealand.

In 1962, the Reverend Yurii Semenchuk, a priest of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, settled in New Zealand. He organized small parishes throughout the Ukrainian centers and revived religious life among Ukrainians. The Orthodox Church had its own full-time priest for two decades, until Father Semenchuk left for Melbourne, Australia, in 1982.

In 1984, the Most Reverend Volodymyr Didovych, Bishop of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe, toured the Orthodox parishes in Australia, and on that occasion, visited New Zealand as well, in the company of Protopresbyter Oleksander Pihulewsky, of Sydney. On March 4, His Excellency celebrated Divine Liturgy in the Anglican Church of San Martin in Auckland, participated in a meeting-reception with the Orthodox and Catho-

lic faithful who attended the services, and became better acquainted with Ukrainian life and local problems. Bishop Didovych spent several days in Auckland and later visited other centers of the faithful of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. This was the first and only visit of a Ukrainian Orthodox bishop to New Zealand.

The Ukrainian Orthodox faithful have a church called the Holy Protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Very Reverend O. Pihulewsky travels from Sydney, Australia, to offer church services and administer the sacraments. The Consistory of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Australia has at its disposal more than a hundred thousand New Zealand dollars, from the wills of two deceased persons from Auckland, to cover the travel expenses of priests who come to New Zealand to minister to their parishioners.

Several people who were active in the Ukrainian religious community in Auckland, the largest center, deserve mention. Among them are Pylyp Puhach, trustee of the Orthodox parish, who died in 1966, and Mykhailo Romaniuk, trustee and president of the Catholic brotherhood, who died in 1973. Work in the Orthodox community is being continued by the Serhienko family. In the Catholic community, matters pertaining to religious life and ties with the Eparchy of Australia are looked after by Wasyl Krechowec. Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox in Auckland as well as in other centers in New Zealand work together and take part in various religious services.

Education and Professional Life

There are no Ukrainian schools in New Zealand today. A school existed in Wellington in the past, but was closed when the children outgrew it and there were no incoming youngsters to take their place. Individual parents or grandparents now strive to teach their children the Ukrainian language.

Cultural Life

Although Ukrainian is spoken among the older generation of Ukrainians, members of the younger generation who are in mixed marriages, a group that forms a large percentage of the Ukrainian population in New Zealand, speak English.

Efforts to keep Ukrainian culture, traditions, customs, arts, music, and the Ukrainian spirit in general alive in New Zealand are currently meeting with varying degrees of success.

Social and Political Life

There are no Ukrainian youth organizations in New Zealand; there are simply not enough potential members. A few social clubs are still in existence, but they are not very active and have minimal ties with one another.

A registered Ukrainska Hromada (Ukrainian Community) exists in Wellington; it is known as the Association of Ukrainians in New Zealand. Ukrainians from all centers belong to this organization. The Board consists of members of the younger generation who were all born in New Zealand and are children of mixed marriages.

Major Concerns of Ukrainians as an Ethnic Group

The major problem of Ukrainians as an ethnic group is mixed marriages. Among the second generation, it is rare to encounter a Ukrainian married to another Ukrainian. The language

spoken by those in mixed marriages is English; time will tell whether endeavors to teach Ukrainian to the younger generations will bear fruit.

Because of the small number of Ukrainians in some areas of New Zealand as well as the lack of Ukrainian churches, organizations, and cultural life, many Ukrainian New Zealanders have migrated to the larger cities and even to Australia. Thus, in some New Zealand cities, there is now only a very small number of older Ukrainians.

The existence of Ukrainians as an ethnic group in New Zealand is not immediately threatened, but it is difficult to make predictions for the future.

Ties with Ukrainians in Other Countries

Ties between Ukrainians in New Zealand and Ukrainians in other countries exist and are maintained in church, social-community, and political spheres. This is especially true in the case of private contacts.

Ties are also kept through the available Ukrainian press from other countries, including *Vilna Dumka* (The Free Thought), from Sydney, Australia; *Tserkva i Zhyttia* (Church and Life), from Melbourne, Australia; *Novyi Shliakh* (New Way), from Toronto, Canada; *Ukrainske Slovo* (The Ukrainian Word), from Paris, France; and *Shliakh Peremohy* (Pathway to Victory), from Munich, Germany.

Significant Events in the Past Few Years

1986 January: The President of the Svitovyi Kongres Vilnykh Ukraintsiv (World Congress of Free Ukrainians), Dr. Petro Savaryn, and his wife visited New Zealand. Even though this was not an official visit, Dr. and Mrs. Savaryn, who stayed at the home of Wasyl and Maria Krechowec, met with Ukrainians in Auckland. An article written by Wasyl Krechowec describing the visit appeared in *Vilna Dumka* in March 1986.

– June 30: The second notable event in 1986 was the arrival of film producer Yaroslav Kulynych in Auckland at the end of June to screen two Ukrainian films, *Viazen Khrysta Rady* (Prisoner for Christ) and *Poizd v Ukrainu* (Journey to Ukraine). Mr. Kulynych also filmed scenes of the life of Ukrainians in New Zealand for the film *"Ukraina v ohni"* (Ukraine in Flames). This was an unforgettable event for Ukrainians in Auckland, since it was the first time they had ever seen a Ukrainian film. This event was also covered by W. Krechowec in *Tserkva i Zhyttia*, no. 35–7 (August–September 1986).

1991 January 28–February 7: The Reverend Avhustyn Ditkun, OSBM, of Curitiba, Paraná (Brazil), visited the Ukrainian communities in Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch, where he celebrated Divine Liturgies and met with the faithful.

Addresses

Association of Ukrainians in New Zealand, 167 California Drive, Upper Hutt, Wellington, New Zealand

Note

1 Information provided for this article by Wasyl Krechowec was compiled, supplemented, and translated by Ann Lencyk Pawliczko. Special thanks go to Antin Marcijasz of Christchurch, New Zealand, for providing additional information for this article.

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10
Ukrainians in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East

Ann Lencyk Pawliczko

Accurate and reliable statistics on the number of Ukrainians currently living in the countries of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East are virtually nonexistent. Ukrainians who travel to these parts of the world report meeting or hearing of their countrymen who live there; it is not possible, however, to obtain precise numbers. There are several reasons for this, the most important of which is that most of these countries do not keep track of the ancestry of their populations. Inquiries to the embassies as well as perusal of official census data confirm this fact.

The history of Ukrainian immigration to Africa, Asia, and the Middle East has its roots in both the political and economic situation in Ukraine, as settlers fled political persecution and unfavorable economic conditions in the homeland in the hope of securing freedom from political and economic oppression. Starting a new life in a completely different environment, however, proved to be no easy task. Early Ukrainian immigrants to countries in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East usually found themselves in totally unfamiliar surroundings, lacking knowledge of the local language and facing miserable economic circumstances, harsh climatic conditions, and, often, hostility from the native population. They usually settled in groups, for both moral and material support as well as the sense of security that comes from being among compatriots in a strange land. They tried to make their stay as temporary as possible, emigrating as soon as opportunity and financial means would permit.

Currently, many Ukrainians find themselves in these parts of the world for only limited periods of time, usually while on business, educational, or military assignment. Although their situation is entirely different from that of the early Ukrainian immigrants, in that they are not fleeing oppression and persecution, do not consider themselves "immigrants" to the country, and usually relocate as singles, couples, or individual families rather than as groups, they too avoid setting down roots in their temporary place of residence, and are in no position to establish Ukrainian churches, schools, and organizations in such short periods of time.

Ukrainians in Africa

Tunisia

A sizable Ukrainian community existed in Tunisia in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Planning to develop the country's agriculture but lacking qualified labor, Tunisia's government officials made an agreement with the International Refugee Organization to resettle

a total of five thousand specialized displaced persons and their families from Germany and Austria to Tunisia. Ukrainians took advantage of the opportunity to migrate as a whole group, and an agreement was signed in June 1947 with the French firm of Enterprises Campenon Bernard, which needed specialists, including engineers, technicians, and bureaucrats, to build a dam on one of the local rivers, which would eventually create a reservoir for the distribution of water to the capital of Tunis. Thus, roughly three to four hundred Ukrainians, predominantly from the displaced-persons camps in the French zone of Austria and Bavaria, found themselves in northern Tunisia after the Second World War. The first settlers arrived in 1947, while the majority from Bavaria arrived in 1948. Migrating, for the most part, with their families, they settled in newly built barracks in the village of Ben-Metir, located approximately 93.2 miles (150 kilometers) southwest of Tunis. In 1948, Ukrainians accounted for 71 percent of the French firm's professional project personnel. With time, several Ukrainian workers advanced to higher positions, and many others also saw their salaries increase considerably. Some unemployed Ukrainians who migrated to Ben-Metir independently were soon able to obtain jobs with the firm.

Despite the fact that their stay in Ben-Metir was temporary, the Ukrainian settlers quickly established a small Ukrainian community. Among the organizations they created were a Technical Council, an Ukrainska Hromada (Ukrainian Community), and a Church Council, composed of both Catholics and Orthodox; the Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine); a reading room and library, which boasted almost nine hundred books in 1952; choirs, both male and mixed; a dance ensemble and a ballet group; a drama group; Plast, Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskoi Molodi (Plast, Ukrainian Youth Organization; the Ukrainian Scouts) and its support group, Plast-Pryiat (Friends of Plast); the Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (SUM, Ukrainian Youth Association); a women's club, which organized an exhibit of Ukrainian embroidery; a sports club; a kindergarten and a Ukrainian school; and a cooperative, which later became a store. The Ukrainsko-Frantsuzkyi Kliub (Ukrainian–French Club) was established in 1953. Ukrainians kept their native customs very much alive by celebrating various traditional national holidays. Company officials and local authorities, most of whom were French or Portuguese, were invited to attend performances of the choirs and the dance ensemble.

The Ukrainian community maintained close ties with central Ukrainian organizations in Europe and overseas. Attempts to establish contacts with organizations in other countries of Africa were not successful. However, in 1948, Dr. V. Savchak, representative of the journal *Ukrainska Trybuna* (The Ukrainian Tribune), was able to establish contact with Ukrainians who, as soldiers of the French Foreign Legion, found themselves in various cities in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia. At their request, Ukrainian newspapers were sent to them. Several of the soldiers who were stationed near Ben-Metir visited the Ukrainian community. With time, however, such contacts ceased, as many of the men were sent to Indochina to fight against the Communists.

The spiritual needs of the Ukrainian community in Ben-Metir were met by various clergy: for a short time, a Ukrainian Catholic priest served as pastor; after his departure, a Latin-rite priest ministered to its needs; then Ukrainian priests from France and Italy visited the Ukrainians. There was no permanent church or chapel at the time, since this was a newly created village in the unpopulated mountains of Tunisia. The Divine Liturgy was celebrated at a makeshift altar either in the cafeteria or in a movie theater, or, depending on the occasion (Pentecost, Sviato Heroiv [Heroes' Day]), the Liturgy might be held outdoors. It was only in the spring of 1952 that the authorities built a small Roman Catholic Church, which Ukrainians used for their services. A memorable event at that time was a trip by

members of the community to the capital, organized by the Ukrainian pastor to celebrate a Ukrainian Divine Liturgy at the Cathedral in Tunis.

Despite the creation of a congenial Ukrainian community, virtually all Ukrainians in Ben-Metir considered themselves temporary residents, in part because of uncertain economic and political circumstances and in part because Tunisia did not hold a promising future for them. Ukrainians were plagued by the constant devaluation of the currency, the political unrest in the country, the unfavorable climate, and diseases, including malaria, which struck many of them. They did not know what they would do in Tunisia once the construction of the dam was completed and their contracts expired. Consequently, they maintained contacts with family and friends elsewhere in the world, in the hope of emigrating from Tunisia. The Ukrainian inhabitants of Ben-Metir began to emigrate as opportunities arose, and it is believed that, by 1955, most of them had left the area and migrated to Canada, while a smaller number came to the United States and a few settled in France and other countries.

It is not known how many Ukrainians reside on the continent of Africa today, and there is no known formal organization of Ukrainians residing there. The only information available is anecdotal, based on personal accounts by individuals who visited the continent or who resided there while on temporary assignment. Most describe chance encounters with random, individual Ukrainians – for example, a Somali official who had studied in the USSR turned out to have a Ukrainian wife; a woman from Nigeria attending a conference on solar energy replied that she was Ukrainian when asked about the origin of her first name; a woman on the street in Nairobi, Kenya, answered that she was Ukrainian when questioned about her accent; two white women at a local bar in Kenya conversed with each other in Ukrainian, and their mulatto children also spoke the language. There seem to be a substantial number of women from Ukraine and the former USSR who married African men who were studying in the Soviet Union. One is most likely to encounter transplanted Ukrainian women who are wives of African men in Nigeria, Cameroon, Kenya, and Tanzania, the countries that sent the largest number of students to the USSR. Since it was extremely rare for African women to be sent to study in the USSR, it is believed that Ukrainian men did not have the opportunity to marry African women and return with them to Africa.

Other anecdotes tell of non-Ukrainians living in Africa who had had contact with Ukrainians either in Ukraine or in the diaspora and who were overheard speaking fluent Ukrainian by astonished Ukrainian tourists – for example, a young black physician from Tanzania who had studied medicine in Moscow and had completed his residency training in Vinnytsia, in Ukraine, and a German pilot flying a commuter plane in Africa who had Ukrainian friends in his hometown of Munich.

Ukrainians in Asia

China

Several thousand Ukrainians lived in China toward the end of the nineteenth century. The majority of them were employed by various institutions of the Russian Empire operating in China, including diplomatic missions, the postal service, steamship lines, trade missions, and church missions in Beijing. The number of Ukrainians in China increased considerably with the construction of the Chinese Eastern (Manchurian) Railway, built by Russia on

Manchurian territory (which was then part of China) in 1898 to link the Trans-Siberian Railroad with Vladivostok. Several Ukrainian colonies were established at the important stations and towns along the railway, including Harbin, which became the main Ukrainian center in northern Manchuria. Smaller Ukrainian communities were founded in central and southern Manchuria, including those in Dairen, Kirin, and Mukden, and in Shanghai, China.

Prior to the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917, there were more than twenty thousand Ukrainian families in Manchuria, the majority of whom were relatives of Chinese Eastern Railway employees. Ukrainians maintained close ties with both Ukraine and the Ukrainians who had settled in the Far East, in the territory known as Zelenyi Klyn (Green Wedge). They organized their own theater groups and social circles. An Ukrainska Hromada (Ukrainian Community) was established in Shanghai in 1906, and an Ukrainskyi Kliub (Ukrainian Club) was founded in Harbin in 1907. Clubs were also founded in other Ukrainian centers. Although no Ukrainian newspapers existed at the time, the official publication of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the Russian-language *Kharbinskii Vestnik* (The Harbin Herald), contained much information about Ukrainians.

The Revolution of 1917 provided a stimulus to Ukrainian cultural life in Manchuria and led to the establishment of various institutions and organizations, including a Ukrainian school, a Ukrainian Orthodox parish, and a number of other institutions, which were housed in the Ukrainskyi Narodnyi Dim (Ukrainian National Home [Community Center]). The Orthodox parish of the Holy Protectress, organized in 1918 by the Reverend M. Trufaniv, had built its own church by 1929. A Ukrainian-language weekly, *Zasiv* (The Sowing), was published in Harbin. The Ukrainska Rada (Ukrainian Council) and the Mandzhurska Okruzhna Rada (Manchurian Regional Council) were created in an effort to provide political leadership in the Far East and to maintain close ties with Ukraine. Ukrainians in Manchuria took an active part in the political life of Ukrainians throughout the Far East, especially in the context of the Ukrainski Daleko-Skhidni Zizdy [Kongresy] (Far Eastern Ukrainian Congresses). They also maintained close contacts with Kiev. At the end of 1917, a Ukrainian military unit under the command of P. Tverdovsky was dispatched from Harbin to Ukraine in an effort to assist the Ukrainian government in establishing its independence. Tverdovsky returned to Harbin as consul of the free Ukrainian state in the Fall of 1918. The Ukrainian community increased with the influx of refugees from the Soviet Far East, after the Bolshevik occupation.

The flourishing Ukrainian community in Manchuria experienced a setback in the years 1922–31, which resulted from both the severing of ties with the Zelenyi Klyn community in the Far East after the Revolution and the increasingly hostile attitude of the Russian-influenced Chinese administration. Authorities confiscated the Ukrainian National Home, closed the Ukrainian schools, and abolished many organizations. Only the Prosvita (Enlightenment Society) in Harbin continued to exist, having begun to function under the auspices of the YMCA in order to survive. It published a weekly, *Ukrainske Zhyttia* (Ukrainian Life), in Harbin over a Japanese signature in order to avoid control by Chinese authorities.

Conditions in the Ukrainian community improved in 1931, when the Japanese established the buffer state of Manchoukuo. Although the Japanese authorities meddled in the internal affairs of the Ukrainian community, Ukrainian organized life nevertheless revived when the Ukrainian National Home in Harbin was restored to the Ukrainians and became the center of their community life. The Home housed such organizations as the Ukrainska Natsionalna Hromada (Ukrainian National Community), the Soiuz Ukrainskykh Emigrantiv

(Union of Ukrainian Emigrants), Prosvita (Enlightenment Society), the Soiuz Ukrainskykh Uchyteliv (Union of Ukrainian Teachers), the Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi (Ukrainian Youth Association), and the Spilka Molodi "Zelenyi Klyn" ("Zelenyi Klyn" Youth Association). The Ukrainskyi Politychnyi Tsentr (Ukrainian Political Center) assumed the leading role in Ukrainian life in Manchuria, founding the Ukrainskyi Vydavnychyi Soiuz (Ukrainian Publishing Union), which published the Ukrainian-language weekly *Mandzhurskyi Visnyk* (The Manchurian Herald), under the editorship of I. Svit, from 1932 to 1937, as well as books and brochures. From 1934, Ukrainians broadcast radio programs in Harbin, and, in 1942, broadcasts were also aired in Shanghai. In 1935, the Ukrainska Natsionalna Koloniia (Ukrainian National Colony) was established as a central organization for all Ukrainians in Manchuria. All other Ukrainian organizations were dissolved by the Japanese in 1937. Prometei (the Prometheus Club) in Harbin served to foster cooperation among non-Ukrainian émigrés of countries oppressed by Russia.

When the Soviet army occupied Manchuria in 1945, most Ukrainians were arrested and deported to the USSR, and all Ukrainian organizations were abolished. Just prior to the Soviet invasion, the number of Ukrainians in Harbin was approximately fifteen thousand.

Ukrainian organizations and societies were also active between the 1920s and the 1940s in Shanghai, which for a time served as home to a Ukrainian bureau for all of China, and in such cities as Tientsin, Tsingtao, and Hankow. Several Ukrainian newspapers were published in China, including, in Shanghai, *Ukrainskyi Holos na Dalekomu Skhodi* (The Ukrainian Voice in the Far East) (1941–4), *Shankhaiska Hromada* (Shanghai Community), and the English-language *The Call of Ukraine* (1941–2); and, in Tsingtao, *Na Dalekomu Skhodi* (In the Far East).

Although accurate statistics are not available, estimates place the number of Ukrainians who lived in China, including Manchuria, in the 1930s at approximately thirty thousand. Half this number resided in the city of Harbin, in northeast China. Virtually all the Ukrainians in China had emigrated to the West by 1949, before the Communist takeover.

According to Professor Shupu Zhang of the Heilongjiang University, in Harbin, there are no official statistics on the number of Ukrainians living in China today. He personally knows of three Ukrainians living in Harbin, two of whom reside in an old-age home for immigrants. Shupu Zhang assumes that there might be a few elderly Ukrainians still residing in China. There are probably no Ukrainian organizations in China today.

In 1992, China appointed Jan Jen Ambassador to Ukraine; upon his arrival in Kiev, Jen and Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk discussed the future of Sino-Ukrainian cooperation.

Japan

Japanese–Ukrainian relations are fairly recent, dating back to the beginning of the twentieth century, and take various forms. During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5, Senator J. Russell of Hawaii (M. Sudzylovsky), a former medical student at Kiev University, traveled to Japan to organize relief for captured tsarist troops, many of whom were Ukrainian. He also published a periodical for them. In 1916, the Karmeliuk–Kamensky Ukrainian theatrical troupe, which often toured Ukrainian settlements in the Russian Far East and China, performed in Tokyo, Kamakura, Kobe, and Yokohama. Y. Hashkevych, a Ukrainian who served as Russian consul in Japan, was instrumental in establishing the Oriental Institute in Vladivostok, which offered courses in Japanese. Several Ukrainians, including students at the Institute, lived in Japan. B. Vobly was the representative of the Ukrainian National

Republic in Japan. Neznaiko, a Ukrainian from the Far East, studied at the Orthodox seminary in Tokyo, and the Reverend S. Hlibov served as one of the priests at the Orthodox mission at the Russian consulate in Tokyo. V. Yeroshenko, *kobzar* (a *kobza* player, or minstrel) and Esperantist, taught in Tokyo in the years 1914–21 and wrote poetry, stories, fairy tales, and plays in Japanese.

In November 1917, Japan opened a military mission in Kiev, headed by General Takayanachi. A Japanese consulate in Odessa oversaw shipping between that city and the Far East. In 1923, Japan sent a representative to the Conference of Ambassadors, which recognized Poland's rule over Galicia.

More than 120,000 Japanese troops were involved in the Allied military intervention in the Russian Far East in 1918. They occupied territories with large Ukrainian populations, including the cities of Vladivostok, Nikolsk, Khabarovsk, Blagoveshchensk, and Chita, which constituted the Far Eastern Republic, a Japanese protectorate, from 1920 to 1922. When Soviet forces occupied the Republic, approximately 200 Ukrainian activists were arrested, 24 of whom were tried in Chita in 1923–4 as separatists and Japanese collaborators.

Many Ukrainians who lived in the Far East fled from Soviet rule to Harbin, Manchuria, which was occupied by Japan in 1931. In Harbin, the Ukrainians had frequent contact with Japanese military authorities. The Japanese liaison officer K. Horie frequently interceded on behalf of Ukrainians in Harbin, and the authorities restored the building of the Ukrainian Club, which had been confiscated by the Chinese; permitted the publication of the *Mandzhurskyi Visnyk* (The Manchurian Herald); and allowed several Ukrainian community organizations to function.

In the late 1920s and 1930s, émigrés of the Ukrainian National Republic had contacts with Japanese officials in Europe. In the 1930s, the Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) maintained political and military contacts with the Japanese, who wished to further anti-Soviet activity in the Far East. In 1934, several members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists went to Harbin (via Tokyo), where they became active in the Ukrainian community and conducted secret political activity in the Soviet Far East. In 1937, the Japanese openly sided with émigré Russian fascist organizations and restricted the activity of most Ukrainian organizations.

In the cultural sphere, the works of T. Shevchenko, as well as of I. Franko, L. Ukrainka, P. Tychyna, and M. Stelmakh, have been translated into Japanese. Translations of Japanese literature have also appeared in the Ukrainian language. In the 1920s, Japanese language and literature were taught at Kharkiv University, which published a Japanese grammar in 1926. A Ukrainian-Japanese dictionary was published in Harbin in 1944.

Accurate statistics on Ukrainians currently living in Japan are not available. According to Ukrainian scholars on assignment in the country, there are most probably fewer than a hundred Ukrainians living in Japan today. They are primarily journalists, professors, embassy staff, and similar highly educated professionals in important positions. The majority of them are in Japan for a short period of time. Consequently, there is neither a permanent Ukrainian community in Japan, nor any Ukrainian churches, schools, or organizations. In fact, it is sometimes difficult for Ukrainians living in or visiting Japan to locate any of their compatriots there. They do, however, maintain ties with Ukrainians in the United States, Australia, and the former Soviet Union.

It is important to note that the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine was commemorated in Japan in 1988 at the Catholic Maryknoll Mission.

Philippines

Data on the number of Ukrainians living in the Philippines are not available. It is known that several Ukrainians who served in the U.S. Army during the First World War received land in the Philippines after the war; however, they soon abandoned their homesteads. As in many countries in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, Ukrainians are often temporary residents, on assignment as visiting professors, journalists, or embassy staff. Information therefore tends to be informal and anecdotal, consisting of personal experiences and recollections.

In the 1980s, three young Ukrainian professionals from the United States were on assignment at the Philippine Refugee Processing Center located in a rural area of Bataan Province. One of them served as Coordinator of Clinical Services for the Community Mental Health and Family Services Agency at the Center, which serves to process Indochinese refugees who wish to resettle in the United States.

Although the Ukrainians spoke English among themselves, they kept their Ukrainian culture and arts and crafts very much alive, performing Ukrainian dances, playing the *bandura*, giving classes in the art of decorating *pysanky* (Ukrainian Easter eggs), and hosting Ukrainian Christmas Eve suppers for their non-Ukrainian co-workers and friends.

Sri Lanka

In 1950, a small Ukrainian "community" of eight people was formed in Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka). It consisted of the families of two engineers and an architect who came to Sri Lanka through the efforts of the International Refugee Organization to work as specialists for the Gal Oya Development Board, in connection with its ten-year project to colonize and irrigate unfertile land. Also residing in Sri Lanka was a Ukrainian widow who developed a good rapport within the local society and was able to educate the people about Ukraine and Ukrainians. It is not known whether any Ukrainians live in Sri Lanka today.

Ukrainians in the Middle East

As in the case of Africa and Asia, it is difficult to obtain statistics on the number of Ukrainians living in the Middle East. Any data that are available come from unofficial sources, usually from Ukrainians whose studies, employment, or travel have taken them to the region, where they have chanced to meet Ukrainians resident in the area.

Egypt

When the Reverend Michael Hubiak, of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the United States (Sobornopravna), arrived in Cairo in the 1970s to teach English to Egyptian government and military officers, he happened to meet a group of Ukrainians living there who asked him to be their pastor. Since then, Father Hubiak, who has worked with the Paulist Fathers in Lebanon and at the Christian Brothers College in Cairo, has become spiritual pastor for Ukrainians in Egypt.

The majority of Ukrainians in Egypt work for the U.S. Naval Hospital for Infectious Diseases. The story of their settlement is similar to those of other Ukrainians fleeing political and economic oppression. During the Second World War, a group of Ukrainians

had migrated east, to Harbin, China, and resided in Shanghai for a time. After the war, the International Rescue Organization (now the International Rescue Committee) resettled the refugees in Cairo. For years, they had little contact with Ukrainians abroad, but lived together as a small community, keeping alive their Ukrainian traditions and customs and relying on the Greek Orthodox Church for their spiritual needs. When they met Father Hubiak, the group was finally able to have its own spiritual leader.

In October 1988, the 150 Ukrainian parishioners of Saint Sophia's Chapel in Cairo observed the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity, with Metropolitan Andrei of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the United States (Sobornopravna) and Bishops Alexis, of New York, and Raphael, of Cairo, celebrating vespers and a Pontifical Divine Liturgy. A reception and an exhibit of posters, icons, and books followed the church services. Pamphlets and literature about the Millennium were distributed to more than 350 guests who viewed the exhibit.

Iran

After the First World War and the coming to power of the Bolsheviks, an unknown number of Ukrainian refugees from Central Asia migrated to Iran. Between the two world wars and during the Second World War, more Ukrainians settled in Iran. Some of them were able to emigrate to the United States or other countries, but the fate of those who were left behind remains unknown.

Israel

Contacts between Ukraine and Palestine, rooted in matters of religion, date back to the eleventh century, when Ukrainian pilgrims visited the Holy Land. Hetman I. Mazepa made generous contributions to monasteries and churches in the Holy Land. During the Second World War, some Ukrainian soldiers from the Polish Army settled in an area that is now part of Israel. Ukrainian pilgrims donated a tablet with an inscription of the Lord's Prayer in Ukrainian and Church Slavonic to the Pater Noster Church on the Mount of Olives. In 1976, a mosaic of the Mother of God, Protectress of Ukraine, a reproduction of the Miraculous Icon from Zarvanytsia, in the Podilia region of Ukraine, was placed in the Basilica of the Annunciation in Nazareth among the Madonnas from around the world.

Ukrainians continue to visit Israel as tourists on pilgrimages to the Holy Land. However, there are no official statistics on the number of Ukrainians who make Israel their permanent home, although it is known that Ukrainians, mostly of mixed marriages and parentage, have settled in the country, many having emigrated from Ukraine. There is an Association for Jewish-Ukrainian Contacts, which publishes the journal *Diialohy* (Dialogues). An outpost of the Ukrainian Catholic Church stands in the city of Nazareth.

Saudi Arabia

The first Ukrainian family to live in Saudi Arabia for a considerable length of time was that of an architect who arrived in 1974. One year later, another Ukrainian arrived, with his family, to head the library of the newly built Arabian University of Petroleum and Minerals. Other Ukrainians have also lived in Saudi Arabia for short periods of time while on assignment.

In 1977, the eight-member Ukrainian "community" in Saudi Arabia organized an exhibit

of Ukrainian arts, books, maps, and paintings as part of an international exhibition held at the University. More than three thousand individuals visited the Ukrainian display, giving the Ukrainians an opportunity to act as ambassadors and to provide information about the homeland of their ancestors. The exhibit produced good results: within a few months, Saudi Arabian newspapers were beginning to cover events pertaining to Ukraine and its people.

Turkey

It is known that after a short period of activity by the Ukrainian diplomatic mission in Istanbul, special Ukrainian envoy V. Mursky and former Ukrainian consul N. Zabiiello furthered the Ukrainian cause among the Turkish population in the 1930s.

There is no available information on the number of Ukrainians in Turkey today.

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The author gathered material for this chapter through correspondence and telephone communication with the following:

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Darian Diachok, Renewable Energy Researcher (in Africa on assignment with the United Nations; now living in Arlington, Virginia)

The Reverend Michael Hubiak, Spiritual Pastor for Ukrainians in Egypt, Cairo, Egypt

Wolodymyr Kizyma, Engineer, Senior Project Manager, NBD Bank (former resident of Ben Metir, Tunisia; now living in Hamtramck, Michigan)

Professor Shupu Zheng, Heilongjiang University, Harbin, China

Myra Wichorek, Clinical Coordinator, Community Mental Health and Family Service, Inc., Philippine Refugee Processing Center, Bataan Province, Philippines

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"This book is a power-source of information about Ukraine and Ukrainians around the world that will be useful for anyone who wants to find out more about them. It will be useful for those who wish to stop and think about who Ukrainians are and about the nature of the Ukrainian diaspora. It will also be useful to those seeking quick information on Ukraine and Ukrainians today, as well as those who need concise background on the recently established Ukrainian state."

Wsevolod W. Isajiw, from the foreword

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