UNIVERSITÀ DI PAVIA

Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche e Sociali

Dottorato di Ricerca in Storia – XXXVI Ciclo

Tesi di Dottorato in Storia Contemporanea

«MY UKRAINE IS HERE»

Journeys of belonging: A Cultural and Political History of the Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada (1945-1991)

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Anno Accademico 2022/2023

Perché l'aria azzurra diventi casa

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABN	Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations
BUC	Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics
AUUC	Association of United Ukrainian Canadians
CLLU	Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine
CURB	Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau
CIUS	Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies
DP	Displaced Person
EU	European Union
FRS	Friends Relief Service
HURI	Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute
ICT	Information and communication technology
IRO	International Refugee Organization
LVU	Liga Vyzvolennia Ukrainy [League for the Liberation of Ukraine]
NTSh-K	Naukove Tovarystvo im Shevchenka - Kanada [Shevchenko Scientific Society of Canada]
OUN	Orhanizatsiia ukrainskykh natsionalistiv [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists]
OUN-B	OUN – Bandera faction
OUN-M	OUN – Melnyk faction
OUN-Z	OUN za kordonom [OUN abroad]
OUZh	Ukrainian Women's Alliance in Germany
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force
SUM	Ukrainian Youth's Associatin
SUSK	Soiuz Ukrains'kykh Studentiv Kanady [Ukrainian Canadian Student Union]
UCC	Ukrainian Canadian Committee [from 1989 Congress]
UCCA	Ukrainian Congress Committee of America
UCCLA	Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association
ULFTA	Ukrainian Labour and Farmer Temple Association
UHO	United Hetman Organization of Canada
UHVR	Ukrainska Holovna Vyzvolna Rada [Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council]
UHVR – ZP	External Representation group of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council
UN	United Nations
UNF	Ukrainian National Federation of Canada
UNR	Ukrains'ka Natsional'na Rada [Ukrainian People's Republic]
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
UPA	Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka Armiia [Ukrainian Insurgent Army]

URDP	Ukrainska Revoliutsiino-Demokratychna Partiia
	[Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party]
USRL	Ukrainian Self-Reliance League
UTEMP	Ukraine Transparency and Election Monitoring Project
UVAN	Ukrains'ka Vilna Akademiia Nauk
	[Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences]
UVO	Ukrayinska Viyskova Orhanisatsiya
	[Ukrainian Military Organization]
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees
WW I	First World War
WW II	Second World War
WW III	Third World War

LIST OF ARCHIVES

Victoria
BCRMA   BC Royal Museum Archives

Toronto
UOT   University of Toronto - Thomas Fisher Rare Book and Special Collections
MHSO   Multicultural History Society of Ontario
UCRDC   Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre
SM   Shevchenko Museum
UNFA   Ukrainian National Federation Archives
PAO   Provincial Archives of Ontario

Halifax
Pier21   Pier 21 Museum and Archives

Ottawa
LAC   National Archives of Canada (Library and Archives Canada)

New York
UNA   United Nations Archives

Winnipeg
UOM   University of Manitoba Archives
Archives
Oseredok   Oseredok Archives
AUUC   Association of United Ukrainian Canadians Archives
Archives
Private   Koval
Private   Rozymna

Edmonton
PPA   Provincial Archives of Alberta
CEA   City of Edmonton Archives
BMUFA   Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives
CIUS   Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Archives
Archives

Online
               Diasporiana
               US Holocaust Museum

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NOTE ON TRASLITERATION

Transliteration from Ukrainian into English was done in accordance with the Cyrillic Transliteration of the US Library of Congress. According to this transliteration, ï is represented by i. No ligatures were used for ie (є), iu (Ю), ia (Я), and ts (Ц).

INTRODUCTION

In the tapestry of Canadian history, few phenomena have left such an indelible impact on the country as patterns of human mobility[1]. This thesis situates itself within the *longue durée* of these processes, aiming to provide fresh perspectives at the intersection of migration studies and memory scholarship. It undertakes this objective by focusing on post-World War II Canada through 1991, examining a particular wave of Ukrainian immigration – those who embarked on the transatlantic journey from European displaced persons [DP] camps to Canada – as a lens. The core of the analysis delves into two interconnected processes: firstly, the construction of a peculiar Ukrainian «diasporic identity», scrutinizing how national memories and narratives were constructed and maintained from overseas. Secondly, it scrutinizes the political development of Canada as a «multicultural mosaic» analyzing whether and how state policies influenced and were influenced by this specific community.

The migratory experience of Ukrainians in Canada[2] cannot be disentangled from the overarching transatlantic narrative of population movement from Central and Eastern Europe to the Americas that commenced at least as early as the late eighteenth century[3]. By placing the object of

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[1] The European colonization of the Americas reshaped the regions through migration over the past five centuries. While indigenous populations severely declined due to disease, massacres, and forced labor brought by colonists, the arrival of European settlers and African slaves in turn fostered profound and lasting changes through mestizaje, the mixing of groups, and creolization, the blending of cultures. For an introductory framework to the topic see especially: MEINIG, D. W. William. *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History: Volume 1: Atlantic America 1492-1800*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1986; ELLIOTT, J. H. *Empires of the Atlantic world: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2006; GABACCIA, D. R. "Migration history in the Americas". In: *Routledge international handbook of migration studies*. Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England, UK: Routledge, 2019. p. 45-55; MOYA, J. (Ed.). *Atlantic Crossroads: Webs of Migration, Culture and Politics between Europe, Africa, and the Americas, 1800–2020*. Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England, UK: Routledge, 2021.

[2] Note on terminology: in this introduction, I have chosen to define the focus of research as the third wave of Ukrainian migration to Canada, which I believe is a more neutral and all-encompassing way to describe this community. However, it is important to acknowledge that different terms may be used throughout the thesis, such as Ukrainian-Canadians, Ukrainian Canadians, Ukrainians in Canada, Canadians of Ukrainian origin, and Ukrainian diaspora. When referencing specific sources, I typically follow the terminology used within those sources, using the original terms. However, in the interpretative analysis, the use of these terms becomes more complex as they reveal different nuances of meaning. In general, I tend to avoid using the "hyphenated" version of Ukrainian-Canadian unless explicitly stated. The use of hyphenated identities, such as Ukrainian-Canadian, has been a subject of debate and discussion, so that I would contend that the use of this term should consider the framework where it has been elaborated. LEDOHOWSKI, L. "Becoming the hyphen: the evolution of English-language Ukrainian-Canadian literature". *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 2007, 39.1-2: 107-127; BÉLANGER, E.; VERKUYTEN, M. "Hyphenated identities and acculturation: Second-generation Chinese of Canada and the Netherlands". *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 2010, 10.3: 141-63; CREESE, G. "Where are you from? Racialization, belonging and identity among second-generation African-Canadians". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2019, 42.9: 1476-1494. VERNON, K. "To the end of the hyphen-nation: Decolonizing multiculturalism". *ESC: English Studies in Canada*, 2016, 42.3: 81-98.

[3] NUGENT, W. *Crossings: the great transatlantic migrations, 1870–1914*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1992; MCKEOWN, A. "Global Migration, 1846-1940". *Journal of World History*, 2004, 15.2: 155-189; ZAHRA,

the analysis in this context, I consider enduring patterns, seismic shifts, and societal impacts of such movement on the development of Canada[4]. Facing poverty, lack of social mobility, and limited economic prospects, these migrants embarked on transatlantic voyages from imperial spaces of Europe in hopes of establishing new lives with more potential for prosperity. This set the stage for further waves of migration that continued in the decades to come. At the turn of the 20th century, two important phenomena were occurring simultaneously that are relevant to this discussion. First, the *nationalization of empires*[5] and the development of national identities in Central and Eastern Europe. Recent historiographic trends have called into question overly simplistic typological distinctions and normative dichotomies between empires and nation-states. As historians Berger and Miller aptly note:

> Nation-building and empire were very much entangled processes—nation-building in the core of empires was in fact one of the key instruments of empires to enhance and improve their competitiveness[6].

Second, the westward expansion and *national* consolidation of the countries of the American continent. In effect, the concurrent emergence of nationalist sentiments across the Atlantic from the 19th century onwards and the ensuing mass population movements inextricably linked the socio-political development of Europe and the Americas[7]. The abovementioned dynamics provide crucial context necessary to properly frame the arguments presented in this dissertation which focuses on the postwar period. World War II represented a watershed moment that had profound and long-lasting impacts on patterns of human migration. The war precipitated mass population displacements and movements of a scale never seen before. It necessitated reevaluating the terminology and conceptual frameworks used to understand the phenomenon of human mobility. Terms like "displaced persons" and "refugees" entered common and scholarly usage, offering policymakers and academics new

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T. *The great departure: Mass migration from Eastern Europe and the making of the free world*. New York: WW Norton & Company, 2016. BRUNNBAUER, U. *Globalizing Southeastern Europe: emigrants, America, and the state since the late nineteenth century*. Lanham: Lexington books, 2016.

[4] While this thesis focuses specifically on Canada, it is worthwhile to problematize North America's geography. North America is often portrayed as a single, unambiguous region on maps, but it comprises multiple distinct cultures and political entities. Commonly viewed as dominated by the United States, North America in fact consists of three sovereign states - Canada, the United States, and Mexico. Additionally, moving beyond a strictly state-based perspective reveals five cultural-political regions within North America. The first is French Canada, once spanning from New France along the St. Lawrence River through the Mississippi River Valley to New Orleans. The second region is Anglo Canada with its own internal diversity. The third is the culturally plural United States of America. The fourth is the culturally diverse United Mexican States. The fifth region is the Caribbean, also characterized by significant internal variation.

[5] I am referring to the conceptual framework developed in the seminal work: BERGER, S.; MILLER, A. (Ed.). *Nationalizing Empires*, Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015.

[6] *Ivi,* p. 30.

[7] ALMEIDA, J. M. *Reimagining the Transatlantic, 1780-1890*. London: Routledge, 2016

vocabulary to grapple with the circumstances surrounding the vast numbers of individuals and communities forcibly uprooted by the war. This new terminology led to changes in migration policies since it recognized that those displaced were not simply migrants by choice, but rather victims of the conflict who merited specific legal protections given the involuntary nature of their relocation[8].

The specified temporal parameters of this research, spanning from 1945 to 1991, were selected to demarcate periods of symbolic significance rather than impose a strict chronological framework. The year 1945 marks the conclusion of World War II and serves as the starting point for this analysis. While mass displacement had begun earlier due to the ravages of armed conflict, this study focuses particularly on those who remained dislocated from their places of origin as hostilities ceased. In contrast, 1991 marked two momentous events impacting the Ukrainian Canadian community under examination. On a global scale, the dissolution of the Soviet Union led to Ukraine declaring independence as a sovereign state, while domestically, Ukrainian Canadians celebrated the 100-year anniversary of their contributions to Canada since 1891[9]. It's worth briefly anticipating here, in fact, that the Ukrainian presence in Canada did not begin in the aftermath of WW II. This migration movement can be divided into waves, each with distinct characteristics and motivations. The first, beginning in the late 19th century, was largely driven by economic aspirations. Over time, this wave saw approximately 170,000 Ukrainians immigrate mainly for improved economic prospects. Given their interest in owning land, many headed for the Prairie regions to work as farmers while others found employment in urban areas or with the Canadian railway. The second wave came during the inter-war years, with individuals tracing their roots either back to Poland or the Ukrainian SSR. Members of this wave had experienced the First World War, the Bolshevik Revolution, and the subsequent civil war in various capacities, influencing their reasons for seeking a new life in Canada. Finally, the third wave, which is the focus of the research, arrived post-World War II. So, the analysis should consider how stratification within the Ukrainian Canadian community provides insight into the complex processes of identity formation among its members to uncover how macro level transnational movements intersected with micro level community dynamics to shape identity development for Ukrainian Canadians over time.

Although the timeline of the research is straightforward, identifying the exact *spaces* for analysis presents a more complex task. As I would show later in this introduction the study of trans-

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[8] HYNDMAN, J. "A Refugee Camp Conundrum". *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*", 2011, 28.2: 7-16; ELIE, J. "Histories of refugee and forced migration studies". In: FIDDIAN-QASMIYEH, E.; LONG, K.; SIGONA, N. (Ed.) *The Oxford handbook of refugee and forced migration studies*, Oxford, England: University of Oxford Press, 2014, 23-35; TRIANDAFYLLIDOU, A (Ed.). *Routledge handbook of immigration and refugee studies*. Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England, UK: Taylor & Francis, 2022.

[9] The year marked the first officially recorded arrival of Ukrainian immigrants.

Atlantic migration, by nature, employs transnational methodologies and theories. Notwithstanding, the actual places where these events occurred demand examination since

> Migration not only takes place between places, but also has its effects on place, in place. In brief, we suggest a view on migration in which place is neither reified nor transcended, but "thickened" as it becomes the setting of the variegated memories, imaginations, dreams, fantasies, nightmares, anticipations, and idealizations that experiences of migration, of both migrants and inhabitants, bring into contact with each other. Migration makes place overdetermined, turning it into the *mise-en-scene* of different histories[10].

The primary "spaces"—although not limited to them—include the DP camps in Europe, some urban centers in Canada and the national space regarding Ukraine. Firstly, the DP camps were a crucial *locus* and represented a watershed of experience for many Ukrainians who had been uprooted by the war and had to make the heart-wrenching decision to either return to the Soviet Union or migrate elsewhere. Secondly, my attention shifts to Canada, focusing on the urban landscapes of Toronto, Winnipeg, and Edmonton[11]. These cities are considered as significant lenses through which giving a perspective of the Ukrainian Canadian experience during the latter half of the century and where the main narratives of the community unfolded. It would be given attention to tangible markers, such as monuments, memorials, buildings, but also practices performed during community events. Lastly, Ukraine emerges as a crucial space not just as a physical territory transitioning from a Soviet republic to an independent state post-1991, but more importantly, as a cultural sphere and a transnational space of memory. For the Ukrainian community worldwide at the time, Ukraine was mainly an intellectual endeavor, an imagined construct, and a cultural touchstone that aids in navigating their identity and minority status in other countries[12].

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[10] AYDEMIR, M.; ROTAS, A. *Migratory Settings*. Leiden: Brill, 2008, p. 7.

[11] These are the urban landscapes under examination in this dissertation. The locations where the fieldwork was conducted extend beyond the aforementioned cities. The detailed list and explanations of these additional sites will be provided in subsequent sections of the introduction.

[12] This dissertation seeks to build upon foundational works exploring the concept of nation as a cultural construct. I am here referring to the seminal studies that have built our understanding of nationhood as shaped not solely by political boundaries or "ethnic" identities, but also by shared cultural practices, symbols, and meanings among a people. Scholars such as Anderson (1983), Gellner (1983), and Hobsbawm (1990) established nation as a cultural imaginary, a socially constructed "community" that is always defined in relation to an internal 'Other. My work is indebted to these pioneering texts, which first illuminated how shared culture plays a vital role in forming bonds between those within the borders of a nation-state, as well as establishing differences from those outside those borders. Building on these theoretical insights, this dissertation aims to further examine how cultural processes are implicated in the (re)production and reification of nations over time: ANDERSON, B. *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso, 1983; HOBSBAWM, E. J. *The invention of tradition*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983; GELLNER, E. *Nations and nationalism.* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983.

In the 1960s, as Ukrainian Canadian studies gained recognition in the country, different publications on the topic emerged, shedding light on the history of the community[13]. Previous studies have revealed the factors that compelled individuals to leave the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires, as well as the opportunities that drew them to Canadian prairie homesteads. One notable book, "Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years 1891-1924" by Orest Martynowych, explores the process of settlement and the development of Ukrainian communities in the prairies during that era[14]. As research progressed, a closer examination of specific topics and events emerged, considering both institutional and governmental factors like Canadian internment during World War I, as in "Bare and Impolitic Rights: Internment and Ukrainian-Canadian Redress" by Bohdan S. Kordan and Craig Mahovsky[15], and internal dynamics within the community, such as political ideologies and gender roles. In the realm of politics, "Re-Imagining Ukrainian-Canadians: History, Politics, and Identity"[16] by Rhonda L. Hinther and Jim Mochoruk explores the political history of the Ukrainian Canadian progressive movement, a theme developed by Hinther also in "Perogies and Politics: Canada's Ukrainian Left, 1891-1991"[17]. Taking a gender-focused perspective, Frances Swyripa's "Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity 1891-1991"[18] emphasizes the significant role of women in ethnic organizations, advocating for the interests of Ukrainian women in preserving their motherland culture. Iroida Wynnyckyj's edited collection, "The Extraordinary Lives of

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[13] The basis for this review of literature is derived from O. Martynowych's "Ukrainian-Canadian History, 1891-Present: A List of English-language Secondary Sources (Monographs, Book chapters, Collections, Articles)", developed for the University of Manitoba's Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies in Spring 2011. This list has been updated and supplemented with more recent publications. For a more exhaustive list, please refer to Martynowych's original document.

[14] MARTYNOWYCH, O. *Ukrainians in Canada. The formative Years 1891-1924,* Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991. For the historiographic work on the Ukrainian Canadian community before WW II see also: KAYE, V. *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada 1895–1900: Dr. Josef Oleskow's Role in the Settlement of the Canadian Northwest.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1964; MARUNCHAK, M. H. *The Ukrainian Canadians. A History.* Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Science in Canada, 1968; WOYCENKO, O. *The Ukrainians in Canada.* Winnipeg: Trident Press Ltd., 1967; BURKE, M. V. *The Ukrainian Canadians.* Scarborough, Ontario: Nelson Canada, 1982; PINIUTA, H. *Land of Promise, Land of Pain.* Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Western Producer Prairie Books. 1978; PETRYSHYN, J.; DZUBAK, L. *Peasants in the Promised Land.* Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1985; LEHR, J. *Homesteading on the Prairies: Iwan Mihaychuk.* Danbury, Connecticut: Grolier books, 1990: SUBTELNY O. *Ukrainians in North America: An Illustrated History*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991; LUCIUK, L. Y., HRYNIUK, S. (Ed.). *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

[15] KORDAN, B. S.; MAHOVSKY, C. *Bare and Impolitic Right: Internment and Ukrainian-Canadian Redress.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2004; SWYRIPA, F., THOMPSON, J. H. (Ed.). Loyalties in Conflict. Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War, Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1983,

[16] HINTHER, R. L.; MOCHORUK, J (Ed.). *Re-Imagining Ukrainian-Canadians: History, Politics, and Identity.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.

[17] HINTHER, R. L. *Perogies and Politics: Canada's Ukrainian Left, 1891-1991.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018.

[18] SWYRIPA, F. *Wedded to the Cause. Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity 1891-1991*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Ukrainian-Canadian Women: Oral Histories of the Twentieth Century"[19] further expands on this theme by providing narratives of these women's experiences. While the history of Ukrainian Canadians during WW II[20] have been documented, the same cannot be said about the third wave after resettlement. Existing scholarly works that explore this later period are relatively scarce. One of the few academic works that provides insights into the third wave experience of the early post-war era is Lubomyr Y. Luciuk's monograph "Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory"[21]. Moreover, Volodymyr Maruniak's data-driven study presents crucial demographic information on third wave immigrants in his analysis[22]. Moreover, the work of Vic Satzewich probes the enduring connections maintained between the three waves of Ukrainian immigrants and their homeland in his work "The Ukrainian Diaspora"[23]. I am also indebted to Julia Lalande's doctoral dissertation, "Between Two Worlds: A Comparative Study of the Post-World War II Ukrainian Experience in Germany and Canada", which offers a valuable comparative lens on the experiences of displaced Ukrainians who settled in Canada and Germany until 1971 from an institutional perspective[24]. It is also worth mentioning that in recent years, as historical analysis of collaborationism in Germany and Northern Europe has expanded, scholarship on the more ambiguous aspects of Ukrainian nationalist movements during World War II has proliferated. Consequently, studies have also grown examining the impact that symbols and myths of the movement had in the Ukrainian diaspora worldwide, particularly in Canada[25]. Broadly speaking, while certain elements of

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[19] WYNNYCKYJ, I. (Ed.). *The Extraordinary Lives of Ukrainian-Canadian Women: Oral Histories of the Twentieth Century*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2022.

[20] VERYHA, W. *The Ukrainian Canadian committee: Its origin and war activity*. 1968. PhD Thesis. University of Ottawa; LUCIUK, L. Y. "Unintended consequences in refugee resettlement: Post-war Ukrainian refugee immigration to Canada*". International Migration Review*, 1986, 20.2: 467-482; KORDAN, B. S. *Canada, and the Ukrainian Question, 1939-1945: A study in Statecraft*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2001; YERENIUK, R. "The Ukrainian Canadian Chaplaincy during World War Two". *Canadian Ethnic* Studies, 2015, 47.4: 307-338.

[21] Lubomyr Luciuk is a child of parents who came to Canada with the third wave. His motivation to write his study and his personal political views (for example, regarding war criminals) are expressed in parts of his book and shape his overall approach. LUCIUK, L. Y. *Searching for place: Ukrainian displaced persons, Canada, and the migration of memory*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

[22] MARUNIAK, V. *Ukrains'ka emigratsiia v Nimechchyni i Avstrii po druhii svitovii viini 1945-1951*, Munich: Akademichne vyd-vo P. Beleya, 1985.

[23] SATZEWICH, V. *The Ukrainian Diaspora*. Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England, UK: Routledge, 2003; ISAJIW, W. W. "The Ukrainian Diaspora". In: GAL, A.; LEOUSSI, A.; SMITH, A. D. (Ed.), *The Call of the Homeland: Diaspora Nationalisms, Past and Present*. Leiden: Brill, 2010, pp. 289–319.

[24] LALANDE, J. *Building a Home Abroad–A Comparative Study of Ukrainian Migration, Immigration Policy and Diaspora Formation in Canada and Germany after the Second World War*. 2006. PhD Thesis. Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky.

[25] HIMKA, J. P. "The organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army: unwelcome elements of an identity project". *Ab Imperio*, 2010, 2010.4: 83-101; RUDLING, P. "Multiculturalism, memory, and ritualization: Ukrainian nationalist monuments in Edmonton, Alberta", *Nationalities Papers*, 2011, 39.5: 733-768. ROSSOLINSKI-LIEBE, G. *Stepan Bandera: The life and afterlife of a Ukrainian nationalist*. Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2014;

the third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada have been explored, additional research is still merited to develop a more robust understanding of this later period.

The first element to note in this brief overview is that historiography has been significantly shaped by works from scholars with close connections to the Ukrainian Canadian community. Most early contributors documented and analyzed the experiences of Ukrainian immigrants through, borrowing an anthropological term, an «emic lens»[26]. As insiders, they brought nuanced insights lacking in external analyzes, discerning variations in settlement patterns and intra-communal relations over time. However, the field's origins within the "ethnic group" also meant its framing reflected Ukrainians' quest for inclusion and acceptance in the wider society. Narratives of hardship and industry aimed to validate their worth as citizens through shared pioneer narratives and diligent adaptation to Canadian ways. Consequently, the development of Ukrainian Canadian historiography can be attributed to two main motivations: the authentic documentation of the community's experiences and the desire to elevate its status within the broader Canadian society. There are thus still opportunities to delve deeper into the political, cultural, and social dimensions of this community, not only as a separate entity seeking legitimacy but also as a lens through which to explore and advance the study of migration experiences in general, and specifically within the Canadian context. As the author of this thesis, it is imperative that I establish my positionality and perspective from the outset. Approaching this research as an outsider without personal ties to the community, I bring an «etic» viewpoint. Conducting research from outside a group has both benefits and limitations. On the positive side, an external perspective can provide fresh insights and complement existing scholarship through a comparative framework. A critical examination of the field may illuminate the causes and consequences of endeavors within Ukrainian Canadian academia, offering a lookout that both confronts and builds upon prior work. It should not be taken lightly, however, that an outsider position

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ROSSOLINSKI-LIEBE, G. "Holocaust Amnesia: The Ukrainian Diaspora and the Genocide of the Jews", *German Yearbook of Contemporary History* 2016, 1.1: 107–43.

[26] In anthropology, the terms "emic" and "etic" are used to describe two different approaches to studying and understanding human behavior, culture, and social phenomena. These concepts can also be applied to the study of migration. The emic perspective in anthropology refers to an insider's point of view. It involves understanding and interpreting cultural practices, beliefs, and behaviors from within the cultural framework of the group being studied. In other words, it focuses on how individuals or communities themselves perceive and make sense of their own experiences. The emic approach aims to capture the subjective meanings and interpretations that people ascribe to their own lives. For the use of the terms in migration studies see: KING, R. "Geography and migration studies: retrospect and prospect", *Population, space and place*, 2012, 18.2: 134-153; KILLIKELLY, C; BAUER, S; MAERCKER, A. "The assessment of grief in refugees and post-conflict survivors: A narrative review of etic and emic research". *Frontiers in Psychology*, 2018, 9: 1957; BEALS, F.; KIDMAN, J; FUNAKI, H. "Insider and outsider research: Negotiating self at the edge of the emic/etic divide". *Qualitative Inquiry*, 2020, 26.6: 593-601; WILDING, R. "Transnational ethnographies and anthropological imaginings of migrancy". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2007, 33.2: 331-348.

likewise presents obstacles. For instance, there is an elevated risk of misconstruing subtle intricacies due to lack of embedded familiarity. Additionally, obtaining direct access to primary sources may be complicated by the challenges involved in cultivating confidence and trust with the community to which the researcher does not belong. This challenge is especially pronounced when seeking to conduct oral history interviews or gain access to archival holdings.

Since this dissertation aims to provide a multidimensional examination of the political and cultural history of Ukrainian displacement and resettlement in Canada through various perspectives, is essential to establish a robust theoretical framework. I have chosen to ground the analysis on diaspora and memory studies, which I contend are a fascinating lens through which to examine this peculiar migratory experience and narratives that shape such experience. So, I dedicate a portion of this introduction to present the primary theories that have been applied herein.

As concerns diaspora studies, one must begin from a precise definition of what constitutes a «diaspora». Prior to the early 1990s, the term referred specifically to the historical experiences of the Jewish people, encompassing their long history of exile[27]. These circumstances included seminal moments such as the exodus from Egypt, the return to the Promised Land under Moses, the Babylonian conquest in 722 BCE, and the dispersion following the rise of Christianity, which resulted in the displacement of over five million Jews. Born within a religious context, the word "diaspora" was associated more with a theological and eschatological viewpoint, where both the scattering and subsequent longing to return of the *scattered* peoples were perceived as acts of divine intervention, not a result of human decisions: the Jews could be dispersed and reunited at the end of time because they were the Chosen People[28]. Beyond Judaism, diaspora was also employed in the New Testament, where the term referred to members of the Christian Church being exiled from the City of God and dispersed across the Earth. However, during the second century CE, Christian authors began to use the term specifically to refer to the dispersion of the Jewish community, which they saw as a punitive example for their sins, giving the term a negative connotation. From the third century CE, the language of Christianity transitioned from Greek to Latin, with diaspora replaced by Latin equivalents in the Vulgate Bible. However, Greek remained the language of the Eastern Roman Empire, where the term had been used in theological texts[29]. This aspect holds significant importance and goes

[27] SAFRAN, W. "Diasporas in modern societies: Myths of homeland and return". *Diaspora: A journal of transnational studies*, 1991, 1.1: 83-99; CLIFFORD, J. "Diasporas". *Cultural Anthropology*, 1994, 9.3: 302–338; CLIFFORD, J. *Routes: Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997.
[28] PERLMAN, S. "Eschatology and mission: a Jewish mission perspective". *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 2009, 33.3: 124-128; DUFOIX, S. *The dispersion: A history of the word diaspora*. London: Brill, 2016.
[29] *Ibidem*.

beyond just analyzing the etymology of the word diaspora. It comprises deep cultural implications, especially when examining the dynamics related to the Eastern European context, including the influence of Judaism and the unique path that Christianity followed in that region.

The original definition of diaspora, that assumed the Jewish case as the archetype, came under scrutiny in the last five decades, when the term proliferated in both academic literature and public discourses, finally transitioning to a theoretical concept[30]. Consequently, the word has become highly fashionable and has leapt from its previously confined use, to cover the cases of many other ethnic groups, nationalities, and religions. This horizontal spreading to cover the mobility of many groups to many destinations has been paralleled also by a vertical broadening, with the word being deployed to cover a wide range of phenomena. Taking an historiographic perspective, Michele Reis classified the concept into three periods - classical, modern, and contemporary, aligning the Jewish experience with the "classical" phase. The "modern" phase of diaspora is associated with slavery[31] and colonization. More specifically, she further broke it down into three significant periods: the expansion of European capital (1500-1814), the Industrial Revolution (1815-1914), and the interwar period (1914-1945). The last *diasporization* era, termed as the "contemporary" phase, pertains to the era immediately following World War II up to the present day[32]. This approach enables the concept to remain significant. Notwithstanding, the sociologist Rogers Brubaker warned against the risk of stretching it to the point of uselessness: «If everyone is diasporic, then no one is distinctively so»[33]. Precise usage of key terms is important in the epistemological realm. The term "diaspora" should not be used interchangeably with related concepts like "migration", "transnational space", or "ethnic minority" without losing analytical rigor. Consistent with postcolonial theorists, I would argue that a diasporic identity emerges through the experience of *exile* from one's homeland coupled with a sense of *mission* regarding that homeland. This mission usually includes the aspiration to one day *return*, whereby the diasporic intellectual engages in a reading of their homeland from abroad that maintains a connection through *remembrance*[34]. In this understanding, contemporary diasporas generate forms

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[30] TÖLÖLYAN, K. "Rethinking diaspora (s): Stateless power in the transnational moment". *Diaspora: a journal of transnational studies*, 1996, 5.1: 3-36; BUTLER, K. D. "Defining diaspora, refining a discourse". *Diaspora: a journal of transnational studies*, 2001, 10.2: 189-219; BRUBAKER, R. "The 'diaspora' diaspora". *Ethnic and racial studies*, 2005, 28.1: 1-19; FAIST, T. "Diaspora and transnationalism: What kind of dance partners". *Diaspora and transnationalism: Concepts, theories, and methods*, 2010, 11.

[31] GILROY, P. "Not a Story to Pass On: Living Memory and the Slave Sublime". *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, 1993, 187-223.

[32] REIS, M. "Theorizing diaspora: perspectives on "classical" and "contemporary" diaspora". *International Migration*, 2004, 42.2: 41-60.

[33] BRUBAKER, R. "The 'diaspora' diaspora". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2005, 28.1: 1-19, p. 3.

[34] In the context of a discussion on exile, I would like to draw attention to a collection of essays titled "Esilio" (Exile), published in the journal "Parolechiave" in 2009, issue number 42. This collection offers insights and perspectives on the

of nationalism that transcend fixed borders, challenging the concept of the nation-state while still being rooted in the idea of a homeland defined through a national vocabulary. However, it is important to recognize that the idea of a homeland can often be externally imposed rather than being a self-identified characteristic. This imposition runs the risk of engaging in essentialist thinking, where the identity of individuals is reduced to fixed and unchanging traits[35]. Instead, scholars have effectively argued that peoples' relation to an ancestral homeland should be approached as a process with many nuances rather than a given fact, because the levels and types of connection may differ markedly[36]. A fundamental contribution on the topic was made by feminist thought. In her well-known essay from 1949, the philosopher Simone Weil stated that «Being rooted is perhaps the most crucial and yet often overlooked need of the human soul». However, Weil also acknowledged that «Every human being requires multiple roots»[37]. Focusing on roots and identity-based origins doesn't inherently imply essentialism. Instead, it serves to recognize the enduring influence of nostalgia and the allure of belonging that emerged in communities and societies, while also critically addressing the "fixation" or "obsession" on roots[38]: What factors contribute to it? For many, the idea of home remains an elusive point on the horizon, especially in relation to answering the question "Where are you *really* from?". While seemingly innocuous, this question is always laden with deeper implications and linked to notions of place, emotions, and loyalties. The framework of diasporic spaces[39] usefully underscores how migrant groups stake their place in new environments while sustaining varied ties to ancestral homelands, negotiating between diverse influences as identities and belongings evolve in transitory circumstances. Capturing such complexities through the diaspora paradigm provides nuanced insight into the interplay between internal cohesion and external linkages that shape diasporic experiences over generations. This means that the diasporic space can be conceptualized as an «imagined community» as defined by Anderson[40], and a transnational one, since it must navigate various national spaces. By examining the historical narratives underlying the formation of these transnational imagined communities, the study also relates to memory studies, which provide the second theoretical foundation for this work.

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topic of exile and diaspora from various authors and contributors. See also: ANDERSON, B. *The spectre of comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the world*. London: Verso Books, 2011.

[35] This is well scrutinized by the anthropologist James Clifford: CLIFFORD, J. Diasporas. *Cultural anthropology*, 1994, 9.3: 302-338.

[36] BRUBAKER, R. "The 'diaspora' diaspora". *Ethnic and racial studies*, 2005, 28.1: 1-19.

[37] WEIL, S. *The Need for Roots: Prelude to a Declaration of Duties Toward Mankind*, New York: Routledge, 2001, p. 43.

[38] This is the risk of methodological nationalism analyzed in: WIMMER, A.; GLICK SCHILLER, N. "Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation–state building, migration and the social sciences". *Global networks*, 2002, 2.4: 301-334.

[39] CAMPT, T.M. "Diaspora Space, Ethnographic Space: Writing History Between the Lines". In CLARKE, K. M.; and THOMAS; D.A. (Ed.). *Globalization and Race*, 93–111. Durham: Duke University Press, 2020.

[40] ANDERSON, B. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso Books, 1983.

Early research focused on memory within small-scale groups and national contexts[41], but contemporary memory studies explore more dynamic, mediated, and cosmopolitan models of remembrance. Precisely because of these developments, one should be cautious of replicating neoliberal ideals of a borderless world and to consider the specificities and power dynamics of memory production, circulation, and consumption. Grounded, located articulations of memory are crucial in this regard, as highlighted by scholars like Susannah Radstone[42]. The transnational and transcultural turn in memory studies[43] requires analytical distinctions between these categories, as they may not always align. As the scholar Michael Rothberg explains, transcultural memory refers to the blending or hybridization of historical narratives and legacies that takes place when different cultures encounter one another, and their traditions intersect through movement across cultural borders. Instead, transnational memory emerges from the linking of memory practices between nation-states as people and ideas flow across national lines. Both transcultural memory and transnational memory involve processes of cultural exchange and interaction that challenge singular or fixed notions of memory as belonging solely to one group. The impact of migration on local and national memory cultures is often overlooked. Some argue that mass migration in modernity leads to cultural amnesia. However, this perspective fails to recognize the emergence of new forms of transcultural memory that arise through migration, affecting not only migrants but also the population in the destination country and those who remain in the country of emigration. In examining the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada through the lenses of transnational imagined communities and memory studies, this dissertation aims to shed light on the intricate dynamics of diasporic memory and the ways in which migration shapes memory cultures in both local and transnational contexts. Finally, the analysis will provide targeted insight into the spatial dimension of memory. An intrinsic link exists between recollection and location. Individual memory is shaped by the interconnected social and physical surroundings[44]. The place itself may determine the existence of an event, with recollection of that event encoded in people's minds. This leads to the emergence of places of

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[41] The foundational texts in the field of memory studies are: HALBWACHS, M. *On Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992; NORA, P. *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996; HUYSSEN, A. "Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia". *Public Culture*, 2000, 12: 21-38.

[42] RADSTONE, S. "Trauma theory: Contexts, politics, ethics". *Paragraph*, 2007, 30.1: 9-29.

[43] HIRSCH, M. *The Generation of Postmemory*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012: ERLL, A. "Transcultural memory". *Témoigner. Entre histoire et mémoire. Revue pluridisciplinaire de la Fondation Auschwitz*, 2014, 119: 178; ROTHBERG, M. "Locating transnational memory". *European Review*, 2014, 22.4: 652-656; BOND, L; RAPSON, J. *The Transcultural Turn. Interrogating Memory between and beyond Borders*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014; ORTNER, J. "Diaspora, postmemory and the transcultural turn in contemporary Jewish writing". *Crossings: Journal of Migration & Culture*, 2016, 7.1: 27-4; RADSTONE, S; WILSON, R. (Ed.). *Translating worlds: Migration, memory, and culture*. London: Routledge, 2020.

[44] HALBWACHS, M. *On collective memory*, cit.

memory, Halwbacks' landmarks, and Nora's *lieux de memoir*[45]. The built environment is (re)produced through the conscious actions of individuals and groups, while directly influencing the development of place-based recollections[46]. In essence, the term diaspora as understood in this work encompasses more than simply the act of migrating or dispersing from one place to another, it is a concept that helps to explain the world that is created because of such population movements and the memories associated with both the places people leave and the new places they inhabit.

As concern the methodology chosen to sustain the research, it can be categorized into three primary strands: archival research, oral history interviews, and analysis of cultural production.

In the initial phase, careful consideration was given to selecting appropriate archives, research centers, and museums for conducting fieldwork. During the first year of the PhD program, an extensive mapping of Ukrainian holdings in Canada was conducted, with a specific focus on identifying repositories that contained a significant number of sources directly relevant to the topic. During the twelve-month fieldwork, I had the opportunity to visit several institutions in Canada and the United States. In Victoria, British Columbia, I visited the BC Royal Museum Archives and the University of Victoria Archives. In Toronto, I conducted research at the University of Toronto, Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Center, Shevchenko Museum, Ukrainian National Federation Archives, and Provincial Archives of Ontario. In Halifax, I contacted the Pier 21 Museum, which kindly provided me with digital materials. In Ottawa, I visited the National Archives of Canada. In New York, I had access to the United Nations Archives, while in Winnipeg, I explored the University of Manitoba Archives, Oseredok Archives, Association of United Ukrainian Canadians Archives as well as private collections. Finally, in Edmonton, I conducted research at the Provincial Archives of Alberta, the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives, and the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Archives. Additionally, I made use of online resources of the community such as websites like Diasporiana. Then, the second building block of my fieldwork was to incorporate the archival framework with oral history interviews that I personally conducted. This approach allowed me to delve deeper into the narratives circulating within the community and gain a more comprehensive understanding of their experiences and perspectives. Oral history methodology recognizes that oral sources go beyond simply providing accounts of events. They offer a unique perspective by representing the interpretation and recollection of events through memory and language. When conducting interviews, particularly with individuals

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[45] NORA P. *Les Lieux De Mémoire*. Paris: Gallimard, 1994.
[46] RINGAS, D.; CHRISTOPOULOU, E.; STEFANIDAKIS, M. "Urban memory in space and time". In: STYLIARAS, G.; KOUKOPOULOS, D.; LAZARINIS, F. (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Technologies and Cultural Heritage: Applications and Environments*, Hershey: Information Science Reference, pp. 325-340.

whose community culture holds significance, their personal life stories are heavily influenced by the shared worldview within their group[47]. The institutionalization of oral history as an accepted methodology in historiographic work was a long process. This was especially due to interviews and human memory previously being viewed as untrustworthy sources. However, over time, scholars increasingly recognized the value oral histories could provide in capturing perspectives that may not have been documented elsewhere. For instance, Luisa Passerini's study of Italian memories of interwar fascism revealed how public culture and ideology can influence individual memory and subjectivity[48]. This influence could be observed through the silences, discrepancies, and idiosyncrasies in personal testimonies. Alessandro Portelli, considered one of the pioneers of oral history, exemplified this paradigm shift in understanding memory and the use of oral history. In his 1979 publication «What Makes Oral History Different»[49], Portelli directly addressed critics who dismissed "unreliable memory". He argued that the unique characteristics of oral history, such as orality, narrative form, subjectivity, and the relationship between interviewer and interviewee, should be viewed as strengths rather than weaknesses. These elements of oral history provide valuable resources for understanding the past, in Portelli's words: «What is really important is that memory is not a passive depository of facts, but an active process of creation of meanings»[50]. As a result of this shift, oral historians began employing a wide range of approaches, including linguistic, narrative, cultural, psychoanalytic, and ethnographic, to analyze and utilize their body of sources. Lastly, Passerini and Portelli bring forth an important consideration regarding oral history projects. They caution against what Passerini terms as "easy democratization" and "complacent populism" within these initiatives. While providing a platform for marginalized groups to share their stories is critical, Passerini emphasizes the importance of acknowledging how dominant historical narratives can shape and influence memories. Furthermore, one should always be cognizant that oral history is a relational process between the interviewer and interviewee: what is the power dynamic between them? Also, from the perspective of the interviewer, it is essential to be prudent and avoid the risk of positioning oneself in a role of "giving voice" to others. We are not giving voice; we are listening to others and interpreting those insights. This framework informed the methodology of my oral history interviews.

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[47] CONTINI, G; MARTINI, A. *Verba manent: l'uso delle fonti orali per la storia contemporanea*. Roma: Carocci, 1993, p. 20.

[48] PASSERINI, L. *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Clas*s, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; PASSERINI, L. "Work Ideology and Consensus under Italian Fascism", *History Workshop Journal*, 1979, 8.1: 82–108.

[49] Portelli's seminal work include: *Biografia di una città. Storia e racconto: Terni 1830-1985*, Torino: Einaudi, 1985; *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History,* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991; *The Order Has Been Carried Out: History, Memory, and Meaning of a Nazi Massacre in Rome,* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003; *They say in Harlan County: An oral history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

[50] PORTELLI, A. "What makes oral history different". In: *The oral history reader*. London: Routledge, 2002, pp. 77-88.

I sought to understand which narratives circulated most prominently within the community and explored how the institutionalization of certain collective memories may have influenced individuals' recollections of their own personal experiences. I first contacted the primary Ukrainian institutions in the cities where I conducted fieldwork. By engaging these organizations, I was able to identify and select interview subjects who comprised the third wave of Ukrainian immigration. Potential interviewees were identified based on their arrival to Canada between 1945 and 1951. Initial points of contact at the institutions helped connect me with individuals willing to share their personal experiences and perspectives relating to my research topic. Through a snowball sampling technique, additional subjects were referred who met the criteria, with a special emphasis on also finding narratives outside the mainstream community. Moreover, I have also interviewed members of the Ukrainian community which were not strictly related to the third wave. In total, I have collected 30 interviews between September 2021 and September 2022. Lastly, I have endeavored to integrate "present" narratives emerging from the oral history interviews with the cultural production developed since 1945, to interrogate patterns of change, negotiation, and evolution. Generally speaking, cultural production amongst diaspora communities is diverse, encompassing memoirs, literary works, film, and artistic artifacts that cultivate cultural and social spheres for reflective expression and negotiation of diasporic identities[51]. Similarly, cultural production may function as a vehicle for marginalized groups to politically articulate demands for recognition, transformation, and feelings of grievance relating to collective trauma[52]. Diasporic «cultural workers» utilize such forms of production not only to sustain homeland ties and assert agency over shared experiences, but also to resist exilic conditions of alienation, liminality, dispossession, and loss that risk cultural erasure, an element which is particularly potent in the context of the Ukrainian diaspora during the Soviet era. These cultural activities moreover serve as a dynamic force, providing migrants and ethnic minorities with socio-cultural spaces that promote well-being and adaptation to the resettlement country[53]. What is especially pivotal in this analysis is the understanding that cultural production can intervene in the ongoing process of meaning-making, as meanings are constantly reshaped and redefined. Consideration is also given to how such cultural products express and potentially reinforce existing societal power dynamics. The framework further prompts examination of the motivations behind an

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[51] KHREBTAN-HÖRHAGER, J. "A Mediterranean Clandestine: A Friend or a Foe?", in ROY, S. and SHAW, I.S. (Ed.). *Communicating Differences: Culture, Media, Peace and Conflict Negotiation*. Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

[52] ZHENG, S. *Claiming Diaspora: Music, Transnationalism, and Cultural Politics in Asian/ Chinese America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010; KALU, K.; FALOLA, T. *Oppression and Resistance in Africa and the Diaspora*. Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2019.

[53] HOLMES, M. "Culture without the state? Reinvigorating Ukrainian culture with diasporic efforts". *Review of Policy Research*, 2007, 24.2: 133-154; ZIEMER, U.; ROBERTS. P.S. *East European Diasporas, Migration and Cosmopolitanism*. Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2013.

artifact's creation and the audiences it was intended to reach[54]. Amongst Ukrainian diaspora communities, cultural production predominantly circulates through organized events like film festivals, concerts, poetry performances, and art exhibitions. These occasions comprise a symbolic space wherein themes of homeland affairs, diaspora politics, relations with host societies, integration issues, and identities are presented, critiqued, and renegotiated. This dissertation does not provide an exhaustive analysis of all aspects of cultural production among Ukrainian migrants arriving in Canada after World War II. However, certain analytical frameworks were deliberately selected for examining the evolution of identity for this wave of migrants. This ranges from the national homogeneity emphasized in displaced persons camps immediately following the war to the nation-building efforts of Ukrainians exiled from their homeland seeking to establish an independent Ukrainian state. Memoirs and literary works from the period are considered for the narratives they convey regarding this identity journey. Additionally, artistic artifacts such as films, paintings, and statues are analyzed. The intellectual sphere is also addressed, including scholarly production within academic circles relevant to the Ukrainian Canadian experience. Finally, everyday expressions of belonging are explored through cultural performances that affirmed group membership. How did *Ukrainianness* evolve within this migration space? This analysis examines how Ukrainianness was represented, showcased, and employed by Ukrainian migrants and their descendants to achieve recognition and legitimation in their newly adopted homeland. This focused approach allows for deeper probing of select cultural manifestations illuminating the negotiation of a distinctive Ukrainian Canadian ethnic identity as migrants navigated new social and political landscapes abroad while maintaining ties to the homeland they left behind.

Having established the necessary context and analytical framework, it is time to delve deeper into how this project is organized and what it seeks to answer. At the core of my research lies a central question: What does it mean to be part of the ever-changing Ukrainian Canadian narrative? By leveraging theoretical lenses attentive to narratives of displacement and exile, nation-building abroad, and assertions of belonging in a new setting, this dissertation aims to enrich understanding of the multifaceted identity formation process for this post-World War II wave of Ukrainian migrants to Canada. To answer this, the thesis is structured into three parts, each consisting of two chapters, categorized by the overarching themes of "displacement", "translation", and "return". These themes were chosen as pivotal for examining questions around diasporic identity, including how it was established, how it changed, and how it evolved upon completing its "founding mission". Certainly, the complexity of holding these three moments should be emphasized. Each line of investigation

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[54] HALL, S. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora", in MIRZOEFF, N. (Ed.). *Diaspora and Visual Culture: Representing Africans and Jews*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.

needed not only a specific thematic contextualization, but also different sources and methodological approaches. Each theme could have been developed on its own, but I decided - at the cost of losing in the specificity of the individual matter – to integrate the insights from these three analytical perspectives to understand how the diasporic experience unfolds. The first section examines the concept of "displacement" through analyzing the organizational efforts undertaken by this community to both envision Ukraine in exile as well as resettle overseas, primarily in Canada, during the early post-World War II period. This part aims to understand how displacement from their homeland shaped the initial formation of this group, especially interrogating the terms in which this peculiar collective identity could be interpreted as a diasporic belonging. Beyond nationalization in the camps, there was also the elaboration of a specific historical mission to carry on. It is important to consider how displacement impacted the new generations who underwent their first socialization and schooling in the camps. The first element to consider in analyzing the Ukrainian case is that it was not unique, as comparisons among Eastern European nationalities undoubtedly reveal parallels that have been documented in other studies[55]. As fragments of vanished empires, these nations similarly faced the challenges of forging independent identities in the aftermath of imperial dissolution. The emergence of exile nationalisms, wherein cultural autonomy was cultivated abroad pending self-determination at home, likewise connects the trajectories of these nationalisms. Therefore, the argument conceptualizing the diasporic character as an effect of imperial drivers[56] provides a cogent framework for also comprehending the dynamics and circumstances that formed these Eastern European diasporas. Notwithstanding, while this suggests the Ukrainian experience should not be viewed as an isolated case, there are some peculiarities of utmost relevance. What narratives of *Ukrainian* identity did they internalize? How did living for formative years amidst the trauma of war and exile shape their understanding of themselves as members of a diaspora? This line of inquiry holds relevance for comprehending how the seeds of identity sown in the camps continued to bear fruit and influence subsequent generations settled overseas. The second part explores the theme of "translation"[57], investigating what it meant for this wave of immigrants to identify as

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[55] HIDEN, J.; SALMON, P. *The Baltic Nations and Europe: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the Twentieth Century*. Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England, UK: Routledge, 2014; HILTON, L. "Cultural Nationalism in Exile: The Case of Polish and Latvian Displaced Persons". *The Historian*, 2009, 71.2: 280–317.

[56] DEMIR, I. *Diaspora as translation and decolonization*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2022.

[57] I am not using the term in its linguistic meaning, but in the context of migration studies. Migration is a complex phenomenon that involves the movement and interaction of people across borders as well as the exchange of cultural ideas. As globalization has increased connectivity between nations, the rates of human mobility have also risen dramatically. However, the movement of migrants between sending and receiving countries is not a one-dimensional process of physical relocation alone. It also encompasses the translation of cultural identities, values, and meaning systems as migrants integrate into new host societies. See: BANDIA, P. F. "Translocation: translation, migration, and the relocation of cultures". *A Companion to Translation Studies*, 2014, 271-284; BACHMANN-MEDICK, D. "Migration as

Ukrainian within the multilayered context of the established Ukrainian Canadian community as well as in relation to Canada and the Soviet Union in the latter half of the century. It considers how they worked to preserve Ukrainian culture from abroad through organizing rituals, festivals and developing Ukrainian mythology, while also inevitably taking on aspects of their new home in Canada, especially as the country implemented an official policy of multiculturalism to manage cultural diversity. A key question posed is whether and how their efforts to culturally build the Ukrainian nation may have also contributed to constructing a certain sense of "Canadianness" in the community. Diasporic subjects must communicate their cultural identities and experiences with their host societies to build relationships and acceptance. However, this process of cultural translation is not neutral and inherently involves dynamics of power within both the home and host cultures. Diasporas navigate these hierarchical relationships through a variety of strategic approaches along a continuum of domestication and foreignization. This dissertation seeks to address several questions regarding how diasporas engage in cultural translation. Specifically, how might diasporas employ foreignization techniques to resist full domestication? Do they purposefully mistranslate aspects of their cultures? Do they reject domestication, and if so, what strategies do they utilize? To what extent and under what conditions might they gloss over cultural differences? What cultural elements do they omit from translation and why? Most importantly, this work will explore how the cultural and political impacts of translation may alter the host society and at what point the host becomes home. Accordingly, the third part addresses the issue of "return", examining the long-term aim of the diasporic group. This analysis examines how their enduring national mission of achieving independence for Ukraine both combined with and was potentially complicated by the everyday experiences of exile and establishing new roots in Canada. The final section thus aims to conclude the story of the so-called "DP generation" by exploring the narratives through which this community reconsidered their feelings of belonging and role amidst the achievement of Ukrainian independence in 1991. However, it also acknowledges how identity questions remain ongoing with intergenerational impacts, as evidenced by subsequent pivotal events in Ukraine such as the Orange Revolution, Revolution of Dignity, Russian annexation of Crimea, and ongoing war of 2022. The ultimate objective I had in mind elaborating this project was to position this experience within a more comprehensive framework, to discern why these dynamics materialized in this specific context and what insights can be gleaned regarding Canadian society at large: in the end, is Canada a «nation»?

Any scholarly endeavor undertaken to expand human understanding is inherently incomplete in scope, however this research encountered various limitations that should be addressed. To begin

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translation". *Migration: Changing concepts, critical approaches*, 2018, 273-293; RADSTONE, S.; WILSON, R. (Ed.). *Translating worlds: Migration, memory, and culture,* cit.

with, the COVID-19 pandemic presented unforeseen obstacles in accessing certain archival materials integral to comprehensively addressing my dissertation inquiry. Specifically, travel limitations forestalled visits to national archives and organizational headquarters until the second year of research. While digital archives expanded during the public health emergency to continue providing sources, germane collections remained unavailable online or lacked full digitization. This challenge was further exacerbated by the geographic distance between Italy, where I am based, and Canada, where I conducted my fieldwork from September 2021 to September 2022. Once I had completed the period of fieldwork in Canada, the significant distance made it unfeasible to return and collect additional sources. Furthermore, the selection of cities, focusing primarily on national archives and headquarters of associations, inherently constrained the study. One notable limitation concerns the lack of direct fieldwork conducted within the province of Quebec. As the scope of this study aimed to analyze a wide array of sources from across Canada within constrained time limitations, directly engaging with the additional layer of complexity presented by Quebec's sociocultural dynamics and the French language was not feasible. Moreover, the national headquarters of the organization under examination were not located within Quebec. While the province's context will inevitably emerge at various points in the ensuing analysis, such as in relation to Canada's discussion of biculturalism and multiculturalism or through life stories and interviews incorporating individuals from that province, direct fieldwork was intentionally excluded from the methodology. Nonetheless, acknowledging this limitation regarding Quebec provides needed transparency concerning its peripheral treatment within the overarching examination of themes at the national level characterizing Canadian studies. As already discussed, employing oral history methodology for this research presented a distinctive set of difficulties that necessitated careful consideration. Beyond the methodological issues already addressed, it is important to underscore the challenge of performing interviews about traumatic prior occurrences which can be emotionally draining for both interviewer and interviewee as agonizing recollections are recounted and relived. The sensitive nature of retelling profoundly upsetting personal experiences from one's past cannot be overstated. As the primary investigator, facilitating conversations that prompted reflections on such profoundly distressing periods demanded presence of mind, empathy, and compassion. It also required maintaining an open and non-judgmental demeanor while giving subjects the space and time needed to share their accounts in a way of their own choosing without fear of judgment. The potential risks of reopening old wounds or unsettling long-buried emotions were carefully weighed against the benefits of gaining a deeper understanding of how lived experiences from that era continue affecting people to this day[58]. The Russian invasion of Ukraine in late February 2022 presented an unforeseen challenge to the present study. At the time,

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[58] VICKERS, E. L. "Unexpected trauma in oral interviewing". *The Oral History Review*, 2019.

I had completed approximately six weeks of qualitative fieldwork interviews with key informants in Toronto. The shocking turn of events during the study's active data collection period threatened to undermine the framing and focus of the research. Similarly, the digital landscape became partially inaccessible as both Ukrainian and Russian internet servers and websites were intermittently disrupted or shut down. Not less importantly, the watershed event had significant impacts on the narratives shared by community members. Following this pivotal occurrence, the community's stories were strongly radicalized, and past events reinterpreted through this new lens. While observing these shifting narratives provided a type of natural experiment by allowing me to trace differences over a short time frame, it also introduced more biases into the research. Moreover, the unfolding of events underscored the need for careful ethical considerations regarding how to appropriately engage with the community to minimize potential harm while still achieving research objectives. For instance, one interview subject described the experience of revisiting traumatic events through media coverage as triggering intense emotional responses. As she stated: «Looking at the news it was like reliving those days all over again. I was one of them, I almost forgot what it meant»[59]. Despite limitations, I made the decision to retain the oral history aspect of the work because it may offer invaluable insights to this research. It acts as a safeguard against overgeneralizations, recognizing each migrant as an individual with complex lives and relationships. The final limitation of this study concerns the specific empirical focus. As introduced, the research homes in on a particular wave of migration with the aim of conceptually mapping this experience and situating it within processes of resettlement, thereby seeking to interrogate the intersection of two nation-building projects. However, properly contextualizing the topic necessitates accounting for complex webs of interrelationships and spaces - Canada, the Ukrainian Canadian community, the Ukrainian diaspora, Soviet Ukraine, and the Ukrainian state. In mapping the migratory experience, I have necessarily had to make choices regarding which perspectives to prioritize and emphasize. In so doing, I focused on those deemed most significant to understanding the overarching political and cultural dimensions that helped shape this community. Archival sources were also more abundant regarding these aspects, allowing for a deeper examination. As such, the analysis is primarily structured around exploring these political and cultural elements, as influencing factors in the nation-building processes that unfolded. I acknowledge that other realms, especially the social and economic spheres, receive only tangential treatment here and would benefit from additional scrutiny. The intention of this analysis is to provide foundational insights that may prove useful for furthering scholarly understanding of this topic going forward. It presents initial perspectives and findings to potentially inform additional lines of inquiry by other researchers in the future.

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[59] Zorianna Hyworon. Interview by me, 22nd June 2022, Winnipeg.

PART ONE

DISPLACEMENT: BETWEEN REFUGE AND EXILE (1945 - 1950s)

Exile is an uncomfortable situation, though it is also a magical situation [...].

Some exiles die of rage, some transform their exile into a country[1]

The first part of the dissertation examines the circumstances that led to the uprootedness of over two hundred thousand Ukrainians from their homeland to the DP camps[2] established in the Allied-occupied territories immediately after the Second World War. In these spaces, Ukrainians of different ages, genders, geographical and social origins, and with different wartime experiences, lived together and became the vocal centers of anti-Soviet propaganda. This first chapter tackles the issue of daily life in displacement, analyzing the organizational efforts to establish an institutional framework for a «Ukraine in exile» and the acts of selective remembrance undertaken within this community. It questions whether such efforts serve to lay the foundation for realizing the diasporic mission of this displaced community. Building upon the examination of post-war displacement, the second chapter narrows its focus to analyze the overseas migration of nearly forty thousand displaced Ukrainians who ultimately resettled in Canada: Who are they? How do they remember this journey? How did their arrival affect the already established Ukrainian community?

CHAPTER 1
UKRAINIANS IN POSTWAR EUROPE

1.1. The end of the Second World War and the Ukrainian question

In the examination of the Ukrainian migration experience resulting from WW II displacement, delimiting the scope of inquiry to events transpiring from the summer of 1945 proves a prudent starting point. It was at this juncture that Germany formally surrendered, ostensibly bringing the armed conflict raging across Europe to an end via unconditional capitulation. However, as evidenced in various research, wars seldom conclude through official declarations alone, but rather terminate

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[1] CIXOUS, H. *Three Steps on the Ladder of Writing*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, p. 120.
[2] Within the existing body of scholarly literature pertaining to this topic, "DP" represents the predominant terminology employed. However, it must be acknowledged that this denotation is not entirely value neutral. Furthermore, migration vocabulary ought to be employed cautiously, as there exists an overlap between political and legal terms.

when belligerents decide to «construct» an end to them[3]. The primary sources covered in this chapter demonstrates that memoirs and periodicals published by Ukrainian organizations in the summer of 1945 suggested tensions in the Eastern European space[4] remained significant. By invoking the Wilsonian principles of «national self-determination» enshrined in the Atlantic Charter, a Ukrainian nationalist front continued advancing a project framing their struggle against Bolshevism as an ongoing, yet-to-be concluded battle for Ukrainian independence:

> The future world war, which has become inevitable due to Russia's aggressive attitude, will
> be won by the West only when it aims not at a new division of the world into spheres of
> influence, but rather at the realization of other objectives that are more noble and sublime
> when it is not a war of conquest but a war of liberation[5].

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[3] The field of peace studies as we know it today began to emerge in the mid-20th century. Pioneers like Johan Galtung, Betty Reardon, and Kenneth Boulding helped establish peace research as an interdisciplinary academic field focused on both analyzing the causes of violence and conflict as well as proposing solutions and strategies for peacebuilding. Since then, peace studies research has expanded rapidly. Scholars have examined topics like the psychology of peace and conflict, nonviolent social movements, international security, transnational peacebuilding efforts, and the role of civil society and nongovernmental organizations in conflict resolution. Within the field, research on narratives in conflict and post-conflict societies has highlighted the important role stories play in shaping individual and collective identities, fostering social cohesion or division, and enabling or hindering reconciliation. On this note: HAMBER, B.; WILSON, R. A. "Symbolic closure through memory, reparation and revenge in post-conflict societies". *Journal of Human Rights*, 2002, 1.1: 35-53; BORNEMAN, J. "Reconciliation after ethnic cleansing: Listening, retribution, affiliation". *Public Culture*, 2002, 14.2: 281-304. ASSMANN, A. "To remember or to forget: Which way out of a shared history of violence?". In: ASSMANN, A.; SHORTT, L. (Ed.). *Memory and political change*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2012, pp. 53-71; HAMPSON, F. O.; NARLIKAR, A. (Ed.). *International Negotiation and Political Narratives: A Comparative Study*. Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England, UK: Routledge, 2022; HARLOW, B. *Resistance literature*. Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England, UK: Routledge, 2023.

[4] The conceptualization of "Eastern Europe" warrants prudent consideration. Within the parameters of the present analysis, the term is utilized while acknowledging the prevailing post-Cold War conceptual framework which perhaps oversimplifies the demarcation of states formerly within the Soviet sphere of influence as well as the former Yugoslavia. However, scholarly discourse surrounding the "invention of Eastern Europe" and the transition from a historical north-south paradigm to an emergent west-east axis in Europe dating to the late 18th century raises important points worthy of brief mention. While the aim of this thesis does not enable an in-depth exploration of these complex issues, acknowledging such debates provides important context for the utilization of this contested terminology. Employing this framework with attendant caveats regarding its potential limitations recognizes ongoing scholarly discussions surrounding Eastern Europe while facilitating the objectives of the present analysis within its necessarily circumscribed scope. WOLFF, L. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Redwood City, California: Stanford University Press, 1994; ADAMOVSKY, E. "Euro-Orientalism and the Making of the Concept of Eastern Europe in France, 1810–1880", *The Journal of Modern History*, 2005, 77.3: 591–628; BEREND, I. T. "What Is Central and Eastern Europe?", *European Journal of Social Theory*, 2005, 8.4: 401–16.

[5] HONCHARUK, O. *If war comes tomorrow*, Toronto: The society of Veterans of UPA, 1953, p. 5. The veracity of the translation cannot be confirmed due to the lack of reference to the original Ukrainian source material. As such, one must approach the source with due caution. Nonetheless, I had access to *Samostiynist* and there is an article of the same author published in 1946 with a similar content: HONCHARUK, O. "Ukrayinsʹka povstansʹka armiya - Nosiy idey vyzvolennya i druzhby narodiv", *Samostiynist,* 1946, 1.1: 68-96. The dissemination of this book within the Ukrainian Canadian community through publication and presence in libraries and archives indicates the narratives circulating among this diasporic group at the time. Within my dissertation, I aim to examine this narrative situated within the broader context provided by related sources from the same community. While the translation's accuracy cannot be verified, it remains one

This brief excerpt from a 1953 publication by the Society of Veterans of Ukrainian Insurgent Army of Toronto provides preliminary insight into the perspectives held within the third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada after resettlement. For instance, it emphasizes the «inevitability of a future world war» and the need to wage a «war of liberation» in Eastern Europe to delineate the borders of an independent Ukrainian state on the map of Europe. The source offers but a fleeting glimpse into the nascent national discourse that would ultimately undergird the post-war Ukrainian narrative.

A comprehensive reconstruction necessitates a step back to contextualize this foundational narrative and situate it within the contours of the period. To do so, this chapter aims to provide a nuanced understanding of displaced Ukrainians' perspectives in late 1940s through examining formative experiences and ideological developments that shaped their emerging conception of Ukrainian nationhood. As the most politically aware and ideologically positioned played a fundamental role in framing the community narrative, this investigation reconstructs constituent elements of the wartime experience as viewed through the Ukrainian lens. To fully understand the perspective of Ukrainians displaced after World War II as well as the nationalist and anti-Soviet narratives they advocated, it is imperative to trace the genesis of how, when and where these viewpoints evolved by analysing pivotal events and developments on the Eastern Front that shaped their outlook. Careful analysis of the circumstances these individuals faced is needed to comprehend the stances they embraced in the aftermath of the war and during their subsequent refugee experiences. Only through such inquiry into the conditions that framed their realities can one achieve balanced insight into the rationales underlying the vocabulary then adopted afterward.

1.1.1. Ukrainian nationalism and the Second World War: A background

World War II is commonly referred to as «the Good War»[6] in the United States and had been glorified as the «Great Patriotic War» in the Soviet Union, underlying the high moral stand of winning a "just war" against "evil". This reading of the conflict mirrors the state-sanctioned narratives of the wartime allies; however, it does not include the personal trajectories and trickles of those who took up arms. In a Ukrainian narrative, a first element concerns a specification of the war chronology. It is arguable that for Ukrainian nationalists, if a war remained to be fought in the summer of 1945, it

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window into the perspectives held by Ukrainian Canadians during this period. I intend to approach it carefully while acknowledging its limitations, analyzing how it complements and contrasts with other evidence from oral histories and writings of the Ukrainian DPs in the post-war period. My overall goal is not to validate the specific claims within the translation but to understand the narratives prevalent within the third wave of Ukrainian migration to Canada and how they shaped the community's sense of the Ukrainian national identity in the aftermath of WW II.

[6] TERKEL, S. *The Good War: An Oral History of World War II*, New York City: The New Press, 1997.

was not limited to the one that broke out in September 1939. Rather, the events may be viewed in the shadow of the so-called «Ukrainian War of Independence» which began in 1917, when the Central Council for Ukraine proclaimed the establishment of the Ukrainian People's Republic[7]. However, the Bolshevik Revolution and the events of World War I hindered its development from the beginning, and in 1921 its territories were divided among four states: Romania took over the Bukovina region, Transcarpathia became a part of the newly formed Czechoslovakia, Poland regained Galicia and Western Volhynia, and the territory east of the Polish border formed Soviet Ukraine, one of the constituent republics of the Soviet Union[8]. While the governmental institutions of the UNR were relocated to Poland and then moved first to France and then to Prague[9], in Galicia veterans of the 1917 – 1921 wars organized the underground Organization *Ukrayinska Viyskova Orhanisatsiya* [Ukrainian Military, UVO], headed by Yevhen Konovalets[10]. It was the year 1929 when then the UVO, in Vienna, institutionalized itself as a broader clandestine and conspirational movement, named the *Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv* [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, OUN]. The aim of the OUN was to establish an «independent united national state on Ukrainian ethnic territory»[11], it was active mostly in Poland and heavily influenced by Italian fascism[12]. Meanwhile,

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[7] The *Ukrayins'ka Narodna Respublika* [Ukrainian People's Republic, UNR] has been established in Kyiv as an autonomous entity in the Russian Empire in 1917. The *Ukrayins'ka Tsentral'na Rada* [Central Council of Ukraine] proclaimed then its independence with the fourth universal on 22 January 1918. On 22 January 1919, a symbolic act united the UNR with the Western Ukrainian People's Republic that had been established in Lviv on 1 November 1918.

[8] The postwar picture was a very complex one, with conflicts and wars overlapping, especially the Ukrainian-Polish frontier war (1919-1920) and the Polish-Soviet war (1918-1921). For a detailed analysis of the events happening in nowadays Ukraine during the interwar period see: LAMI, G. *La questione ucraina fra'800 e'900*. Milano: Cuem, 2005; MAGOCSI, P. R. *A History of Ukraine: The Land and Its Peoples*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010, pp. 559–642; SNYDER, T. *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*, New York City: Basic Books (AZ), 2010, Introduction; YEKELCHYK, S. "Searching for the Ukrainian Revolution", *Slavic Review*, 2019, 78.4: 942–48.

[9] The government-in-exile never established itself as a unified political center, rather, it would be treated as just another political party, whose members were labeled as *ueneivtsi.*

[10] Yevhen Konovalets was born on June 14, 1891, in Zashkiv, Galicia. He studied law at the University of Lviv and was involved in Ukrainian cultural organizations as a student. Konovalets became a colonel in the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic and a leader of the nationalist movement. He died on May 23, 1938, in Rotterdam, Netherlands.

[11] STATIEV, A. *The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists as the Leader of a Unique Fascist Armed Resistance.* Leiden: Brill, 2020, pp. 143–71, p. 151.

[12] In the scholarly debate surrounding the nature and character of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, I am inclined to agree with the position advanced by Canadian historian John Paul Himka that assigning a precise label or designation to the OUN may be less constructive than carefully examining its actions and activities during World War II. Specifically, Himka argues we should investigate the OUN's collaboration in the Holocaust and its role in ethnic cleansing of national minorities. HIMKA, J. P. *Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust.* Stuttgart: Ibidem Verlag, 2021.While beyond the immediate scope of the present analysis, it is worth briefly noting that the ongoing disputes regarding the nature and character of the OUN seem to mirror, and were perhaps indirectly influenced by, the *Historikerstreit* that occurred in West Germany during the late 1980s concerning appropriate approaches to incorporating National Socialism within German historiography. This debate emerged in response to conservative historian Ernst Nolte's assertion of a "causal nexus" between National Socialism and Stalinism, a connection rejected by scholars grouped around Jürgen Habermas who viewed such an equivalence as an attempt to relativize German guilt and responsibility for the Holocaust. The effect of the *Historikerstreit* on German and Western historiography has been recently analyzed in HILBRENNER, A. "Eastern

in Soviet Ukraine, the Soviet government demonstrated a lack of linearity in its policies toward the national question. To attract the nationalities which have been part of the Russian Empire, the USSR implemented an ambiguous policy of nationality enhancement known as *korenizacija* [indigenization] during the first decade of Soviet power. These years acquired sort of a legendary aura in Ukrainian scholarship as a *rozstriliane vidrodzhennia* [executed renaissance], a national cultural flowering brutally crushed by Stalinist repression in the thirties[13]. Moreover, between 1931 and the summer of 1934, a series of man-made famines killed approximately six million people in the whole USSR, some three million in the only Soviet Ukraine[14], and «marked the turning point of the decade as well as the main eve of Soviet prewar history»[15].

This was the context in which Nazi Germany launched an attack on Poland on September 1, 1939. The *Wehrmacht* quickly inflicted a series of defeats on the Polish armed forces, capitalizing on their vast superiority in military equipment. By the end of the second week of the war, Warsaw was effectively surrounded and besieged, while German armies continued to push Polish armed forces into what would soon become Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia[16]. The Polish military command had lost operational control of the army by September 15. Two days later, with defeat assured, the Polish government fled to exile[17]. As chaos and violence spread throughout Eastern

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European History in Germany as a discipline, or: Transnational Historiography in Times of War", *Ab Imperio*, 2022, 2022.1: 107-114.

[13] PERRI, G. "*Korenizacija*: An Ambiguous and Temporary Strategy of Legitimization of Soviet Power in Ukraine and Its Legacy", *History of Communism in Europe,* 2014, 5:131–54.

[14] There is no agreement on the exact number of victims. Estimates vary in their coverage, I here refer to the statistics of the historian SNYDER, T. *Bloodlands*, cit., pp. 42-44.

[15] GRAZIOSI, A. "The Soviet 1931-1933 Famines and the Ukrainian Holodomor: Is a New Interpretation Possible, and What Would Its Consequences Be?", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 2004, 27.1/4: 97–115, p. 97. The man-made famine affecting Soviet Ukraine has been remembered as *Holodomor* [death by hunger], a term which appeared in the thirties in publications of Ukrainian exiles and then popularized by the diaspora in the 1980s. Recently, the *Holodomor*, or man-made famine of 1932-33, has occupied a much more prominent position in Ukrainian politics and society than it did in the 1990s, let alone the previous decades, when the issue was effectively silenced by Soviet authorities and any references to Holodomor were criminalized. Several are the issues at stake: How many were the victims? Was it a genocide? A detailed account on the topic would be out of the scope of this chapter. I am for now referring to some of the main sources addressing the relevance of the topic after independence: CONQUEST, R. *Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Holodomor*, Kyiv: Lybid, 1993; GRAZIOSI, A. "The Uses of Hunger: Stalin's Solution of the Peasant and National Questions in Soviet Ukraine, 1932 to 1933". In: CURRAN, D.; LUCIUK, L. Y.; NEWBY, A. (Ed.). *Famines in European Economic History. The Last Great European Famines Reconsidered*, Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England, UK: Routledge, 2015, pp. 223–60; KASIANOV, G. "The Holodomor and the Building of a Nation", *Russian Politics & Law*, 2010, 48.5: 25–4; SYSYN, F. "Thirty Years of Research on the Holodomor: A Balance Sheet", *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 2015, 2.1: 3–16; SNYDER, T. *Bloodlands*, cit., pp. 21-58. The issue of the Holodomor will subsequently be examined with reference to this case study, the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada, in later chapters of the dissertation. Indeed, this man-made famine in Ukraine warrants mention as it became a pivotal element of the narrative conveyed by Ukrainians living abroad, particularly during the late 1970s and 1980s.

[16] The spelling of Byelorussia comes from the Russian transliteration of the Soviet Republic. Since 1991 the official name of the country is the Republic of Belarus.

[17] SNYDER, T. *Bloodlands*. cit., pp. 119-154.

Poland, where confrontations among Poles, Ukrainian, and Jews populations outbroke, few people were aware of the specifics of the Non-Aggression Pact signed on August 23, 1939, by Nazi Germany's and the Soviet Union's foreign ministers, Joachim von Ribbentrop and Viacheslav Molotov. The agreement was accompanied by secret protocols delineating the two states' respective spheres of influence in Eastern Europe. The Molotov-Ribbentrop non-aggression pact represents another milestone in the Ukrainian recounting of WW II. According to this narrative, in fact, the «pact» made by the two totalitarian regimes would have been instrumental to «colonizing» Eastern Europe, while underestimating the circumstances that lead to it, above all the fundamental and controversial role plaid by France and Great Britain in the thirties with the politics of appeasement in respect to Hitler foreign policy plans and their attitude towards the USSR[18]. The Soviet Union crossed the Soviet-Polish frontier on September 17, 1939, and annexed the territories of Eastern Galicia that were under Polish rule. From this limited perspective, the Second world war in the territory of what is now considered Western Ukraine thus started with the Red Army occupation[19]. In 1940 the OUN split into two opposed factions: an older group led by Andrii Mel'nyk [OUN-M] and a more militant youthful faction under Stepan Bandera [OUN-B], continuing their armed struggle for Ukrainian independence. Given their ideological background and the aim of Ukrainian independence, it came with not much surprise that after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, both wings engaged in contact with Nazis for a variety of reasons: ideological closeness, political calculation, or mere physical survival. On June 30, 1941, the OUN-B set up a short-lived government in Lviv, by that time under the occupation of Germany. Yaroslav Stetsko was appointed head of the state, and this political entity would then submit to a national government yet to be created in Kyiv that would co-operate with Germany in its struggle against the Soviet army. The foundational document is the «*Akt 30 chervnia 1941* [Act of June 30, 1941] », which stated the cooperation with Adolf Hitler and the support to the dictator's plan of creating a new European order[20].

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[18] This topic would be then addressed while analyzing the publications of the Ukrainian diaspora. For the use of the pact as an instrument of memory politics see, among others: SALOMONI, A. *Il Protocollo Segreto. Il Patto Molotov-Ribbentrop e La Falsificazione Della Storia*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2022; ZHURZHENKO, T. "From the 'Reunification of the Ukrainian Lands' to 'Soviet Occupation': The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in the Ukrainian Political Memory", in KARNER, C. (Ed.) *The Use and Abuse of Memory*. Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England, UK: Routledge, 2017, pp. 229–47.

[19] This selection of events concerns the widespread narrative emerging from the sources. However, a completed picture would include events in Romania and Czechoslovakia. The former, after an initial neutrality joined the Axis in November 1940; while the latter had been already occupied by Nazi Germany in 1938. In: AXWORTHY, M. *Third Axis, Fourth Ally: Romanian Armed Forces in the European War, 1941*–1945. London: Arms and Armour Press, 1995 and DELETANT, D. *Hitler's Forgotten Ally: Ion Antonescu and His Regime, Romania 1940-1944*, London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2006.

[20] DZYUBAN, O.; DASHKEVYCHA, I.; KUK, V. *Ukrayins'ke derzhavotvorennya: Akt 30. chervnya 1941 r.: zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv*. Lviv: Piramida, 2001; BILINSKY, A. *Dr. Toma Lapychak: liudyna, publitsyst, hromadianyn : do khroniky ukraïns'koï emigratsiï*. Munich: Behrendt Meta-Verlag, 1986, pp. 24-25.

Along this line, on July 1, the OUN-B took an active part in a Jewish pogrom staged by the Nazis[21]. The authorities of the Third Reich, however, contrasted an independent Ukrainian state and suppressed and arrested OUN leaders[22]. In response to that, the OUN-B raised a military organization named *Ukrayins'ka Povstans'ka Armiia*, [Ukrainian Insurgent Army, UPA] in October 1942, whose involvement in the Shoah and in the mass murder of Poles in Eastern Galicia is still a heated topic of debate among historians[23]. The narrative elaborated afterward silenced these actions, and instead, the OUN-UPA's role in fighting both Nazi and Soviet armies became fundamental to the collective memory of the community. Given these circumstances, the equation of Hitler and Stalin became more and more frequent in underground propaganda, as in a leaflet [Fig. 1] which reads: «Not for Stalin, not for Suvorov, not for the mentally ill Hitler. For Ukraine»[24].

Fig 1. UPA leaflet

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[21] HIMKA, J. P. "The Lviv Pogrom of 1941: The Germans, Ukrainian Nationalists, and the Carnival Crowd", *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 2011, 53.2–4: 209–43

[22] The territories were instead part of a civilian occupation regime, the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*, administrated by Erich Koch.

[23] RUDLING, P. A. "Historical representation of the wartime accounts of the activities of the OUN–UPA (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists—Ukrainian Insurgent Army)". *East European Jewish Affairs*, 2006, 36.2: 163-189; ROSSOLIŃSKI-LIEBE, G. "Survivor Testimonies and the Coming to Terms with the Holocaust in Volhynia and Eastern Galicia: The Case of the Ukrainian Nationalists". *East European Politics and Societies*, 2020, 34.1: 221-240. KATCHANOVSKI, I. "Terrorists or national heroes? Politics and perceptions of the OUN and the UPA in Ukraine". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 2015, 48.2-3: 217-228; HIMKA, J. P. *Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust,* cit.

[24] Original: «Ni za Stalina, Ni za Suvorova, Ni za Hitlera, Na rozum khvoroho, Za Ukrayinu». *Wasyl Veryha textual records*, Multicultural History Society fonds, Sub-series - F 1405-56-139 PAO, Toronto, Ontario.

In nationalist propaganda surrounding Hitler, he is often described as being «mentally ill». This theme of mental instability has recurred in various accounts of the dictator. For example, an oral history source collected by the Pier 21 Museum in Halifax contained a remembrance from a Ukrainian DP who stated: «Hitler was nuts, he was a little bit touched […] He was a mental case for sure»[25]. The vocabulary has been instrumental in constructing an image of the two dictators as evil, but in an asymmetric way since the cruelty of Hitler is somehow explained by a pathologic condition.

After the Battle of Stalingrad in early 1943, the Soviet launched a counteroffensive westward. In early 1943, after the defeats of the German army on the eastern front and in a last desperate attempt to contrast the Red Army advance, the Nazis organized the *14 Waffen-Grenadier-Division der SS (Galizische Nr. 1),* a SS division of Ukrainian volunteers from Galicia, on the initiative of the German Governor of the district, Otto von Wächter. An account of the military engagement, the training and the battles of the division are described in a memoir written by Wolf-Dietrich Heike[26]. The interpretation of this book could not underestimate the positioning of the author, a major of the *Wehrmacht* and senior general staff officer of the division. Interned from 1945 to 1947 by the British on suspicion of being a SS officer commander, he engaged in postwar civilian life studying industrial management and working for the automotive manufacturer Audi. Interestingly, the title of the English translation of the memoir is neutral, "The Ukrainian Division 'Galicia,' 1943-45: A Memoir", while the original German version let emerge his strong admiration for the volunteers, especially for their deep national sentiment: "*Sie wollten die Freiheit* [They wanted freedom]". In his memoir, Heike underlined the difference in purpose between the German orders and the volunteers' motives, even in the identity of the division itself. While Himmler refused any reference to a Ukrainian division, and for this reason ordered it to be named «Galicia»[27], the recruited soldiers, instead, hoped it to become a nucleus for a future Ukrainian national army[28]. Meanwhile, on 21 and 22 November 1943, a transnational underground conference of various representatives of *«*Enslaved Peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia»[29]*,* was held in the village of Buderaj, Ukraine. Organized on the initiative of the

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[25] L.D., interview by Amy Garnier, 24th August 2005, *Oral History collection*, 05.08.24LD, Pier21, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

[26] HEIKE, W. *The Ukrainian Division 'Galicia,' 1943-45: A Memoir*, Toronto: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1988.

[27] *Ibidem*, p. 4.

[28] In fact, in 1945, when German capitulation was close, they renamed the division "1st division of the Ukrainian National Army" and they surrendered to the Allies by May 10, with the soldiers interned in Italy. The specific trajectory of this group will be investigated in later section of this chapter.

[29] HONCHARUK, O. *If war comes tomorrow,* cit., p. 3. The website of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine, citing sources held in the Branch State Archive of the Foreign Intelligence Service of Ukraine, mentions a report on the event: «39 delegates from 13 nationalities took part in the work of the conference in the village of Buderaj, Zdolbuniv district: 6 Georgians, 6 Azerbaijanis, 5 Uzbeks, 5 Ukrainians, 4 Armenians, 4 Tatars, 2 Belarusians, 2 Ossetians, 1 Kazakh, 1 Circassians , 1 Kabardian, 1 Chuvash, 1 Bashkir» in "Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. A New Reading", *Foreign*

OUN-B it became a platform of joint struggle against Bolshevism, and it was considered the founding conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations [ABN], an anti-communist organization that will be reorganized in 1946, remaining active during the Cold War. In 1944, the OUN reached out to the Western Allies and promulgated a program to make themselves look more presentable, forming in July 1944 the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council [*Ukrainska Holovna Vyzvolna Rada*, UHVR], which united the OUN and the UPA and that had an external representation in emigration. As noticed by the historian Himka, the turn to a «democratic ideology» should not be overestimated, since it occurred when the nationalists realized for certain that Germany had lost the war, and the Soviets were reconquering Ukraine[30]. Notwithstanding, the change of vocabulary impacted on the younger members of the community and on the intergenerational transmission of memories of the OUN[31]. The narrative constructed portrayed a war of liberation against twin oppressive forces. While certain positions taken had antisemitic overtones, the focus of the narrative minimized emphasis on such stances. At this point of the war, guerrilla activity in western Ukraine increased, and clashes between Ukrainians and Poles occurred. With the Red Army advancing into Galicia, by the end of October 1944 all the territory of nowadays Ukraine was under Soviet control. The end of the war caused another redrawing of Ukraine's western borders: Poland ceded Volhynia and Galicia to the USSR in exchange for German territories in the west, which resulted in a mutual population exchange. Bukovina was reoccupied in 1944 and recognized as part of Soviet Ukraine in the Paris Peace Treaty

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Intelligence Service of Ukraine, 2 July 2022, https://szru.gov.ua/en/history/stories/anti-bolshevik-bloc-of-nations-a-new-reading. Last access on 3 January 2023.

[30] HIMKA, J. P. *Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust*, cit.

[31] Generational analysis has become an increasingly important tool within social science and historical research. While generations have always existed and shaped society, the study of intergenerational dynamics and the role of generations in social change has grown in recent decades. A generation can be defined as a group of people born and living contemporaneously who share common experiences and histories that shape collective identity and worldviews. Generational analysis seeks to understand how shared formative experiences during a cohort's youth and young adulthood shape attitudes, behaviors, and identities that differ from other generations. Within historical research, generations can serve as useful conceptual frameworks for periodization and identifying historical turning points. However, scholars note that generational identities and differences are socially constructed and must be examined within broader social, economic, and political contexts. Additionally, not all members of a generation share identical formative experiences. Thus, generational analysis should complement - not replace - other analytical lenses. KERTZER, D. I. "Generation as a sociological problem". *Annual review of sociology*, 1983, 9.1: 125-149; THOMSON, R. "Generational research: between historical and sociological imaginations". *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 2014, 17.2: 147-156. The concept of generation, as employed in this thesis, refers to the common experience of specific events among a group of people. This is evident in the notion of the "DP generation", referring to those who experienced the trauma of displacement and becoming refugees after World War II. When addressing issues related to migration dynamics, the focus shifts to not just those who directly experienced the migration event, but also their descendants for several generations after. The children and grandchildren of migrants come to constitute subsequent generations that are shaped by the initial migration, though they did not personally live through that experience. This multi-generational lens is important for a holistic understanding of the long-term impacts and legacies of migration dynamics. While the first generation of migrants confronts the most direct challenges of uprooting and adaptation to a new environment, the experiences and influences continue to reverberate for their children and grandchildren as well.

of 1947. Transcarpathia became part of Soviet Ukraine in 1945 and in the same year Soviet Ukraine gained a seat as a charter member of the United Nations [UN].

What it matters to stress at this point is that in Eastern Galicia, the Habsburg and then Polish rule and the successive Soviet, Nazi, and again Soviet occupations sanctioned among the Ukrainian community a new perception of victimhood, in a maze of memories, traumas, and resentments that are still difficult to unravel. They include a history of multinational encounters, counterbalanced by nationalistic radicalization and contradictory individual and organizational behaviors toward Poles and Jews but also Nazi and Soviet regimes. Ukrainians fleeing from the territories already part of Soviet Ukraine, instead, took with them a heavy luggage of individual and family memories of the Soviet terror, labor camps, and famines, that will complement Eastern Galician ones, in a process of victimization that was fundamentally part of the *nationalization[32]* of Ukrainian history, an element that was also rooted in the DP camp experience and then destined to endure oversea and over time.

1.1.2. A continent on the move: DPs in postwar Europe

One consequence of the war was an unprecedented population dislocation in Europe. Over sixty million people[33] were evacuated, deported, expelled, or resettled on the European continent alone[34]: «Nor did the end of the war bring an end to this population upheavals. A multitude of refugees and displaced persons continued to trek through the rubble and ruin well into the post-war era»[35]. On their advance into war-torn Germany, the Allied Forces were prepared to encounter many people who were – voluntarily or not – outside the boundaries of their homeland, and that may have provoked a complete breakdown of order in Central and Eastern Europe, especially on the territory of the former *Reich*[36]. The causes of displacement were manyfold, and any categorization cannot encompass the wide array of personal trajectories that the historian Peter Lagrou has defined as a «cacophony of

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[32] KASIANOV, G. "The Nationalization of History in Ukraine", in MILLER, A.; LIPMAN, M. (Ed.). *The Convolutions of Historical Politics*, Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012, pp. 141–74.

[33] This figure does not include those displaced in North Africa, the Middle East, or the Far East.

[34] The context of postwar displacement in Europe has been well-researched in the literature. The main published works on the topic are: COHEN, G. D. *In War's Wake: Europe's Displaced Persons in the Postwar Order,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012; REINISCH, J.; WHITE, E. *The Disentanglement of Populations: Migration, Expulsion and Displacement in Postwar Europe, 1944-49,* Berlin: Springer, 2011*;* SALVATICI, S. *Senza casa e senza paese: profughi europei nel secondo dopoguerra*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009; GATRELL, P, "Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War", *Immigrants & Minorities*, 2008, 26.1–2: 82–110; CRAINZ, G. et al. *Naufraghi della pace: il 1945, i profughi e le memorie divise d'Europa*, Roma: Donzelli, 2008; WYMAN, M. *DPs: Europe's Displaced Persons, 1945–51*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1998.

[35] REINISCH, J.; WHITE, E. *The Disentanglement of Populations*, cit., p. xiv.

[36] MARRUS, M. R. *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 300.

experiences»[37]. However, among the most common routes of whom was dislocated by Nazi plans for the «racial» reordering of Europe, there were for example forced laborers, former inmates deported in Nazi camps, and unaccompanied children brought west in the framework of the *Lebensborn* program of the Reich, that during the war became complicit in the abduction of foreign children with physical characteristics deemed «Aryan». Then, there were soldiers captured as prisoners of war from both arrays and people fleeing from the eastern frontlines, as the Soviet Union was advancing westward. In the immediate aftermath of the war, moreover, new waves of uprooted continued to stream into the occupation zones of Europe, escaping Soviet takeovers, partisan conflicts, population transfers and expulsions[38] and ongoing anti-Semitic violence or even new conflicts, as in the Greece civil war that broke out in 1944[39]. To deal with these masses of dislocated people forty-four countries[40] formed the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration [UNRRA] on November 9, 1943, in Washington. The UNRRA was supposed to follow the military[41] into Germany and German-occupied territories to assist refugees and facilitate their repatriation. It was in this context that the term «displaced person» was used by the SHAEF to legally describe who had been forcibly driven away from their homeland because of the war[42]. The expression was an invention of the war years, intended to distinguish between those who deserved Allied assistance and those who did not, employing nationality as the principal criterion of entitlement. The SHAEF discerned among three general groups of DPs: UN DPs, the officially recognized "victims" of the war, enemy DPs, namely nationals of Germany, Austria, and Japan and ex-enemy DPs, that are nationals of Italy, Finland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary[43]. Because only the former group was under the Allied

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[37] LAGROU, P. "The Nationalisation of Victimhood: Selective Violence and National Grief in Western Europe, 1940–1960", in BESSEL, R. and SCHUMANN, D. (Ed.). *Life after Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe during the 1940s and 1950s*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, 243–57, p. 253.

[38] As in the case of "Germans", namely Third Reich German citizens, *Auslandsdeutsche* (German citizens living abroad), and *Volkdeutsche* (those with German linguistic and cultural roots but without German citizenship).

[39] *Ibidem*, pp. 301-302. See: FERRARA A.; PIANCIOLA, N. *L'età delle migrazioni forzate: esodi e deportazioni in Europa, 1853-1953,* Bologna: Il Mulino, 2012.

[40] REINISCH, J. "Internationalism in Relief: The Birth (and Death) of UNRRA", *Past & Present,* 2011, 210.6:258–89.

[41] UNRRA was subject to the authority of the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force [SHAEF]; SALVATICI, S. "'Help the People to Help Themselves': UNRRA Relief Workers and European Displaced Persons", *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 2012, 25.3: 428–51.

[42] WYMAN, M. DPs: Europe's Displaced Persons …, cit., pp. 15-37. Initially, the Allied military manuals distinguished between "displaced persons", who found themselves outside its country of citizenship and "refugees", civilians in their own country uprooted by the war. In both cases, the aim was to repatriate those people and help them return home. In MARRUS, M. R. *The Unwanted*, cit., p. 300.

[43] This classification is in *Welfare Guide - Displaced Persons (DP's) Germany*, Bureau of Administration Personnel Division - Training Branch - Subject Files, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) (1943-1949) fonds, S-1286-0000-0034. UNA, New York, United States. REINISCH, J. and E. WHITE. *The Disentanglement of Populations*, cit., pp. 115-140. However, the decision to adopt nationality as a classificatory criterion would cause several incongruities, especially in such cases like Italians, who could be both enemy DPs and ex-enemy DPs, depending on their support of the fascist regime.

forces' control, the military's first step should have been to screen the uprooted to determine their status and verify their nationality. As shown by the flow chart in the SHAEF guide [Fig.2][44], among the UN DPs there were six subcategories: UN prisoners of war, American and British civilian internees, UN civilians, neutral civilians, stateless civilians, and USSR citizens – including prisoners of war.
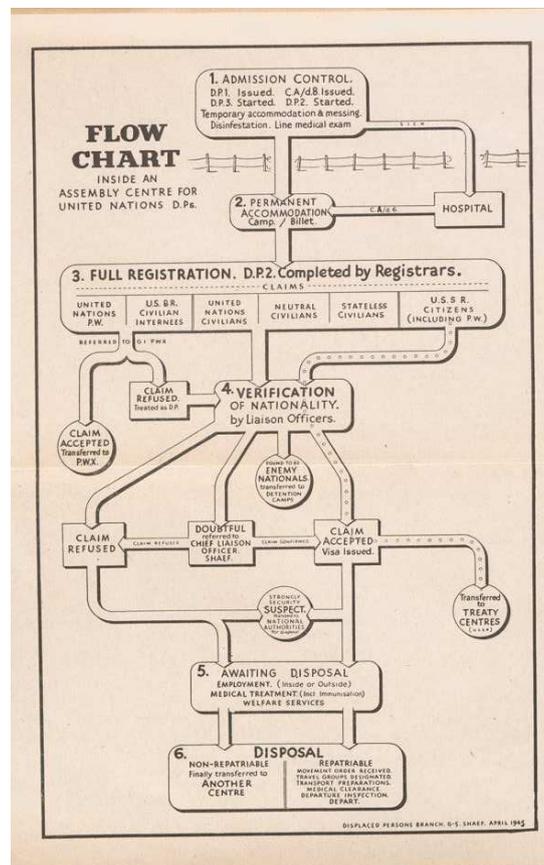
Fig. 2: Flow Chart. Inside an assembly center for United Nations D.Ps.

Those entitled to UN aid, had the permission to live in so-called «assembly centers», established with the aim of providing *care*, that is adequate food, clothing, and medical attention; *rehabilitation*, the reintegration of livelihoods in the circumstances of the transition from conflict to relative peace, and *assistance* in returning home. The centrality of "repatriation" was specially reinforced on February 11, 1945, at the conclusion of the Yalta Conference, when the US and the USSR signed an agreement that resulted, even if it was not openly mentioned, in the forcible repatriation of all Soviet nationals regardless of their wishes[45]. This is evident in article 9 of the SHAEF guide, which advised to not

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[44] *Welfare Guide - Displaced Persons (DP's) Germany*, Bureau of Administration Personnel Division - Training Branch - Subject Files, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) (1943-1949) fonds, S-1286-0000-0034. UNA, New York, United States.

[45] The Soviet Union established an official organization tasked with returning all Soviet DPs: The Soviet Administration of the Plenipotentiary for Repatriation Affairs. However, in the early phase American and English government played an

repatriate those who refuse to go back to their country «unless [they are] Soviet citizens»[46]. Repatriation within and to Western European countries proceeded quickly and mostly on an individual and unassisted basis, except for a small number of nationals of Western European countries who, because of their marriages to nationals of former enemy countries, weren't easily accepted to their former states of citizenship[47]. More complicated turned out to be the repatriation to the Soviet Union. Although not all repatriations were forced, UNRRA did not anticipate such widespread opposition from the side of DPs themselves. Those who harshly resisted repatriation were mainly Soviet citizens, stateless, and citizens of territories which fell under the control or the influence of both the Soviet Union and Tito's Yugoslavia after the war. A contemporary account, written by a Ukrainian American journalist and community activist named Walter Dushnyck, rejected repatriation to the Soviet Union emphasizing that among Eastern European nationalities there are thousands of people who were never citizens of the Czarist Empire or the Soviet Union, without even differentiating among Soviet republics and states under the influence of the USSR:

> These Poles, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Rumanians, Finns, and other Baltic nationals,
> fearing persecution for their democratic and anti-communistic beliefs, are unwilling to return
> to what are now Soviet satellite states[48].

Given the shifting borders and myriad of place names, UNRRA staff frequently struggled with determining how to classify Eastern Europeans in terms of nationality. Moreover, the debate was made more complicated on several levels. First, nationality as understood by Western allies was deceptive when applied to the Soviet Union because the term does not properly reflect the concept of *natsional'nosti*; the latter, in fact, is de-linked by state belonging, namely citizenship. To detangle the nationality question, a Ukrainian DP tried to explain to a UNRRA personnel in Dachau, that

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active role on repatriation. The necessity of using force is frequently overstated in the literature on forced repatriation, particularly in publications from the Cold War era. See especially: TOLSTOY, N. *Victims of Yalta*, London: Corgi, 1979; ELLIOTT, M. R. *Pawns of Yalta: Soviet Refugees and America's Role in Their Repatriation*, Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1982. According to more recent sources, the percentage of voluntary repatriation is much higher: PANCHUK, B. and LUCIUK, L. Y. *Heroes of Their Day: The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk*, Toronto: Multicultural History Society, 1983.

[46] *Welfare Guide - Displaced Persons (DP's) Germany*, Bureau of Administration Personnel Division - Training Branch - Subject Files, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) (1943-1949) fonds, S-1286-0000-0034. UNA, New York, United States.

[47] BERGER, J. A. "Displaced Persons: A Human Tragedy of World War II", *Social Research,* 1947, 14.1;45–58, p. 46.

[48] DUSHNYCK, W. "The Importance of the Problem of Displaced Persons", Ukrainian Quarterly, 1945, 2.3, p. 286. Dushnyck positioning is openly anti-Soviet and the journalist seized one of the most controversial questions of the immediate postwar era, regarding the legitimacy of the newly established Soviet borders, as in the case of the Baltic republics that became part of the Soviet Union after a military occupation. See for example: HIDEN, J.; SALMON, P. *The Baltic Nations and Europe: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the Twentieth Century*, Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England, UK: Routledge, 2014.

Ukrainians can have Polish citizenship [*ye pol's'koyi derzhavnoyi prynalezhnosty*], but they are not Polish by nationality [*ne ye "polyakamy" po natsional'nosty*][49]. Paradoxically, a Ukrainian who did not want to be recorded as "Soviet" should not define themselves as Ukrainian, belonging to the Ukrainian state, if it meant to be part of the Ukrainian SSR and thus be considered Soviet citizens. Furthermore, there was considerable confusion about the status of DPs from territories annexed by the Soviet Union during the war, like eastern Poland and the Baltic states, occupations that the Allied did not recognize as legitimate. By May 1946, the UNRRA had repatriated almost six million DPs from Germany and more than seven hundred thousand from Austria. As the Cold War intensified, it became apparent that the DP problem would have not been resolved by July 1, 1947, when the UNRRA was scheduled to end its operations. The international agency that assisted displaced persons and refugees afterward was the International Refugee Organization [IRO][50]. The IRO acknowledged that large numbers of DPs had no wish to return to their homeland. As a result, the "management" of the "DPs and refugee problem" entered a second phase. The goal at this point shifted from repatriation to the *maintenance* of the people uprooted in assembly centers and their final *resettlement*, with the IRO acting as a sort of "employment agency", attempting to match the economic needs of specific countries with the skills of DPs[51]. To answer the question of where resettlement was directed, we should consider personal motives related to economic contingencies – such as employment opportunities – the existence of networks in specific countries of immigration, and the immigration policies of such countries. A separate discussion can be done for Jewish DPs, whose objective was in most cases the *Aliyah* [ascent]*,* the immigration to Palestine. The Soviet Union and Eastern European countries refused to take part in IRO operations and claimed that this organization, in defiance of the Yalta agreement, shielded war criminals rather than sending them back to the USSR to face punishment. In addition, the IRO was charged with using refugee centers to recruit cheap labor to boost reconstruction projects. The IRO quickly became a US-led agency, with the US contributing more than half of its operating funds[52]. Finally, with the aim of finding long-term solutions to the refugee problem, the UN established a Commission on Refugees [UNHCR] in 1949 while resettlement continued throughout the ensuing two years. IRO operations ended in 1951–1952, at that

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[49] MARTYNEC, V. *Shlyakhom taboriv D.P. (Rudolstadt, Coburg, Dachau, Karlsfeld); Spohady iz skytal'shchyny*, Winnipeg: Novoho Shlyakhu, 1950, p. 186.

[50] Beyond the IRO, UNRRA responsibilities were gradually taken over by the Interim Committee of the World Health Organization, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, the United Nations Economic and Social Organization, and other parts of the newly inaugurated UN apparatus.

[51] See for example, BALINT, R. "Industry and Sunshine: Australia as Home in the Displaced Persons' Camps of Postwar Europe", *History Australia*, 2014, 11.1: 102–272; SALVATICI, S. *From Displaced Persons to Labourers: Allied Employment Policies in Post-War West Germany,* Berlin: Springer, 2011; SALVATICI, S. "L'operazione 'Balt Cygnet'. Il Governo inglese e le profughe europee nel secondo dopoguerra", *Genesis*, 3.2 (2004), 1000–1023.

[52] MARRUS, M. R. *The Unwanted*, cit., p. 343.

point, not only did millions of Germans remain unsettled, but the faith of nearly 175,000 vulnerable and mostly unemployable people endured uncertainty. As IRO's work dwindled, this group identified in the literature as the «hard-core» became the sole responsibility of individual governments. As it has been noted before, not all those uprooted who wandered through the rubble of postwar Europe were considered refugees by UNRRA and IRO. According to statistics at the time, between 15% and 25% of people lived privately, some by choice and others because ineligible for Allied aid. The other side of the coin was that the UNRRA-IRO was not the only agency caring to assist refugees and DPs. Their work was complemented by the one carried out by the Red Cross and other charitable bodies who were lobbying their own governments to resettle refugees in their respective countries. Worth mentioning for the scope of this analysis are North American organizations aiding Ukrainians, such as the United Ukrainian American Relief Fund Committee founded in January 1944 and the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund, established in May 1945. Both coordinated their action through the Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau [CURB] in London in 1945[53].

One last issue to mention that emerges from this framework is that the international refugee regime was thus rooted in Cold War policy and mainly inscribed into a Euro-Atlantic human rights discourse. Notably, the first human rights resolutions ever adopted by the UN General Assembly prohibited the forcible return of DPs or refugees to their countries of origin if those people expressed valid objections to going back home[54]. The confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States of America thus explains why the 1951 Geneva Convention, temporally and geographically favoring European refugees, was considered «tailormade for anti-Communist refugees»[55]. In fact, the Convention recognized as a refugee any individual forced into exile with a «well-founded fear of persecution», but the definition would be restricted to «events occurring in Europe before January 1, 1951»[56]. Consequently, for the issue of repatriation, the distinction between DPs and political

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[53] One of the aims of the bureau was to gather information and statistics with regard to the numbers, locations, and general moral and material conditions of all Ukrainian refugees and displaced persons. Archival material on its establishment in: *Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau memoranda and correspondence*, Ukrainian Canadian Veterans Association fonds, R6418-0-3-E, MG28-V119, Container 11, files 11-14. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[54] General Assembly, "Official Records, Report of Third Committee A/45, Twenty-ninth and Thirtieth Plenary Meeting", February 12, 1946, UNA, New York City, New York.

[55] COHEN, G. D. *In War's Wake,* cit., p. 99.

[56] The 1951 Refugee Convention's temporal and geographical restrictions were removed through the 1967 protocol, rendering the Convention universally applicable. The twenty-six delegations that drafted the resolution consisted of: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Egypt, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Holy See, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Monaco, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Liechtenstein, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia. This list of participating countries betrays the Convention's bias. Not all those countries, however, signed the 1951 Convention, fearing limitations on state sovereignty. For instance, in the case study of this thesis, Canada acceded to the

refugees became pivotal. The freelance journalist in London during WW II and then secretary of the Refugee Defense Committee in Great Britain in 1946, David Martin, talking about Eastern European DPs underlined this difference:

> For the millions of Ukrainians, Russians, Poles, Balts, and Yugoslavs who found themselves in Germany when hostilities ended, the term [DP] was a complete misnomer. […] They were not "displaced persons" they were *refugees* from communist persecution. Had they been called by this name from the beginning, the democratic world might not have displayed the same stubborn inability to understand their problem or to offer a solution[57].

The refugee issue was one of the first direct confrontations between the two emerging superpowers and those who refused to return to the Soviet Union became a source of political contention: «Human rights politics did not only hasten the end of the Cold War, as commonly assumed, but also led to its outbreak»[58]. The same evolution of the international refugee regime happened while the rift between east and west deepened. Above all, the main issue that divided Western governments from the USSR and its satellites was whether to exclude their alleged political enemies and certain categories of displaced persons and refugees from the scope of international aid:

> To bolster this position, the Polish delegate Józef Winiewicz concluded: "We should not let ourselves be hypnotized by the humanitarian aspect of this question and allow war criminals to be taken for irreproachable refugees"[59].

So, the screening of DPs and the question of eligibility for international aid intertwined with the issue of collaborationism in Eastern Europe, which was introduced in the previous section, and is still a contentious topic in both political and intellectual discussions. Its genesis occurred in the immediate aftermath of the conflict, and oftentimes, the fundamental role played by the burgeoning east-west division in polarizing opposing viewpoints and impeding factual interpretations for the decades that followed is overlooked. Two propagandistic discourses emerged: from the one hand, the complete victimization of whom had to endure different occupations and policies of two totalitarian regimes, fighting against both[60] and, on the other hand, the harsh blaming of entire national groups as nazi

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1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol in 1969 amidst changes to the country's immigration policy and Pierre Trudeau's ascendance to Prime Minister.

[57] MARTIN, D. "Not 'displaced Persons' - but Refugees", *Ukrainian Quarterly*, 4.2 (1948), 109–14, p.110.

[58] COHEN, G. D. *In War's Wake*, cit., p. 19.

[59] *Ibidem*, pp. 21-22.

[60] The "anti-totalitarian paradigm" prevalent in European memory politics since the Soviet Union's collapse entails building a "common European view of World War II" following the EU's 2004 and 2007 Eastern enlargements. According to this paradigm, EU and former Soviet bloc countries increasingly equate Nazism and Communism as equally "evil", as

collaborators and perpetrators of war crimes. However, there was a grayscale of experiences that does not fit into these two poles. The spectrum ranged from radical nationalists that agreed on nazi and fascist worldviews to civilians who had been deported as slave workers. Among them, there were who took up arms to fight for national independence, whatever it took, or who genuinely welcomed one or another regime as "liberator", in respect of what they had suffered beforehand: «Some say that they fought against both totalitarisms. But that not always meant to be part of the partisan movement, sometimes they just fought with both the Germans and the Soviets»[61]. The narrative of having fought both totalitarisms sometimes overshadows the necessity of coming to terms with a past that, in retrospect, became difficult to legitimate. The first effort of constructing a collective memory of the war, making sense of its brutality, and the following displacement happened in the peculiar space of assembly centers, which soon were defined as «DP camps». The next section sets the stage in which the operations of UNRRA and then IRO took place, investigating the dynamics that rendered possible the emergence of specific group consciousnesses.

1.1.3. The "space" of the DP camp and the Ukrainian question

The establishment of «camps» is still one of the most popular reactions to manage refugee flows in modern times. However, they are not a necessary response to forced migration and displacement. In fact, their use to manage migration in the international system dates mostly from the period after 1945 when the so-called refugee camps sprung out all throughout Europe, especially in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Their legal definition was assembly centers, that is «accommodation areas established for the temporary care and processing of displaced persons until such time as they can be repatriated»[62]. Their administration rested on the shoulders of the UNRRA from 1945 to August 1947, and the IRO afterwards. The refugee camp is allegedly a temporary space, designed to respond to a situation of emergency, and, accordingly, supposed to disappear as soon as possible. In the postwar era, they consisted of requisitioned military compounds, former labour and concentration camps, and other public facilities, commonly put together from repurposed buildings such as factories, prisons, and schools. Each camp had its own aid station and some small hospitals staffed by physicians and nurses while the number of DPs in each camp varied from some hundred to ten

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seen in the European Parliament resolutions 2009/2557 and 2019/2819. While it would be historically inaccurate to claim Nazi and Soviet rule were identical or Soviet crimes matched Nazi crimes, as demonstrated in the prior section, one cannot undervalue the fact that perceptions of the two occupying powers varied dramatically depending on one's position within wartime Eastern Europe's complex constellation of forces.

[61] Roman Petryshyn. Interview by me, 12th September 2022, Edmonton.

[62] *Welfare Guide - Displaced Persons (DP's) Germany*, Bureau of Administration Personnel Division - Training Branch - Subject Files, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) (1943-1949) fonds, S-1286-0000-0034. UNA, New York, United States.

thousand. The literature oftentimes tends to homogenize them, delivering an idea of isolated and identical spaces existing "out of nowhere", since the process of "encampment" is based on imaginations of a naturalized order of nation-states that refugees are excluded from. Consequently, the space they inhabit in times of emergency has been considered in anthropological analyses as a functional place emptied of meaning[63]. However, while the camps were extraterritorial in the jurisdiction, they were physically situated in specific spaces and were also a lot more open than it is often imagined, both in relation to the local community and among different camps. This bias is arguably the result of the physical dismantlement, destruction, or re-semantization of these spaces in the urban landscape, a factor that has hindered the transmission of local memories of each camp. It is necessary nonetheless to stress that individual experience in DP camps rested also on local spatial contingencies: Which zone of occupation was it? With whom did DPs interact both inside and outside the camp? What were the officials' and the aid workers' attitudes toward them? How did it change through screenings and post-war international relations? Evidently, to carry out an in-depth analysis of DP camps it should be applied a microhistory approach to each one of them[64]. Another preliminary consideration, given the sources collected, moreover, is that the lens best suited to interpret these spaces is an urban one since they mirror something very similar to small cities. For instance, the DP camp of Rimini (Italy) has been described as follows: «an area of approximately one square kilometer, a tent town with ten thousand inhabitants spread out, with two main streets, *Kyivska* and *Lvivska*, two churches, a large theatre, a post office, schools, and a small press»[65]. In the source collection published by the veterans of the UNA – First Ukrainian Division (Division Galicia), there is a reproduction of the camp plan, which visualize the description [Fig. 3].

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[63] Here, I am referring to the notable Auge's definition of refugee camps as *non-places*. For instance: VALLELLY, N. "The Place was not a Place": A Critical Phenomenology of Forced Displacement. *The Phenomenology of Real and Virtual Places*, 2019, 204-19.

[64] There has been works written on single camps, for instance the dissertation on Karlsfeld: BURIANEK O. *From Liberator to Guardian: The U.S. Army and the Displaced Persons in Munich 1945*, Atlanta, Georgia: Emory University, 1992, but at my knowledge no microhistory research has been published on specific campsites. The Ukrainian community itself though collected sources and materials after resettlement that may be helpful to carry out these endeavours. For my research I have analyzed the followings: BUDNYI, V.; REVUTSKY, V. *Rimini 1945-1947,* cit.; Soc. of Former Residents of the Ukrainian Displaced Persons' Camps in Mittenwald, Germany. *Mittenwald 1946 - 1951 commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Ukrainian Displaced Persons' Camps in Mittenwald, Germany,* 2001 and KUSHNIR, O. *Regensburg: statystyka, spohady, dokumenty do istoriyi ukrayins'koyi emihratsiyi v Nimechchyni pislya druhoyi svitovoyi viyny*. New York: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1985. The memoir by MARTYNETS, V. *Shliakhom taboriv D.P. (Rudol'shtadt, Koburh, Dakhau, Karlsfel'd): Spohady iz Skytal'shchyny*. Winnipeg: Druk Novoho Shlyakhu, 1950, is very interesting to dig also into the encounter with Soviet officials.

[65] Original: «Na ploshchi pryblyzno odnoho kvadratovoho kilometra rozkynulosya shatrove mistechko z desyat'ma tysyachamy naselennya, z dvoma holovnymy vulytsyamy Kyyivs'koyu ta L'vivs'koyu, dvoma tserkvamy, velykym teatrom, poshtoyu, shkolamy, lasnoyu presoyu» in BUDNYI, V. and REVUTSKY, V. *Rimini 1945-1947,* cit., p. 19.
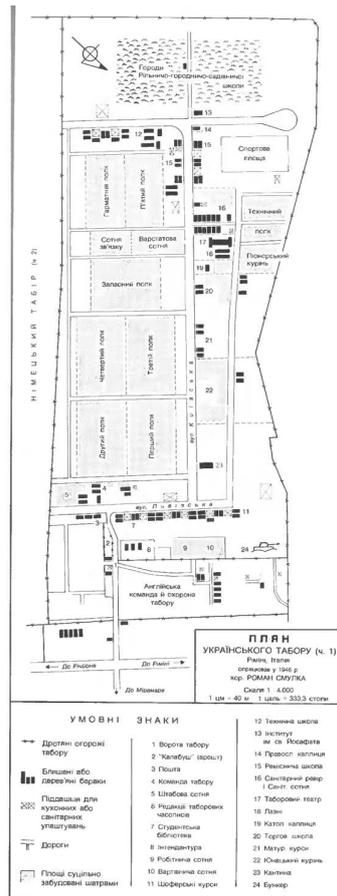
Fig. 3: DP camp plan "Rimini"

Another prior element to consider is the demographic and social composition of the DPs, who were not a cohesive or united group. As concerns the number of uprooted who were living in the camps, statistics estimated that in July 1947 something as one million people, who have been defined in contemporary accounts and the literature as «the last million»[66], were still under the care of the Allies. They not only came from different territories, but also had very different national, political, religious, and socioeconomic backgrounds, other than having endured different experiences during and after the war. Statistics show that there were family units, a large age range, from children to elders, a higher-than-average educational level, and a wide spectrum of professional occupations[67].

Since the Allies' screening policies rested on nationality, the most pressing issue, especially for Eastern Europeans who were refusing repatriation, had to be national recognition. The national discrimination is evident since the beginning, given that the SHAEF Guide to the Care of Displaced

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[66] MARTIN, D. "Not 'displaced Persons'", cit., p. 109; COHEN, G. D. *In War's Wake*, cit., Introduction; NASAW, D. *The Last Million: Europe's Displaced Persons from World War to Cold War*, London: Penguin, 2021.

[67] MARUNIAK, V. *Ukrayina emihratsiya v Nimechchyni i Avstriyi po Druhiy Svitoviy Viyni*, Munich: Akademichne vydvo dra Petra Beleia, 1985.

Persons advised that national groups should be maintained in separate centers, also recommending self-government of the camps and formation of national groups:

> Displaced persons should be encouraged to organize themselves as much as is administratively possible. National group leaders should be selected, and small national committees be formed to speak for their nationals, make suggestions and inquiries, and act as a channel for disseminating instructions and information from the Center Staff [68].

The UNRRA authorities aimed to expedite DP repatriation through avoiding further mistrust after years of war. However, DP committees began lobbying Allied forces by explaining identities and stalling operations. The largest organized groups were Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Polish, Ukrainian, Belarussian, and Russian. National and religious identities, such as Jewish and Mennonite, complicated categorization: which nationalities should be recognized? What implications arose from recognition? Religious and national identities among DPs were intertwined. Groups like Jews and Mennonites saw themselves as distinct nationalities, making religious recognition inseparable from national. However, authorities struggled with categorizing overlapping identities and determining which nationalities deserved official recognition. Nationality recognition also carried practical implications for resource allocation and repatriation routes, further complicating decision making. These issues came into sharp relief in the Ukrainian case, where religious, linguistic, and regional identities combined in complex ways. The anti-repatriation campaigns put Ukrainians – who were categorized as Polish, Soviet, Romanian, Czechoslovakian, and stateless (i.e. holding the Nansen passport) – on the map and brought them into UNRRA and IRO reports. As noted by the historian Holian in her research of DPs in Germany:

> The Polish DP category fell apart most completely, as Polish Jews, Polish Ukrainians, and members of other minorities jumped ship. The disintegration of the Polish category is already evident in UNRRA statistics for September 1945, which include a separate category for Jewish DPs, the majority of whom were citizens of Poland. After mid-1946, the Polish category was also largely emptied of Ukrainians, as both the Polish government and Polish Ukrainians, for their own different reasons, insisted that Ukrainians be counted separately[69].

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[68] *Welfare Guide - Displaced Persons (DP's) Germany*, Bureau of Administration Personnel Division - Training Branch - Subject Files, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) (1943-1949) fonds, S-1286-0000-0034. UNA, New York, United States.

[69] HOLIAN, A. *Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism: Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany*, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2011, p. 53. The Polish government had just signed an agreement on exchange population – concerning Ukrainian and Poles – with the Soviet Union on July 6, 1946.

The memoir of a civilian relief worker, Margaret McNeill, who operated for the Friends Relief Service [FRS][70], can function as a starting point to grasp the confusion and disorientation typical of whom was dealing with Ukrainian DPs[71]. The team was assigned the area of Frankenberg[72] in Germany. The ironic statement that opens the chapter dedicated to Ukrainians is straightforward: «When Desmond comes, we shall put him on to the Ukrainians. He likes anything unusual»[73]. About ninety of these «unusual» people gathered in the former hotel Golden Sun, now turned into a DP camp, when Margaret first met them. According to her reminiscences, they came from Eastern Poland, some fled in 1939, but most of them, though, left their houses as the Soviets advanced westward in 1944. Margaret and Desmond well interpret the widespread sense of bewilderment that the literature described among relief workers: «The more I see of them, the more confused I get»[74]. She could not understand why their attitude toward Germans was the one of a «contemptuous resignation»[75], while any mention of the USSR provoked passionate fury. An article circulating among them stated: «Much time would pass, till Europe, hypnotized by the Russian viper, awakes from that hypnosis, and realizes that Russia is not *balalaika, samovar* or Dostoyevsky but a mighty and terrible imperialistic power»[76]. For Margaret, for the team's members, but also for the military and governmental authorities, it was puzzling to grasp the relationship among nationalities that they considered so similar: «An exasperated Ukrainian finally asked one American officer: 'If you had a horse stable, and a cat went in the stable to give birth to kittens, are they kittens or horses?'»[77].

Relief workers and officers soon realized that many of those uprooted had no intention to return home, as Dr. Mytsak, one of the Ukrainian DP, explained to her:

> The Polish Ukrainians had no longer any country to return to. It was unthinkable that they
> should go either to Poland according to their citizenship, or the USSR, in which their country
> now lay. The Poles had always hated and oppressed the Ukrainians; there would be no place
> for them now in Poland. As for their own country which was part of the USSR – it would not
> be *there* that the Soviet Government would send them.[78]

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[70] The FRS was an official arm of the Religious Society of Friends [Quakers], set up during the WW II to relieve civilian distress.

[71] MCNEILL, M. *By the Rivers of Babylon: A Story of Relief Work Among the Displaced Persons of Europe*, London: Bannisdale Press, 1950. The memoir describes the work of her team in Germany and is structured in twenty chapters. Three of them are dedicated to specific group: namely Poles, Balts, and Ukrainians.

[72] The author refers to Frankenberg (Eder), in the Hesse region, since she mentioned the presence of the Harz mountains nearby. The city was liberated by the American forces on March 29, 1945.

[73] MCNEILL, M. *By the Rivers of Babylon*, cit., p. 53. Desmond is a member of the Relief team.

[74] *Ivi*, p. 60.

[75] *Ivi*, p. 56.

[76] *Ivi*, p. 61.

[77] WYMAN, M. *DPs: Europe's Displaced Persons*, cit., p. 80.

[78] *Ivi*, p. 57.

What became clear to Desmond, sum up the core of the issue: «The explanation to the question [what is intended under the name of Ukraine] opens up at once the entire Ukrainian problem»[79], which involved all the people who do not dwell in the territory of Soviet Ukraine but self-defined as Ukrainian. As in the words of another DP: «Our language defined us better than a map»[80]. This was specifically true if we think of the history of the land they inhabited and their stateless nationalism. Its frontiers, in fact, were vague and had been continuously disputed over time. The sense of puzzlement of the authorities and relief workers was mirrored by the bitterness of the «unusual» Ukrainians, who felt not only displaced but also misunderstood and without recognition. This sentiment emerges from the words of Volodymyr Shayan, a Ukrainian linguist born in Lviv who escaped the city in 1944 and spent some years in DP camps in Bavaria, before resettling in London. In a manuscript written in May 1945, that will be published in 1950 in Great Britain, he asserted:

> "I am for the independent Ukraine! Shoot, executioner!" You do not know this Ukraine […].
> But to whom do I speak? I speak to you glowing deserts. I speak to you cold stones. I speak
> to you, high rocks of the Alps I see from my windows [81].

The literature on Ukrainian DPs is manyfold and takes different aspects into consideration. The first study on the topic, which offers invaluable statistical data on Ukrainians in postwar Germany and Austria, appeared in 1985 and was written in Ukrainian by Volodymyr Maruniak[82]. In 1992, a collection of articles dealing with several aspects of camp life was published in Canada; this volume has been edited by Isajiw, Boshyk, and Senkus and had a specific bias on Ukrainians who resettled in North America[83]. The Ukrainian experience in DP camps has then become part of the wider scholarly discourse on DPs in postwar Europe thanks to the work of Mark Wyman, who dealt with different national groups[84]. The institutional and administrative lens has been well analyzed, moreover, by Marta Dyczok and Julia Lalande[85], who respectively deepened our knowledge on the point of view of the countries of the Grand Alliance and the standpoint of the UN international agencies. Weaving the net of these main sources and focusing on Ukrainians, it can be summarized that among the "last million" more than three hundred thousand were Ukrainian. In 1946 they were

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[79] *Ivi*, p. 61.
[80] *Ivi*, p. 62.
[81] SHAYAN, *I Can't Return*, cit., p. 13.
[82] MARUNIAK, V. *Ukrayina emihratsiya v Nimechchyni i Avstriyi,* cit.
[83] BOSHYK et al. *The Refugee Experience*, cit.
[84] WYMAN, M. DPs: Europe's Displaced Persons, cit.
[85] LALANDE, J. *Building a Home Abroad–A Comparative Study of Ukrainian Migration, Immigration Policy and Diaspora Formation in Canada and Germany after the Second World War*, [Ph.D. Thesis], University of Hamburg, 2007; DYCZOK, M. *The Grand Alliance*, cit.

interned in 125 camps that became 110 in 1949, most camps shared facilities with Polish camps, while others were predominate if not entirely Ukrainian. Although the Western countries first refused to formally acknowledge Ukrainian as a nationality, they did begin to establish Ukrainian-only DP camps for mainly two reasons. First, they worried about their impact on the general motivation to repatriate other DPs; second, there were just too many fights erupting between Ukrainians and Poles in mixed camps[86]. In Austria, the largest concentration of Ukrainians, some three thousand, were in the American zone, near Salzburg. A high number of Ukrainians could be found also in Villach, in the British Zone, and in Landeck, in the French Zone. In Germany, the camps relevant to the Ukrainian experience were close to the cities of Munich, Regensburg, Mittenwald, Augsburg, and Karlsfeld, in the American zone, and in Heidenau and Hamburg, in the English zone. The French Zone of Germany had the smallest number of Ukrainian communities, but there were at least twenty camps with more than fifty Ukrainians, the largest of which was at Gneisenau in Koblenz. As for Italy, on 14 January 1946, a total of fourteen hundred Ukrainian DPs were reported to the CURB, which was living mainly nearby the towns of Rimini and Riccione. By August 1947, after the Galician Division had been removed to Britain, the Italian Relief Committee reported two thousand Ukrainian DPs, living privately or in various camps of the peninsula[87]. Taking into consideration this complex framework and the variety of actors and processes involved, the next section analyzes how a memory of the DP camp experience has been elaborated in the sources collected in North American institutions.

1.2. Ukrainian Memories of DP Camps

Contemporary accounts and official reports of international organizations provide an image of DPs as bored, demoralized, aggressive, dangerous, and feeding a voracious black market[88]. Conversely, the above-mentioned literature on the Ukrainian experience in DP camps focuses on their agency in developing a Ukraine *en miniature*[89], where institutional life flourished together with

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[86] LALANDE, J. "Building a Home Abroad", cit., pp. 41-46.

[87] For a specific discussion on the topic see Grand Alliance, pages 135-138 and BOSHYK et al. *The Refugee Experience*, cit., pp. 24-26. The black market has been also mentioned in Fedorowycz Wasyl. Interview by Lubomyr Luciuk. Toronto, 6 April 1982. UKR-10609-FED, MHSO. While the criminalization of DPs has recurrently appeared in newspapers of the community, such as in "DP v Nimechchyni", *Nasha Poshta,* 1, 16 October 1946, p. 2.

[88] Several examples in: JACOBMEYER, W. *Vom Zwangsarbeiter Zum Heimatlosen Ausländer: Die Displaced Persons in Westdeutschland 1945–1951*, Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985, pp. 204-228; BAKIS, E. "The So-Called DP-Apathy in Germany's DP Camps", *Transactions of the Kansas Academy of Science (1903-)*, 1952, 55.1: 62–86; BIESS, F. *Strangers in the Wild Place: Refugees, Americans, and a German Town, 1945–1952*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013.

[89] CHIKALENKO, L. "Ob'yednannya naukovoyi roboty", *Byuleten Ukrainskoi Vilnoi Akademii Nauk*, 1946, 1, p. 1.

feelings of commitment to the cause of an independent statehood. So that, it is arguable that the DP camp, functioned as the bulk of a nation-building process, that the historian Antons defined as a «nation in a nutshell»[90]. However, the legit argument that the DP camp was a nation-building space could underestimate how a national construction, especially when it happens delinked from state institutions, is the result of a dynamic, contingent, and selective remembrance of events. What the sources collected during the fieldwork provide, in fact, is not simply an ensemble of personal accounts, but rather, a collective memory of the experience of displacement, that mostly conveys a unified and institutionalized narrative. The memory of DP camps in the Ukrainian community in Canada, in some way, homogenizes and dehistoricizes the uprootedness, functioning as a mythological space de-linked from state institutions in which developing an ideal "Ukraine in exile". This section considers memoirs, oral sources[91], and newspaper articles, to detangle the narrative regarding DP camps, focusing on the cultural and intellectual production of the community. The constellation of newspapers, magazines, and other published and unpublished sources has been reconstructed starting from the selected bibliography and research guide «Political refugee and 'displaced person' 1945-1954» edited by Boshyk and Balan for the CIUS in 1982 and the material has been collected in various Canadian institutions[92] and digital archives[93]. Among the sources, I have decided to specifically focus on those published in the DP camps of Salzburg, Hannover, Augsburg, Regensburg, Munich, and Rimini. This choice, though limited, attempts at addressing the spectrum of varied local dynamics where the political, cultural, and intellectual activities seemed to be concentrated, given the number of sources still available from a quantitative perspective. The main objective of this section is to interpret how a community of uprooted, with their cacophony of experiences, came to constitute a national community in exile, elaborating a historic mission that functioned as a source of nationalism from afar.

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[90] Ibidem.

[91] Oral sources comprise two main types utilized for this research. The first consists of relevant archival collections held at Pier21 in Halifax, the MHSO, and the CIUS. The second type of oral source refers to interviews I conducted with individuals who were children during the time of displacement. Interview participants were located through contacts at the aforementioned archives and community organizations. The interviews were semi-structured to allow participants to discuss what they felt was most pertinent while also ensuring coverage of key themes. Participants spoke of their journeys, time spent in camps, integration into communities upon arrival, and the long-term impacts of displacement on their lives.

[92] Specifically, the University of Toronto, the University of Manitoba, the Oseredok (Winnipeg), the MHSO (Toronto), and the CIUS. The focal point provided by my research inherently imparts a Northern American bias. A thorough investigation of the DP camps necessitates consultation of archival materials located also for example in Germany, France, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, and the United Kingdom. The bias is notwithstanding justified by the object of the analysis.

[93] DP collections are available in the following digital archives: Diasporiana, Chtyvo, Ukrainian Museum-Archives in Cleveland, Ohio and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

1.2.1. Ukraine in exile: the institutionalization efforts

The abovementioned SHAEF guide advised for self-selection of representatives of each «national» group and, later, the UNRRA and the IRO themselves, allowed each camp to establish what came to be remembered as a «local government». The historian Boshyk, underlined that, for the Ukrainian case, this selection of leaders was the initial stage in forming a representative structure for the community[94]. The most vocal were generally intellectuals that have been politically active in the interwar period and during the war, above all leaders of the OUN-B and OUN-M.

> In addition to the "self-appointed" leaders, a new category of "recruited" leaders, formerly prominent men in social life, law, politics, and scholarship, appeared. Both these categories of Ukrainian representatives, sometimes indistinct or overlapping, were legitimized by a thoroughly democratic, though sometimes shaky, electoral process[95].

The political divisions would have been reflected in the institutionalization of a myriad of parties that would emerge between 1945 and 1955 and covered a wide spectrum of ideological orientations, ranging from socialist to ethnonational political discourses. In the camp years, several Ukrainian representative institutions were thus established, such as the *Tsentralne Predstavnytstvo Ukrainskoi Emigratsii v Nimechchyni* [Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration in Germany], headed by Vasyl Mudry, vice-president of the UHVR[96], and the *Ukrainska Natsionalna Rada* [Ukrainian National Council, UNR] in exile, an organ that should have functioned as the parliamentary body of the government-in-exile and comprised eight political parties[97]. However, those organizations were not state institutions but self-organized bodies and because of that «the Ukrainian exile community in Germany and elsewhere went through the convulsions of political strife instead of fostering, coordinating, and representing as many Ukrainian interest or pressure groups as possible»[98]. Even if there were attempts to harmonize the work of all Ukrainian refugees, at least to find a representation to the outside world, the political split seemed to monopolize the stage. This critique of political divisions within the Ukrainian displaced persons community was also voiced by women's groups at

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[94] BOSHYK et al. *The Refugee Experience*, cit., pp. 90-111.
[95] *Ivi*, p. 94.
[96] See p. 7. It has been established in Aschaffenburg in 1945.
[97] The UNR-in-exile, located in Prague in the interwar period, was then re-established during a parliamentary session on 16-20 July 1948 in Augsburg. The inaugural council had representatives from the OUN-M, the OUN-B, the Ukrainian National State Union, the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance, the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party [URDP], the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, the Ukrainian Socialist Radical party, and the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers' party. After the second session of the council in Leipheim in 1949, the OUN-B left the Council.
[98] BOSHYK et al. *The Refugee Experience*, cit., p. 103.

the time who saw this as the weakest element of the broader political organizations[99]. Furthermore, this issue has been mentioned repeatedly by DPs themselves and transmitted intergenerationally, as demonstrated by interviews with Peter Melnevsky and Roman Petryshyn whose parents were Ukrainian DPs in Germany and who both agreed on the fact that political divisions divided the community. Peter's observation adds an insightful dimension related to the youth as he notes that:

> There were divisions, especially in the third wave, they were very politicized (Melnykites and Banderites) [but] we were children, we did not care about these divisions, that's why youth were also very active in creating our own groups (…) we wanted to create our own identity and not remain in this OUN-M versus OUN-B split that meant nothing to us»[100].

His account thus illuminates an intergenerational shift that would have taken place in Canada, with the youth growing less connected to the factionalism of the OUN as they had not directly encountered the ideological divides and violent disagreements that had split the OUN previously. While respectful of the OUN's role in Ukrainian history, younger Ukrainians of this wave seemed less involved in - though not entirely untouched by - the internecine conflicts that had plagued Ukrainian nationalism.

Another factor closely tied to political divisions is that they engendered broad disillusionment with the national cause among those who visited or worked in the camps and were personally involved in the Ukrainian question. This includes Ukrainians who migrated to Western territories before WW II and representatives of Ukrainian communities around the world. This exposure led them to lose faith in the ability of the political divisions within the Ukrainian community to produce tangible benefits for the average Ukrainian, instead serving the interests of political elites. The camps became a symbol of dysfunction and infighting within the national movement at a time when a united front was needed. The disillusionment spread through correspondence, news reports and personal anecdotes shared by camp visitors and workers, undermining morale and enthusiasm for the political divisions and nation-building efforts of the period. For instance, Michael Kapusta[101], a sergeant in the Canadian army, underlined his disaffection with the Ukrainian cause due to the political divisions he had experienced in the camps:

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[99] Among others, in the following sources: Yaworsky, Steve. Interview by Lubomyr Luciuk. Ottawa, 15 and 17 September 1981. UKR-9928-YAW at MSHO; Kachnycz, Wasyl. Interview by Lubomyr Luciuk. Thunder Bay, 16 May 1982. UKR-9924-KAC at MHSO.

[100] Peter was born in Canada, while Roman spent his first two years of life in a DP camp. Peter Melnycky. Interview by me, 13th September 2022, Edmonton; Roman Petryshyn. Interview by me, 12th September 2022, Edmonton.

[101] Michael Kapusta was born in Toronto on November 9, 1918; his parents came from Galicia and settled in Canada before WWI.

> We Ukrainians should strive to build a national feeling not a political one. We should strive
> to say we're Ukrainians. If we ever have a country, then we can get interested in one political
> organization or the other depending on ideals. […] Politics is tearing us apart[102].

Notwithstanding this division, recounting his parent's experience, Roman mentioned how camps were pivotal in the organization of the community. What specifically emerges from the narrative that came from the transmission of memory is how «leaders of different political views hated themselves, but they eventually came together for a common cause»[103].

Perhaps paradoxically, the nation-building process that the literature and the interviews underline was not elaborated in the context of ideological confrontation and political activities. Rather, in DP camps, the «coming together» and the institutionalization of a «Ukraine-in-exile» occurred through spontaneous and extensive everyday practices concerning the cultural and educational life of the uprooted. The day-to-day life in the camps, as it will be further analyzed, in fact, prompted Ukrainians to root their belonging and channel a national sentiment by collectively selecting symbols of identity and performing rituals of belonging[104]. Despite initial difficulties[105], magazines and publications of any kind flourished in the camps in the period between the end of forced repatriation and before the time of mass resettlement. According to Roman Ilnytzkyj's survey: «We know of 327 periodicals, of which 221 were published in the American Zone, 51 in the British Zone, 23 in Austria, 7 in Italy, 25 in unspecified places, and not a single one in the French Zone»[106]. The publishing activity was impressive, and it ranged from newspapers and periodical bulletins with pieces of information that could impact camp life (such as UNRRA-IRO activities as well as migration policies of countries that accepted DPs) usually published by representative bodies of the community[107], to thematic magazines and academic journals addressing various literary, linguistic,

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[102] Kapusta, Dr. Micheal. Interview by Myron Barychyj and Ihor Dawydiak. Toronto, 10 May 1982. UKR-0999-KEP at MSHO. Another example is: Lusyk, Dr. Michael. Interview by Lubomyr Luciuk. Toronto 15 April 1982. UKR-9920-LUS. Oral History Collection, MHSO, Toronto, Ontario.

[103] Roman Petryshyn. Interview by me, 12th September 2022, Edmonton.

[104] The literature on the role of symbols, rituals, and performance in nation-building processes is broad. Beyond the abovementioned Anderson, Hobsbawm and Gellner's works, other relevant publications that theoretically grounds this research are: RIDOLFI, M., *Rituali civili. Storie nazionali e memorie pubbliche nell'Europa contemporanea*, Roma: Gangemi, 2006; TSANG, R., AND WOODS E. T., *The Cultural Politics of Nationalism and Nation-Building: Ritual and Performance in the Forging of Nations,* New York: Routledge, 2013.

[105] The publishing limits were not only administrative, since it was forbidden to print anything in the camps without a license, but also economic, in terms of sources available, and even mere practical, like in finding places where printers did Cyrillic compositions. For a detailed account see: BOSHYK et al. *The Refugee Experience*, cit., pp. 270 – 290.

[106] *Ivi*, p. 272.

[107] For instance, the *Byuleten' informatsiï krayovoho predstavnytstva na brytiys'ku zonu Nimechchyny* [Information bulletin of the regional representative office in the British zone of Germany] published in Hannover and the *DP Biuleten*

and historical issues. Even unforeseen subjects found their own space, such as a magazine dedicated to Esperanto, where some Ukrainian DPs translated the work of Ukrainian poets into the "universal" language[108]. Moreover, there were *ad hoc* publications for women[109], students, and children, or partisan writings directed to specific religious or political groups. Finally, there was also the space for economic analysis of the co-op movements or journals specifically designed to deliver humorous and satirical content. It is challenging to assess the actual circulation of these newspapers and periodicals on Ukrainian DPs, however, there are some considerations that can be deduced from the sources collected, such as the quantitative dimension of the phenomenon and the efforts of institutionalized these activities. Firstly, the abovementioned impressive number of publications in all the DP camps demonstrates that the writing activity was intense and of primary importance[110]. DPs periodicals flourished autonomously right after the end of the war in almost any camp, which is a signal of how much DPs were eager to write and felt the need to express their opinion to seek legitimacy and recognition. The fact itself that those publications are now part of several archival collections in Europe and North America and can be found on the diaspora digital platforms[111], highlights their relevance for the community. Another element to mention is also the presence of professional organizations grouping Ukrainian journalists[112] which says something about the attempt of establishing a lively and interconnected press activity among different camps. Notably, these endeavors were directed also beyond the Ukrainian community itself, an example was the institution of the Federation of the Free Journalists of the Captive Nations in 1948 in London[113], which mirrors organizations of such a kind reuniting Eastern European émigré communities. The writing activity and the publishing effort are mostly uncharted territory of research and each of these myriads of publications should be contextualized and would deserve specific investigations in relation to countless issues, such as the DP camp where they circulated, the language used, the editors, the public

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Emihratsiinoho Biura in Munich. Notably, those bulletins were also translating information from German and British newspapers.

[108] *Ukraina Esperantisto,* n. 1, 1947, Augsburg, *Archive.org*, https://archive.org/details/umadpcampperiodicals, last accessed on 20 January 2023.

[109] The framework of the women's associational landscape is complex and intricated. Here, it is to mention the existence of an umbrella organization of Ukrainian women in emigration, which was established at the Congress held on 15-16 December 1945 in Augsburg with the name «Obiednannia ukrainskykh zhinok u Nimechchyni» [Ukrainian Women's Alliance in Germany, OUZh]. The newspaper linked to the OUZh was «Hromadianka».

[110] BOSHYK et al. *The Refugee Experience*, cit., pp. 270 – 275.

[111] Again, the cited selected bibliography and research guide «Political refugee and 'displaced person' 1945-1954» may be a starting point to analyze the distribution of archival sources in different countries. This account is though limited, since in the last decades countless new donations were made to several archives worldwide. For example, an ongoing project of the British Library, London, aims at enhancing the catalogue records for Ukrainian DPs publications in order to improve access to the "Slavonic and East European Collections".

[112] *Ivi*, p. 280.

[113] *Ivi*, p. 281.

to whom they were talking to and so on. However, keeping the thesis limited to the research questions related to nation-building processes, these writings all had a common thread relevant to the analysis, namely, the question of what Ukraine was and what did it mean to be "Ukrainian", regardless of each peculiar and partisan perspective. Consequently, the first element was the recognition of belonging to the Ukrainian nation. On June 30, 1946, the weekly *Ukrains'ke Slovo* [the Ukrainian word]*,* published in the DP camp of Regensburg and permitted by the UNRRA team 120, well summarized the issue in an article addressed to the editors of all newspapers titled «Let's respect our national name. Note to the editors»[114], where it is underlined the need to use the adjective "Ukrainian" to define the group identity, instead of any regional or confessional attributes:

> After all, we are the Ukrainian nation, we are Ukrainians, and everything that is ours is Ukrainian. So, our native song is a Ukrainian song; our national dance is a Ukrainian dance; our national clothes are Ukrainian clothes; our famous choristers, singers, bandurists are Ukrainian choristers […]. Our history is Ukrainian history, our geography is Ukrainian geography[115].

What generally emerged in these publications was a mythscape[116] where to find common roots in displacement, elaborated through the selection of national symbols, such as the blue and yellow flag or the Ukrainian trident[117]. It was then retraced a mythical glorious past, marked by founding elements of the Nation – such as the heritage of the Cossack's past or the more recent Ukrainian war for independence of 1917; the historical past was then constellated by several popular people or groups who surged to the role of national heroes – such as poets and intellectuals (Taras Shevchenko, Ivan

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[114] Original: «Shanuymo nashu natsional′nu nazvu! Panam redaktoram do vidoma». In *Ukrains'ke Slovo,* n. 1, 1946, Regensburg.

[115] Original: «Adzhe, my ukrayins′kyy narid, my ukrayintsi ta vse, shcho nashe, tse ukrayiys′ke. Oto zh i nasha ridna pisnya tse ukrayins′ka, pisnya; nash nayitsional′ nym tanok — tse ukrayins′kyy tanok; nash natsional′nyy odyah — tse ukrayins′kyy odyah; nashi slavni khorysty, spivaky, bandurysty — tse ukrayins′ki khorysty […] nasha istoria – tse ukraynsk′ka istoria, nasha heohrafiya tse ukrayins′ka heohrafiya» in Ibidem.

[116] The notion of mythscape has become an increasingly prevalent concept within memory studies scholarship over the past few decades. Originally coined by historian Alison Landsberg, mythscape refers to the cultural landscape of public myths, narratives, and ideologies that shape individual and collective memory. Scholars have since built upon Landsberg's concept to analyze how mythscapes operate in broader social, cultural, and political contexts. Mythscapes are now understood as the intersecting webs of dominant yet often contested stories, symbols, and representations that circulate through a given society or community in a particular historical moment. They help establish the parameters of what collective memories are deemed publicly acceptable or taboo. At the same time, mythscapes are dynamic—they evolve as new narratives, ideologies, and counter-memories emerge to challenge or redefine prevailing myths. LANDSBERG, A. *Prosthetic memory: The transformation of American remembrance in the age of mass culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

[117] The recollection of the discussions on the flag is also for example in: Kocijowsky, M. Interview by Lubomyr Luciuk. Sudbury, 14 May 1982. UKR-9921-KOC at Oral History Collection, MHSO, Toronto, Ontario.

Franko and Lesya Ukrainka). Frequent was also the glorification of OUN-UPA fighters and their slogans, but at first, this was still a divisive narrative inside the community. Interestingly, the mythscape involved also geographic places – like Kyiv and the Dnipro River – physically placing "Ukraine" more than it would its borders. Even if there was also more practical information on UNRRA – IRO activities and pieces of news about resettlement programs of countries accepting refugees and work opportunities, the general focus was on the nationalization of the community. In retrospect, the larger impact of these activities is traceable right in the topics covered by journals and periodicals. The content of those written publications functioned as a training ground for national education, bringing members of the community to think of themselves along national lines. The written word, used to maintain and propagate a particular image of the world, mirrors the combination of educational and intellectual activities conducted by Ukrainian DPs, comprising a school system based on the prewar Galician one and vocational training workshops for the adult population, organized by both the UNRRA and DPs themselves. Efforts were specifically focused on the national education of the youth, who should have been raised as "children of the nation". A report on national education published by former residents of the Regensburg DP camp highlights that:

> At every opportunity, the teachers tried to inspire the souls of the Ukrainian children, entrusted to them a love for Ukraine, for our glorious past, love and respect for our popular persons, heroes, and love for our native language[118].

In addition, there were institutions of higher learning, such as the Ukrainian Free University, the Ukrainian Higher School of Economics and the Ukrainian Orthodox Theological Academy in Munich and scholarly associations like the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the *Ukrainska vilna akademiia nauk* [Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, UVAN]. The UVAN was particularly relevant; founded in November 1945 in Augsburg, it is remembered as the "Ukrainian academy-in-exile", and initially it comprised seventeen professional groups, according to the field of study[119]. Geography may be a valuable example of the pivotal intellectual work done in DP camps. More than a mere "geographical expression" the question of the Ukrainian territorial space was not limited to the limits of the state, whose borders were generally vague, mostly interpreted as going from the San to the Don River and from Prypiat to the Black Sea. Rather, Ukraine has been defined as a much deeper historical and

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[118] In Ukrainian: "Pry kozhniy nahodi vchyteli staralysya pryshchepyty v dushi dovirenykh yim Ukrayins′kykh ditey lyubov do Ukrayiny, do nashoyi slavnoyi mynuvshyny, lyubov i poshanu do nashykh slavnykh osib, heroyiv i lyubov do ridnoyi movy" in KUSHNIR et al, *Regensburg. Statti – Spohady*, cit. pp. 244-245.
[119] BOSHYK, Y. *A Guide to the Archival and Manuscript Collection of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the US, New York City: A Detailed Inventory*. Edmonton: CIUS, 1988.

cultural space. For example, Volodymyr Shayan[120], in a pamphlet published in Bad Wörishofen, Germany, printed by Hans Holzmann with the permission of the UNRRA in 1946, stated:

> [The Ukrainian] land is situated on the extreme point of the European world. Its land has no borders on the East. […] The space of the Ukrainian people, it is the land at the boundaries of two worlds. It was the fortress and defense of the European nations and culture against the Mongolian East[121].

Last but not least, there were numerous choirs and theatre companies cited in newspapers, but also sports clubs, women's and youth organizations, art groups, and professional societies, which all mushroomed in the camps. It would be a complex endeavor to reconstruct the associational history of the community, as dozens of organizations arose, some had the same names but were in different places, and others were mentioned with slightly different names in different sources even if they were the same association. What matters here is that this network was aimed at organizing communal life and managing free time in a constructive way, in order also to avoid the "apathy" that was considered a typical condition of DPs by international aid organizations. Beyond this immediate objective, they also helped install Ukrainian cultural values and norms, so that cultural activities mostly dealt with traditional folklore:

> The cultural repertoire was fused to national heritage ensembles through repetition in everyday life. The task at hand was to preserve Ukrainian culture and values for the next generations and an independent state. To the untiring amateur groups engaged in activities like singing, dancing, and embroidery, engagement with traditions was an important act of self-reassurance[122].

The objective was to transplant motherland traditions into the camp, and, in Hobsbawm's words, they represented the grounding roots to "invent" the mythscape for a national community, echoing the message of newspapers and magazines, elaborated to integrate people who self-identified as "Ukrainian" but came from different regional, religious, and social backgrounds. In the discussion, for example, it emerged that Ukrainian traditions were less widespread in the Eastern regions: «A

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[120] Volodymyr Shayan was a Ukrainian linguist and religious leader born in Lviv, who escaped the city in 1944. In DP camps he became involved in the UVAN and founded the Order of the Kinghts of the Solar God, a religious organization. He then moved to London, where he stayed until 1974, year of his death.

[121] SHAYAN, V. "The Historical Mission of Ukraine. At the Boundaries of Two Worlds. First part", Bad Wörishofen, 1946, in Oseredok.

[122] ANTONS, J.H. "The Nation in a Nutshell? Ukrainian Displaced Persons Camps in Postwar Germany", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 37.1–2 (2020), 177–211, p. 184.

large part of our emigration is emigration from eastern lands, whose youth did not have the opportunity to get acquainted with those traditions»[123]. The camp experience would thus be a unifying moment for the history of this national community. Another fundamental component of the nation-building process was the participatory and performative role of the commemorative events organized by these organizations. The celebrations of peculiar dates, such as the anniversary of the birth and death of national symbols, were marked by concerts, church services, plays, performances and parades in which the whole community was engaged. Even religious holidays, such as Christmas and Easter, were in a sense "nationalized", to pave the way for the national unity of varied churches that existed in the various regions, both Catholics and Orthodox[124], in the same Ukrainian «Cathedral»[125]. And indeed, the question of religion and its role in the lives of displaced persons residing within the UNRRA camps remains an underexplored aspect of displacement's experiences. While the prevailing scholarly narratives have tended to focus on political and economic factors, an examination of religion and spirituality offers unique insights into the coping mechanisms, social structures, and cultural continuities that developed within the camps. Available evidence suggests that religious institutions and practices served a number of important functions for the displaced persons. First, religious services and rituals provided a sense of continuity and normalcy, allowing the displaced to maintain cultural traditions and communal bonds despite the upheaval of displacement. Second, religious organizations facilitated social networking and mutual aid, with religious groups often organizing charity drives, educational programs, and other community services. Third, religious beliefs offered displaced persons a framework for making sense of and enduring the hardships they faced, imbuing their circumstances with spiritual meaning and purpose.

All these things considered, there are two different lines of interpretation in relation to the Ukrainian experience in DP camps. On the one hand, there are specific and contextual events that

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[123] Original: «Velykoyu shastnoyu nashoyi emihratsiyi ye emihratsiyi z skhidnykh zemel′, molod′ yakoyi ne mala zmohy poznayomytysya z tymy tradytsiyamy» in Obiednannia ukrainskykh zhinok, *Resolution,* 1947, p. 21. Diasporiana digital archive, https://diasporiana.org.ua/. Last accessed on 29 December 2022.

[124] The majority of Ukrainian DPs were Eastern Orthodox Christians who adhered to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church or the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Both churches worked to provide spiritual and pastoral care for their followers within the DP camps. Orthodox and Greek Catholic clergy ministered to their communities by celebrating liturgies and sacraments, teaching catechism classes, and providing spiritual guidance. They also helped maintain a sense of Ukrainian ethnic and religious identity during this period of displacement. However, the churches faced challenges in securing enough clergy to adequately serve the large DP populations. They also had to negotiate the policies of Western relief organizations that sometimes restricted certain religious activities. The Ukrainian religious landscape was further complicated by sharp conflicts among different orthodox groups. For a an account on the religious divisions among the community see BOSHYK et al. *The Refugee Experience*, cit., pp. 145-185.

[125] The word used to identity Ukraine as a "Cathedral" is in Ukrainian «soborniy ukrayini». This expression recalls Emilio Gentile's definition of "politics as religion" in GENTILE, E. *Le religioni della politica: fra democrazie e totalitarismi.* Roma: Laterza, 2014.

generated a vast number of "Ukraines" as many as the number of camps and the different political and ideological perspectives that could be found there. The Ukrainian communities in each camp had distinct experiences and narratives based on their local circumstances. On the other hand, in the DP camps, the Ukrainian community as a whole underwent a process of *nationalization* a term that encompasses far more than just OUN membership. It signifies that the national interest came before all other individual and collective identification processes for Ukrainians in the camps. Through their shared experience of displacement and life in the DP camps, Ukrainians began to see themselves more as members of a national group rather than as members of particular regions, political factions, or social classes. It is thus evident that the construction of a unified national narrative, based on the collective memory of displacement, had to take root in cultivating a feeling of belonging to an idealized vision of a «Ukraine in exile». This overarching national identity offered Ukrainians a sense of purpose, solidarity and hope for the future that transcended their differences and divisions.

1.2.2. The elaboration of a historical mission

As noted above, the institutionalization fever and the consequent nation-building dynamics happening in the camps can be interpreted as tools instrumental to making sense of a common experience of displacement. To be clear, Ukrainian nationalism was not a novel idea born in the postwar era. The construction of a Ukrainian self-belonging emerged and evolved from the nineteenth century onward and stepped into the epoch of nationalism as part of the wave of movements that swept the European continent at the time. It then unfolded differently according to the different trajectories of the territories where people who came to identify themselves as Ukrainian lived, navigating the ethnonational radicalization of the 1920s and 1930s, but also, and perhaps more importantly, the Soviet times, when after the Bolshevik revolution the Ukraine SSR was one of the founding republics of the Soviet Union. The relevance of the DP camps in postwar Europe is thus given by the fact that the process taking place there provided another path for the Ukrainian "national idea" to develop outside the borders of the USSR. This dynamic was indeed common to several Eastern European nationalities, as shown by the historian Laura Hilton who investigated Latvian and Polish DP communities. According to the scholar, in the temporary space of displacement, these national groups elaborated a «cultural nationalism in exile», defined as «the process of creating common bonds through education, literature, art, language, folk traditions, religion and history»[126]

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[126] This phenomenon can be comparatively seen also in other Eastern European communities in the DP camps. See for example the Latvian and the Polish case: HILTON, L. "Cultural Nationalism in Exile: The Case of Polish and Latvian Displaced Persons". *The Historian*, 2009, 71.2: 280–317, p. 282. Not less important, is how deep and powerful is the idea of exile in the cultural identity of the Jewish community. For millennia, Jews have lived as minorities in foreign lands, retaining their

where the national community is «held together by conviction rather than by boundaries drawn on a map»[127]. This image of émigré communities as nations in exile is an internal project of the uprooted, not a status shaped by external discourses, even though the international relief agencies' policies, discerning DPs along national lines, exacerbated the idea that camps could be spaces of national purity. The underlying motives used to describe Latvian and Poles can be compared to the Ukrainian case since this project served both the community's need of making sense of displacement, but also as a political tool to present themselves to the outside world as a unified national group first forced to flee the Soviet tyranny to avoid repatriation and then to be depicted as positive potential migrants.

The narrative of exile went hand in hand with the elaboration of a historical mission[128] to fulfill during displacement, that in the case of Ukrainian DPs can be summarized in the continuation of the struggle for the independence and for Ukrainian statehood. The narrative founding this mission should have been able to unite the whole community despite ideological frictions. For this reason, I have selected among the sources collected four documents that I consider relevant for this analysis, each coming from a different political standpoint, to highlight the common features of this discourse. Specifically, these are the article representing a sort of manifesto titled "The Historical Mission of Ukraine. At the Boundaries of Two Worlds" by the abovementioned Shayan[129], the OUN-M third resolution of 1947, the UNR-in-exile resolution of 1948, and a pamphlet by Ivan Bahryany, founder of the URDP, a socialist party established by former Soviet intellectuals persecuted by the regime; and executive officer of the "Association of Ukrainian writers and artists in Western Europe". The four publications all the historical mission of Ukraine but they are different in scope and tone since there are resolutions of two organizations (OUN-M and the UNR-in-exile) and two educational pamphlets written by intellectuals who came from different political backgrounds which were meant for the general public. Despite the distinct political view of the authors and the organizations, there are some interesting convergences in the themes mentioned and the recurrent vocabulary used, that could demonstrate the circulation of national narratives among the Ukrainian DPs.

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distinct culture and religion despite being cut off from their original homeland. The experience of exile, dispersion and alienation is deeply embedded in Jewish religious thought, literature and rituals. ELIOR, R. "Exile and Redemption in Jewish mystical thought". *Studies in Spirituality*, 2004, 14: 1-15. POSMAN, E. "Home and away: Exile and diaspora as religious concepts". *Intersections of Religion and Migration: Issues at the Global Crossroads*, 2016, 175-194.

[127] *Ivi*, p. 283.

[128] The mission of the diasporic community is an integral part of diasporic identity formation. Such missions become a defining part of how diasporic groups understand themselves and narrate their collective experiences as a people in exile. NAGY, D. "Minding methodology: Theology-missiology and migration studies". *Mission studies*, 2015, 32.2: 203-233; JAROSZYŃSKA-KIRCHMANN, A. D. *The exile mission: The Polish political diaspora and Polish Americans, 1939-1956*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2004.

[129] SHAYAN, V. *The Historical Mission of Ukraine. At the Boundaries of Two Worlds*, cit.

The first component that emerges from the sources is the pivotal role of emigration to survive as a nation, which was especially relevant in the years of forced repatriation when individuals had to detangle the national question to not be sent back to the USSR: «We prefer to die in a foreign land rather than come back to that 'home'»[130], explains the socialist intellectual Bahryany. For the most fervent nationalists, who had a militant stance, migration was a secondary aspect of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, to be continued on the territory underground, but still a very important one: «Because only outside the Moscow occupation is it possible to freely express the spirit of Ukrainianness and to organize and systematically work in some areas of work»[131]. Hence, the institutionalization and the nationalization of the community served the need to preserve the Ukrainian culture, namely folklore, traditions, and language in exile, since they are at risk in the borders of the actual State, with the aim of organizing the fight. Migration and exile were also seen in the optics of a transnational struggle on two levels: the first one involved Ukrainians already scattered abroad – who had to be nationally educated – and the other is a common struggle with other nationalities "subjugated" by the «Moscow captivity»[132], like Baltics, Hungarians, and Belarusians.

Along this line, the second component consists of the identification of the "Other", that is "enemy" to be defeated. The struggle for liberation is nothing but a crusade against Bolshevism, which was a unifying sentiment in the community, even though it is not to be underestimated the fact that the nationalists' fringes had also a strong anti-Polish feeling. One example above all is retractable in the preface of the memoir written by an OUN fighter during WW II, Thedor Ihor Pelekh, in which the author is described as having fought «the three occupiers of Ukraine»[133]. Here, there is a couple of specifications to make. Firstly, Bolshevism is not only contrasted as an ideology but is equated with Russian colonization. Growing up in Soviet Ukraine, Bahyany openly stated: «I saw Ukraine crushed under the Soviet regime and colonized by the Red Moscow imperialism»[134]. "That" Ukraine was not Ukrainians' but «Stalin's home»[135]. Secondly, this also resulted in the following delegitimization of Ukraine SSR and the 1917 Revolution, instead of being seen as ruptures with the tsarist past, they became in the narrative the continuation in other guises of Russian imperialism on their people:

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[130] Both in BAHRYANY, I. "Why I Don't' Want to Go Home", cit., p. 236.

[131] Original: «Emigratsiyu traktuye OUN, yak duzhe vazhlyvyy, ale pobichnyy vidtynok ukrayins′koyi Vyzvol′noyi Borot′by. Prote, vin vazhlyvyy tym, shcho til′ky poza mezhamy moskovs′koyi okupatsiyi mozhlyvyy vil′nyy vyyav dukhu ukrayinstva ta orhanizatsiya i systematychna pratsya na deyakykh dilyankakh roboty» in OUN, *OUN Third Resolution*, 1947, p. 8.

[132] BAHRYANY, I. "Why I Don't' Want to Go Home", cit., p. 233.

[133] Original: «proty tr′okh okupantiv Ukrayiny» in PELEKH, I. T. *Moyi molodi lita u vyri borot'by,* Munich: Ukraiyns'ke vyd, 1988, p. 10.

[134] BAHRYANY, I. "Why I Don't' Want to Go Home", cit., p. 239.

[135] *Ibidem.*

> The so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, established by the Russian Communists,
> as one of the republics of the Soviet Union, became an instrument of Russian imperialism for
> the economic exploitation and political oppression of Ukraine[136].

Thirdly, the definition of the enemy provokes also a refocus on the "Self" itself, which cannot be only defined in terms of their anti-Bolshevik (or anti-Russian) stances. The community in these years is formulated following democratic and anti-fascist themes. This hint, crucial for positioning in the Western sphere of influence, became necessary to highlight the partisans' «fight against the common foe»[137], namely both Nazism and Stalinism, which is particularly stressed in several sections of the documents: «Ukrainians fought alike against Hitler and against Stalin. They fought against both before this war and in this war»[138]. The UNR-in-exile underlines:

> Ukrainian partisan forces, known under the name of the UPA, which had fought during the
> war against German and Communist invaders, keep on fighting today under the slogans of
> liberation of the Ukrainian people and the restoration of the Ukrainian state[139]

The democratic objectives of the struggle are oftentimes mentioned since the outcome would be «the realization of civil liberties in an independent Ukrainian Nation»[140].

The third component of the mission is the mythicization of this struggle, which is viewed not as a contingent event but inserted in the shadow of an ever-lasting historical condition of oppression: «The Ukrainian people have fought from ancient times for its liberty»[141]. In the Shayan's manifesto this idea is reinforced: «Since immemorial times the storms of invasions rolled over this road»[142]. The mission is not only a present one but is "historical", from the times of the Mongolian hordes to the ones of the USSR[143]. An interesting point that would be recurrent especially in the most radical nationalists during the Cold War is the inevitable interrelation between the history of Ukraine and the history of Europe: «The disaster of Ukraine becomes the disaster of Europe. The fate of Ukraine is the fate of Europe»[144]. This theme appeared also in the editorial of the Ukrainian quarterly titled

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[136] "Declaration of the Ukrainian National Council in Exile", *Ukrainian Quarterly,* 1948, p. 271.

[137] HONCHARUK, O. *If war comes tomorrow,* cit. p. 25.

[138] BAHRYANY, I. "Why I Don't' Want to Go Home", cit., p. 245.

[139] "Declaration of the Ukrainian National Council in Exile", cit. p. 272.

[140] Ivi, p. 273.

[141] Ivi, p. 270.

[142] SHAYAN, V. *"The Historical Mission of Ukraine. At the Boundaries of Two Worlds",* cit.*,* p. 3.

[143] Ibidem.

[144] *Ivi*, p. 10.

"European Federation and Ukraine"[145], according to which: «Without Ukraine, White Ruthenia and the Baltic States a federated Europe would not be complete and to that extent incapacitate in resisting further pressure by totalitarian Russia»[146]. This mission is then conceptualized under the vocabulary of a Christian crusade, where «the Ukrainian knights are fighting the sacred war»[147]. This is not only institutionalized in political or intellectual publications but emerges also in private memoirs:

> The participation of the Ukraine in the last war can be considered only as the continuation of that centuries-old struggle which the Ukrainian people have been waging to win their independence. i.e., to win the right of forming their own life in their country[148].

Interestingly, this mission was elaborated also in the "other half of the community", that is in the abovementioned associational network of Ukrainian women in DP camps. Ukrainian independence from the Soviet Union became the very center also of women's agenda, as succinctly put in the pages of the main women's newspaper: «Our aim is the Ukrainian state»[149]. Even from a gender perspective, the «liberation» of Ukraine is stated as an explicit mission of the community. In a way that mirrors the general organizations, they underline the fundamental role of Ukrainians in emigration, which should lobby the international arena and save and preserve the national community from afar. In a powerful metaphor, women defined themselves as the rock against which the national community should lean in a foreign land, among the stormy waves of a foreign sea[150].

The construction and the preservation of a national idea able to place the identity of the uprooted, together with a historical mission to fulfill during exile, are then instrumental to a fundamental aim, namely the return to an independent and free democratic state. The future winning outcome of the struggle is never in doubt, and they kept dreaming of going back to a free Ukraine: «We will return to our homeland»[151], and they would do so victoriously: «Everybody who violated or is going to violate the will of the Ukrainian people to live their independent life will be defeated»[152]. Another relevant example is a poem written in the camp of Inglostadt in July 1945 by the journalist

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[145] "Editorial", *Ukrainian Quarterly*, 4.2(spring 1948), pp. 101-105.
[146] *Ivi,* p. 105.
[147] SHAYAN, V. *I Can't Return*, cit., p. 12.
[148] OSYNKA, P. *Auschwitz: Album of a Political Prisoner*. Privately Printed, 1946, pp. 5-8.
[149] Original: «Nasha meta ukrayins′ka derzhava» in «Hromadianka»*,* 1946, 3, p.1.
[150] *Ivi,* p. 10.
[151] Original: «My povernemosya na bat′kivshchyni» in BILYNS′KYI, A. *Dr. Toma Lapychak*, cit., p. 2.
[152] OSYNKA, P. *Auschwitz: Album of a Political Prisoner*, cit., p. 6.

and writer Vasyl Sofroniv-Levytsky[153] where he describes, in what is a song to his motherland, the condition of DPs as destined to «*Bezdomnymy ity u svit*» [go into the world stateless] but «*Shche vernemos'... Ty zhdy na nas!*» [We will return. Wait for us!][154]. Nevertheless, the precarious condition remained tangible in the everyday life of displacement. Particularly evocative is the poem written by the chemist and journalist Alexander Bilyk in September 1945, during the days spent in the Rimini camp[155], titled «An evening in the camp»[156] in which the author describes the moment right before going to sleep when all the sounds around stop:

> Quietly. Everything is sleeping. It was quiet in the camp. A sad 'good night' was played by the trumpet. Only the moon [*bilolytsyy*] and the golden stars, like the ones we have in Ukraine. But here is a foreign land [*chuzhyna*] … [157].

1.2.3. The Everyday life of the "invisibles": Vulnerability reconsidered

The sources provide a unique narrative that focuses on the invention of a Ukraine in exile in every aspect of life: political, economic, social, and cultural. As noted above, one of the components of the exile mission is an ever-lasting historical condition of victimization and oppression. This narrative in was also practically reinforced by the same uprooted condition: vulnerability and victimization are undoubtedly essential to provide grounds for international and local responses to the plight of refugees, especially of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups, like women, children, elders, and disabled. At the time, families still represented an essential dimension of political, social, and economic life and postwar reconstruction was largely dependent on families' participation all throughout the continent. Because so many lives had been lost, the international community immediately promoted a huge surge in births, even in DP camps. Such that the centrality of families had been institutionalized also in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, whose sixteenth article stated: «The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection

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[153] Vasyl Sofroniv-Levytsky was born on 14 December 1899 in Stryhantsi, a town in Galicia. He was a journalist who migrated to Canada in 1950. From 1967 to 1969 Sofroniv-Levytsky served as president of the Ukrainian Journalists' Association of Canada.

[154] LEVYTSKY-SOFRONIV, V. *Respublika za drotamy,* Toronto: The New Pathway Publishers, 1983, p. 5.

[155] In 1944, Bilyk joined the "Galicia" division or the so-called Ukrainian National Army, in the rank of sub-chief of the artillery regiment. He participated in several battles in Slovakia, Yugoslavia and Austria and was then interned in Rimini as a British prisoner of war. In 1947 he emigrated to Spaim and then to the US.

[156] Original: «Vechir u tabori» in BUDNYI, V. and REVUTSKY, V. *Rimini 1945-1947,* cit., p. 116.

[157] Original: «Tykho. Vse drimaye. Zatykhlo v tabori. Tuzhlyve 'dobranich' zahrala surma. Til′ky bilolytsyy i zoloti zori, yak a nas e Ukrayini. Ta tut - chuzhyna...» in Ibidem. Note on translation: *bilolytsyy*, literally "pale-faced", is the typical epithet used in place of the "moon", which can be found also in the poetics of Shevchenko. See: PANTUCHOWICZ, A. and WARSO, A. *Culture(s) and Authenticity*. Berlin: Peter Lang Verlag, 2018, p. 52. The term *chuzhyna* is another term difficult to translate but refers to the idea of a distant, strange, and foreign land or country.

by society and the state». The welfare policies of the UNRRA thus manifestly targeted families, women, and children. Given the centrality that children have for the future, childcare emerged as a priority of families, governments, and relief agencies in postwar Europe. The aim of policymaker's and social workers' measures was not only humanitarian, such as providing shelter and preventing starvation and diseases, but also profoundly political since the new generation was considered fundamental in the process of postwar reconstruction. Consequently, the child welfare question was also addressed in terms of reinforcing national identities and framed within the idea of normalizing war-torn societies[158]. In this context, the peculiar nation-building of the community was undoubtedly putting a strong emphasis on the education of children, who made up about a quarter of the total Ukrainian DP population. In the DP camps there were many efforts devoted to arranging schools, educational curricula, programs, and after-school activities[159]. While conditions in the DP camps were often bleak and overcrowded, makeshift schools quickly sprung up to meet the educational needs of camp residents. These schools, run by the DPs themselves with support from international organizations, played an integral role in the reconstruction of communities devastated by war. Despite shortages of materials, qualified teachers, and proper facilities, DP school administrators showed great resourcefulness and determination in establishing educational programs. Schools operated in abandoned buildings, tents, and any other space that could be repurposed as a classroom. Supplies were improvised from whatever could be found or donated. Teachers, many of whom were former educators in their home countries, volunteered their time and skills. The curriculum focused on basic subjects like language, math, history, and social studies, with an emphasis on continuity and preparation for resettlement. School activities like sports, arts, and celebrations of cultural and religious holidays lifted spirits and fostered a hopeful outlook. Through education, a sense of normalcy and hope was kept alive during a time of upheaval and uncertainty.

During the fieldwork, I carried out interviews among people who, walking across different paths with their families, all found themselves in German DP camps when they were children. Their childhood memories are instrumental in enriching the study of everyday life in DPs camps but also in grasping an understanding of how the experience of displacement constructed a peculiar Ukrainian identity among those "children of the nation" that would reverberate after resettlement. Among the interviews, I have decided here to select three women that were old enough to remember their

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[158] Tara Zahra defined this project as the «psychological Marshall plan for Europe» which is the idea that returning home meant returning to the family and the nation ZAHRA, T. "Lost children: displacement, family, and nation in postwar europe." T*he journal of modern history*, 2009, 81.1: 45–86.

[159] HARZIG, C. "MacNamara's DP domestics: Immigration policy makers negotiate class, race, and gender in the aftermath of World War II". *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 2003, 10.1: 23-48.

experiences in DP camps[160], Iroida Wynnyckyj, Helen, «Olena in Ukrainian» Junyk, Marta, «without an h!»[161], Waschuk, who were young girls in those years to grasp an understanding of how they viewed their day-by-day life, to investigate how they conceived of themselves in relation to the tumultuous world in which they lived and to analyze how the memory of those years is then recounted and narrated from this perspective. Iroida was born in a small town near Kovel then called Matsiiv (region of Volynha) in 1933 and moved to Vorokhta, in the Carpathian Mountains where she spent her happy childhood: «It was just beautiful. It was like a fairytale»; Marta was born in Buchach «I'd say Ukraine, then it was Poland, I guess» in 1936. Finally, Helen came from a village about 40 km south of Kharkiv, «I was born in the Soviet Union in 1935». The memories of the DP camp[162] are recollected not as spaces of trauma but as heavenly and mythicized places for children, overall «safe» places, as underlined by Marta. Evocative is Iroida's description of those days:

> They kept saying it was temporary. But for us, for me, it was heaven. My dream was just that
> it [the experience in DP camp] wouldn't end, that it would last as long as possible. And of
> course, I wouldn't dare tell that to my parents, because they were sitting on the edge, they
> wanted to go somewhere and to get established.

A lot of space in the interviews was devoted to schooling and extracurricular activities. Memories are especially filled with genuine admiration for teachers, described as bright and wonderful people who, despite the lack of school supplies were still able to educate children. In general, schooling took place with rigor and discipline:

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[160] Marta Waschuk, Iroida Wynnyckyj and Helen Junyk. Interview by me, 1st December 2021, Toronto at UCRDC. I met them again on 8 December 2021.

[161] The issue of anglicizing Ukrainian names frequently emerged as a theme during the research process. It is worth noting at the onset how this component prominently appears from the very introduction of the testimonies, with differing sensitivities. For example, if Marta emphasizes retaining the original spelling of her name, Helen introduces herself using the English spelling. The struggle against the anglicization of Ukrainian names represents a factor that frequently materialized during data collection. Some respondents like Marta stressed keeping the original spelling of their name while others such as Helen utilized the English version when introducing themselves.

[162] The narratives of Marta, Iroida and Helen reveal the multifaceted aspects of the assembly centers that housed Displaced Persons after the Second World War, which I refer to as "DP camps". Each woman grew up in a different DP camp located in Bavaria, Germany. Marta resided in the DP camp of Neumarkt, a town close to Nuremberg. She provided specific details about living in that location. Iroida lived in the DP camp of Mittenwald, indicating geographic variation in the assembly centers. Helen, however, did not mention the exact place of the DP camp where she spent her childhood. Instead, she referred generally to the spaces she inhabited as "DP camp", demonstrating how the term became synonymous with the assembly centers and the experience of displacement itself. This terminology, used uniformly by all three women, will frame my analysis of the DP camps and the lives of the people confined within their borders. Though the camps differed in their precise locations, structures, and conditions, they shared common features that shaped the daily existence of the DPs. Central to this existence, and core to the women's recollections, was the spatial organization of the camps themselves - the open areas, buildings, and boundaries that came to define life in the early years after the Holocaust.

> The book was almost not existent. I don't know about you girls, but we had the desire to learn. Our teachers were very good. Quite a few were university professors. I had Polonska teaching me history, for example, the very known historian and we were sort of anxious to learn. No books, we took notes, and memorize those notes.

Talking about the empty walls of DP classrooms, adults described themselves as children eager to learn and when asked what they missed the most in those days, the answer was often "books", especially those written in the Ukrainian language. For example, Helen remembers how, every time a Ukrainian book was available, it became the main attraction:

> There was also the book "The sun of Ukraine" and we beg the teacher to read it. And so, one of us would lead out loud and everybody would listen, and the next teacher would come in to teach math and we were begging … let's continue reading. They would usually allow us.

The everyday life of children, together with their national education, however, was not limited to attending schools. As Marta reminisced: «Studying, dancing, going to the church, we were busy all the time! ». All the interviewees mentioned a lot of cultural activities in which they participated, especially theatre, choirs, and dance groups, that articulated the free time of the youth[163]. Finally, it is worth mentioning, that the national space encompassed not only the camp, but rather the network of all «Ukrainian» DP camps. In fact, singing, dancing and scouting activities provided children with the opportunity to travel among different camps to stage cultural performances or to celebrate organizations' special anniversaries. Performances aiming at reviving Ukrainian folklore rooted the youth in a specific milieu of belonging, reinforced by commemoration and celebrations of political and religious festivities that marked the passing of the year. Another recurrent element of children's narratives is clothing. After all, what people wear is more than just textile material sewn together to cover and protect; clothes are a signifier of identity and culture. Vivid images of outfits and memories of traditional dresses mingled with individual stories, in which clothes matter to the individual for a wide variety of reasons, like the red dress with flowers that Marta used to wear on special occasions or Iroida's garments that came from the United States:

> We used to get packages from the States. My mother got two dresses, one yellow and one brown and with them, she made a dress for me. This was the best dress I have ever had in my life. I felt so fortunate. When I put that on a Sunday, and we go for a walk around the camp I felt like a princess.

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[163] For research on cultural life see: DOROSHENKO, "Kultumo-osvitna pratsia v taborakh i dla taboriv" in *Siohochasne i mynule,* nos. 1-2 (1949): 51-4.

What is mostly addressed in terms of humanitarianism, exceptionalism and security can also be a matter of homemaking and space appropriation, even in temporary infrastructures. Children, far from being only victims recovering from trauma or mere objects of adults' policies regain their subjectivity, stressing their peculiar experiences and point of view with respect to their parents. Insightful is Marta's thoughts:

> What they say about the trauma that we went through with the bombs … children are very resilient. Parents worried a lot more but as a child … you have your friends, you go to a hike, you go to school, you sing, you have games and parents worried if you hadn't shoes […]. What I find now is that everybody worries about children and the war. I mean… we went through the bombing; we saw the dead bodies … we had to flee from the bombs, but children are resilient. We shouldn't worry so much about how it affects children. Unless it's years, and years and years … But something happens and "oh the trauma" … Children … unless you tell them you have to feel bad about it, children survive. We survived.

Overall, the description of camp experiences was very similar in all the interviews, conveying an idea of the camp as an idealized space and as a site of both refuge and socialization. This is typical of childhood memories, which are often conceived in an even more dream-like figure than the ones of adults. Notwithstanding, as will gradually be uncovered by this thesis, memories of displacement are not the neutral transposition of hard and cold events, rather, a young subject elaborates and transforms images into a narrative by growing up, considering also how much value the family and the society at large put on a specific event[164]. For example, there are stories, told and retold in the environment that surrounds a child, that are put into service for later motives[165]. People thus create a narrative made of selected childhood memories that do not always accurately reflect past events and that both influence and were influenced by the process of growing up and by later life situations. "Ukrainian DP children" that I have interviewed, endured displacement with their families and grew up in a specific community in Canada that understand the camps as a founding core of their collective identity, a suspended time where the «Ukrainian nation» was finally free to develop and had to be

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[164] FASS, P. S. "Childhood and Memory." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 3.2 (2010), 155-164.

[165] The historiography of children during World War II remains a burgeoning field of research, though much work is still needed to fully understand the diverse experiences of children during this period. While some initial scholarship emerged in the decades immediately following the war, it was not until the late 20th century that historians began to systematically the peculiarity of children's experience during the war. BEATTY, B. "The Complex Historiography of Childhood: Categorizing Different, Dependent, and Ideal Children". *History of Education Quarterly*, 2000, 40.2: 201-219; GUSKE, I. "Fading Childhood Memories of World War II Displacement: Appropriation, Non-Appropriation, and Misappropriation". In: BARKHOF, S. *War and Displacement in the Twentieth Century*. Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England, UK: Routledge, 2014. p. 224-246. BARKHOF, S.; SMITH, A. K. (Ed.). *War and Displacement in the Twentieth Century: Global Conflicts*. Routledge Studies in Modern History 13. New York; London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014.

preserved from afar until the time independence would come. So, what has been presented is an institutionalized memory that is profoundly rooted in this migration wave. There were unheard voices of those who did not grow up in the institutional network of the Ukrainian Canadian community, but during the fieldwork I had the chance to listen to only few of them. This is for example the case of Mary[166], who was 10 years old when she was in the DP camp of Berchtesgaden. During our interview, the space of the camp was nonexistent in her narrative. She nervously mentioned that she did not remember any specific activity in the camp and quickly changed the topic of the interview, focusing on the post-resettlement time and the path of becoming «Canadian»[167].

> I don't remember the camps. There were many people, sure, children. But I spoke Russian and it was better not to at the time. I understand Ukrainian of course, I come from Ukraine. It is not Russia, no but things were complicated there… It is difficult to explain but no, I don't have memories of those days. But I vividly remember when we arrived in Canada. Finally … [168]

1.3. Memories of "other" camps

Ukrainian DPs knew that "their" Ukraine was an abstract idea: «You cannot understand my fervent love for Ukraine, to the state which exists in my mind as the soul of my ideals»[169]. Contextually, this chapter aimed at underlining how after WW II there was indeed also a physical space rooting these identification processes, the «DP camp». Here, the uprooted have spent some years in what can be defined along the lines of an in-between space of cultural encounter, that is not "there", the motherland, nor "here", the resettling country, where they were able to institutionalize a community while formulating narratives of belonging, involving the mythscape of a glorious past and a mission to fulfill in exile. However, an element oftentimes undervalued in the literature is that – scattered in oral sources and memoirs of those years – the campsite emerged not only as a refuge rooting what will become a diasporic identity but also as a leitmotif of experience that stands as a metaphor for wider tragedies that "they", in the sense of Ukrainian people, have endured from the twentieth century onward. In this section, I have decided to dedicate some room to three specific

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[166] Mary Havrylyuk. Interview by me, 3rd June 2022, Winnipeg. She was born in 1937 in a village in the Dnipropetrovs'k region.

[167] As a final addendum, it is worth noticing how contextual historical and personal events are constantly reshaping these narratives. I have decided to select interviews conducted before the 24 February 2022, but all the people I have spoken to after that fundamental turning point, kept reiterating the idea that «history is repeating itself» and that the refugees of today have to endure the «hard times» they had to suffer after the WW II.

[168] Mary Havrylyuk. Interview by me, 3rd June, Winnipeg.

[169] SHAYAN, *I Can't Return*, cit., p. 12.

camps, beyond the DP one, that enter the narrative of the specific world-making of the third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada during the Cold War. The choice of the first two, namely the Soviet Gulag and the Nazi concentration camp, is evident since many Ukrainians feared or suffered incarceration in either or both. These spaces are instrumental in reinforcing what has been defined the totalitarian paradigm in the comparison of Nazism and Communism[170], and in establishing a collective memory based on the historic persecution of Ukrainians by «the two evils» in Europe[171]. The third one, even if less immediate, would still be central in the Ukrainian community in Canada, since they were on North American soil, that are internment camps for enemy aliens during the two world wars. Given the scope of this research, I am limiting the analysis to the internment of Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War. This last section acts as a bridge in the narrative, linking the experience of the war among Ukrainians in Europe and in Canada.

1.3.1. Gulag: «The hell of Dante pales»[172]

The penal system of forced-labor camps of the Soviet Union known as *Glavnoye Upravleniye Ispravitelno-Trudovykh Lagerey* [State Administration of Camps, Gulag] entered the Western common vocabulary when the Soviet dissident Alexander Solzhenitsyn published his masterpiece, «The Gulag Archipelago», in 1973[173]. In the sources collected, those camps were mainly identified with the expression «going to Siberia», indicating not only the specific experience of torture and detention but also employed as a metaphor standing for Soviet terror in general. As noted above, the DP camp was a space where memories of people who fled from the Red Army "occupation" or "liberation" during the war - sentenced to labor camps because they were OUN-UPA fighters or sympathizers or collaborated with Nazi Germany – were integrated and negotiated with the memories of whom had a first-hand experience of the Stalin terror and the man-made famine of the thirties. The latter emerged for instance in the collection of oral sources held by the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 in Halifax, where several accounts regard life in the Soviet Union before WW II. The descriptions were all very similar and can be summarized as «hell»: «Misery. Well, I was born

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[170] For the state of the art see the introduction of SIEGEL, A. (Ed.). *The totalitarian paradigm after the end of Communism: towards a theoretical reassessment.* Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998 and NEUMAYER, L. *The Criminalisation of Communism in the European Political Space after the Cold War.* Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England, UK: Routledge, 2018.

[171] GHODSEE, K. "A Tale of Two Totalitarianisms: The Crisis of Capitalism and the Historical Memory of Communism", *History of the Present*, 2014, 4.2: 115–142.

[172] SHAYAN, *I Can't Return*, cit., p. 12.

[173] For literature reviews about research on the topic see: KEEP, J. "Recent Writing on Stalin's Gulag: An Overview", *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés/Crime, History & Societies*, 1997, 1.2: 91-112; BELL, W. T. "Solzhenitsyn's legacy: studying the Gulag in 2019", *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 2019, 61.1:117-122.

in Ukraine, it was part of the Soviet Union, and it was a living hell. We were hungry, cold, and all that comes with that»[174]. Shayan describes his experience as an intellectual in a similar vein: «I see the hell as it has not been seen by Dante. The hell of Dante pales. Here [in Ukraine] the hell has been caught in its naked reality»[175]. The memoirs of Nadia Muntian, written by her son Peter Anton, opens with the 1917 Revolution in Saint Petersburg, when her father – coming from a wealthy family in a village near Odessa – did not accept the offer to go to the US to work for the Ford Motor Company:

> Little by little, things started to get worse for him and his family. The Soviets were now
> deciding to take possessions and seize property from the rich in order to make a collective[176].

Nadia was born in 1925 and, after daring events, his father escaped to "Dombas" [sic!][177] in 1933. As Nadia recalls: «There was already a famine going on at this time»[178]. The narration moves on until WW II when Germans invaded the USSR and Nadia was among the children taken as *ostarbeiter*. During the war, she worked first in a brick and then in a marmalade factory. After the Americans liberated them, she started to fear repatriation. For Ukrainians who refused to go back home, the fate would be sealed:

> I lied. Instead of saying I was from eastern Ukraine, I said I was from the west. I knew
> beforehand they didn't take the people home but instead, loaded them onto trains to Siberia.
> The reason they took them to Siberia was a punishment […]. I said I was from Volhyna and
> I changed my name to Anastasia[179].

However, the Soviet officer did not believe her and – anyway – he told her that also people from Volhynia had to return to the USSR. To escape that fate, she got married:

> 'When did you get married?' 'In Germany after the war'. 'You wanted to get married?'
> 'I didn't want to get married. I had to. The Soviets were taking us all back home. I would've
> ended up in a Siberian camp if I was a single woman. It was my only way out'[180].

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[174] W.W. Interview by Kevin Lohnes, 28 September 2006, Pier21, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, 06.09.28WW.
[175] SHAYAN, *I Can't Return*, cit., p. 12.
[176] ANTON P. *A Life of Hope: Memoirs of Nadia the Survivor*. Winnipeg: Antonbooks; 2004, p. 10.
[177] Donbass.
[178] ANTON P. *A Life of hope,* cit., p. 15.
[179] *Ivi*, p. 93.
[180] ANTON P. *A Life of hope,* cit., p. 102.

Ukrainians from Central and Eastern Ukraine who then ended up in DP camps all recall how they had to endure both Stalin and Hitler terrors, on the one hand surviving *Siberia* and the *Holodomor* and on the other, forced labour or concentration camps in Germany[181]. Also, Peter's mom, Anastasia, was among them: «Dad was from Western Ukraine and volunteered to work in Germany; mom was from Central Ukraine, survived the Holodomor and after the Nazi invasion, she became an *ostarbeiter* in Germany»[182]. In an article he wrote about his mother, he affirms that:

> Anastasia was born in Shpola, in central Ukraine, to farmers Mykola Lysenko and Elisaveta Bublij. She was their only child, although she had a stepbrother and stepsister from her mother's first marriage. From an early age, Anastasia's life was marked by sorrow and tragedy […]. Although she was growing up in the rich agricultural heartland of Ukraine, young Anastasia witnessed the starvation deaths of her sister and other relatives during Stalin's genocidal man-made famine of 1932-1933, the Holodomor. During that catastrophic time, her brother disappeared, and her mother set out to find him, only to die during her search and be buried in an unmarked grave. […] Anastasia was shipped by train to Germany and assigned to a factory in Northeim, where she and other young Ukrainian women canned fruit and vegetables. Conditions were harsh. Complaints or breaches of order saw workers removed to concentration camps from which they never returned[183].

Alongside personal memories, there were also attempts to collect this set of experiences in an institutionalized framework. In the camps people had the chance to discuss, confront, and read a lot. It is not by chance that among the numerous intellectual endeavours promoted in the camps, one of the most remembered by the community is the translation into Ukrainian of Orwell's masterpiece «Animal Farm». In the main office of the UCRDC in Toronto, there is a copy of this translation [Fig. 4] whose description goes as follows:

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[181] Another example is given by the memoir of Antonina Kokot, who was born in the region of Zaporizhzhia of Ukraine SSR and was taken into slavery by Germany. She then emigrated to Canada and settled in Oshawa, Ontario in KHELEMENDYK-KOKOT, A. *Kolkhoz Childhood and German Slavery: Memoirs,* privately printed, 1993.

[182] Peter Melnycky. Interview by me, 13th September 2022, Edmonton.

[183] Melnycky, P. "Lives lived. Anastasia Lysenko Melnycky, 89", *The Globe and Mail,* 29 April 2014. Online: https://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/facts-and-arguments/lives-lived-anastasia-lysenko-melnycky-89/article18223084/. Last access 26 February 2023.

Fig 4: UCRD, Translation into Ukrainian of Animal Farm

Amongst these DP's was a young man, Ihor Shevchenko, who asked permission from George Orwell to publish "Animal Farm" in Ukrainian. Orwell gave his permission, and the Ukrainian edition was published in Munich in November 1947. George Orwell also wrote a Preface to the book, in English. This was translated into Ukrainian. It is thought that about 5,000 books were published, and most were destroyed by the US and the USSR as the book was regarded as propaganda. A twist in the story is that the original English Preface has been lost which means that all editions with a Preface in English have had to have the Preface translated from Ukrainian back into English. "Animal Farm. A fairytale" has a connection with an English author, Ukrainians in DP camps in Germany and the Holodomor[184].

One testimony at a time, the famine, and the labour camps – that will be narrated as «Soviet concentration camps», became part of a unique Ukrainian national narrative that was able to integrate different memories in a collective discourse of martyrdom and victimization. Moreover, in this peculiar *milieu,* the crimes perpetrated in the Soviet Union were also instrumentally exposed to the "Western" world thanks to the contingent exacerbation of the Cold War confrontation between the US and the USSR. This is crystal clear in the collection of witnesses' accounts named «The black deed of the Kremlin. A white book» published in Toronto in 1953, whose introduction highlights:

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[184] Description of the book in the display window of the UCRDC in Toronto.

« [We feel] the burning obligation to insist that the Western World should realize […] what is happening in the Soviet Union». This, which was also one of the components of the historical mission of this exile community, will then become more and more central overseas.

1.3.2. The Nazi concentration camps: «It might frighten even old Dante»

In the previous section, already emerged that memories of the Soviet terror were mingled with the experience under German occupation. Ukrainians from different walks of life, in fact, were also incarcerated and deported to the Nazi regime's camp system (concentration camps, forced-labor camps, prisoner of wars camps, and transit camps) for a variety of reasons: political activists involved in the OUN-UPA or other political groups, people taken as forced laborers to work in different German enterprises (*ostarbeiter*), prisoners of war captured as soldiers in the Soviet Union Red Army, and finally other were taken because they were Jews or Roma people or any other category of people considered "inferior" by the regime[185]. The existence of concentration camps was already at the time well-known, as Nadia recalls in the interview that closes her biography:

> I heard about these two German concentration camps around the time I was sent to the marmalade factory. It was then I had more freedom to roam about the areas close to us. They were called "Dachau" and "Buchenwald". The one called "Dachau" was ten kilometers from Munich. It was the one where medical experiment were conducted on human beings. […] All of Germany knew about them, including us[186].

Among the camp inmates, there were also Ukrainians, as in the case of Paladji Osynka, who self-published a collection of drawings titled *Al'bum politv'jaznja* [Album of a political prisoner], in which he describes his experience in Auschwitz[187]. The drawings depict the everyday life in the camp, from the arrival to the gas chamber, passing through the attempts to escape [Fig. 5] and the final liberation.

The preface contains the mission that has been analyzed before of a «everlasting struggle for freedom» of Ukrainians. The description of the Nazi camps was very similar to the one of the gulags, even in the metaphor employed:

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[185] On the eve of the Operation Barbarossa in 1941, the territory of Ukraine in its current internationally recognized borders was home to one of the largest Jewish populations in Europe.
[186] Anton P. *A Life of hope,* cit., p. 109.
[187] OSYNKA, P. *Al'bum politv'jaznja*, Munich, 1946.

Those who were herded in concentration camps and prisons and were cut off the active fight in their country had nevertheless to pass throughout a real hell - an inferno in the earth which might frighten even old Dante[188].
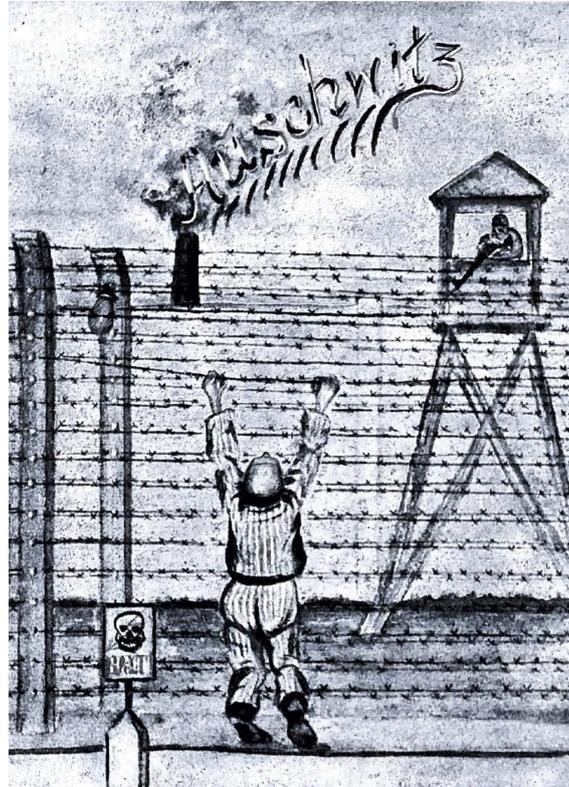
Fig. 5: OSYNKA, P. *Drawings*

Over the decades, the Nazi concentration camps – and the experience of Ukrainians in them, will become a fundamental topic of cultural and intellectual production in the Ukrainian Canadian community from the 1980s onwards. For example, a more recent project devoted to the Ukrainian experience in Nazi concentration camp was carried out by the UCRDC to document the experience of the almost 8000 Ukrainian women incarcerated in the camp of Ravensbrück, initially established for female prisoners, where more than eighty per cent of the inmates were political prisoners from Eastern Europe[189]. One of the results of this endeavor was the listing the name of around 4000 among them. The project has been presented also with the testimonies of the descendants of three former prisoners that now live in Toronto: Christine Eliashevsky-Chraibi, Lydia Eliashevsky-Replansky, Oksana and Orysia Marciuk, and Marc Infeld. This process which is going on in the last fifty years

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[188] Ivi, p. 7.

[189] The largest group was Polish (30%); then there were Russian and Ukrainian (21-30%), followed by German and Austrian (18%); there were also Hungarian, including Roma and Sinti Gypsies (8%); French (7%); Belgian, Swedish and Danish women, as well as some British women.

is contextual to the Jewish memorialization of the Shoah but also a response to the growing accusations of Nazi collaborationism that will be then investigated. From that time on publications about the topic mushroomed, as in the case of Roman Malashuck – No. 57.349 - former political prisoner of Auschwitz, who dedicated his memoirs to:

> To Freedom Fighters who fought and died in the struggle for an independent Ukrainian State;
> To those who went through hell and high water fighting for honor, glory and their nation who were burning with a love for Ukraine and were burned in the fires of German concentration camp crematoria — for Ukraine[190].

However, memories had already been formulated beforehand. In 1947, the Oseredok Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre in Winnipeg held a memoir contest where sixty-four memoirs were submitted. The historian Himka analyzed them to determine what they had to say about the Second World War in the territory of nowadays Ukraine. The scholar focuses specifically on the fourteen where there was some mention of the Shoah, in order to detangle the relationship between Ukrainians and Jews and the participation of the former in the Jewish genocide. The scholar highlights how the reference to the Jewish community is very limited, and, when they are present, the statements are incoherent, such as in mentioning both the Nazi extermination program and the Jews as Bolshevik traitors. As interestingly put by the scholar, this is the sign that:

> When the Ukrainian memoirs were produced, most of the authors had already spent about two years in displaced persons' camps. The camps were a place of intense interaction among refugees and forced laborers, a place where they could tell stories to each other and work out narratives together. The displaced persons were well aware that they were being screened to see if they had participated in war crimes, and if they had, they could be sent back[191].

Thus, the DP camps served not only as spaces that fostered national identity formation, but also as arenas where contested and controversial memories of the war were negotiated or even suppressed in relation to other communities. In particular, the camps witnessed processes of «competing victimhood» between Ukrainians, Poles and Jews as each group sought to validate their own suffering and shape the prevailing narratives of persecution under Nazi occupation. By prioritizing certain memories over others and strategically emphasizing or downplaying specific events, the DP camps became sites of both remembering and forgetting, with some recollections amplified while alternative

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[190] MALASHCHUK, R. *Z knyhy moho zhyttia: spomyny,* Toronto: Homin Ukrainki, 1987.
[191] Himka, J.P. "Ukrainian Memories of the Holocaust: The Destruction of Jews as Reflected in Memoirs Collected in 1947." *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue Canadienne Des Slavistes*, 2012, 54.3/4: 427–42, p. 438.

perspectives were effectively silenced. This competitive dynamic had the effect of further fracturing intercommunal relations in the aftermath of unprecedented mass violence and loss, demonstrating how spaces ostensibly created for refuge and recovery could also exacerbate divisions and propagate simplified interpretations of a complex historical trauma.

1.3.3. «Enemy Aliens»: Canada at War and internment camps

The final camp related to WW II mentioned here serves as a junction to another experience, that being of Ukrainians who had already settled in Canada prior to the war. An additional key player in the conflict that has yet to be analyzed, in fact, is Canada itself. When Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, the British Dominion declared war separately from Britain and France on September 10, 1939[192], after Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King had called for a special session three days before. On September 7, the PM addressed the House of Commons speaking about the impending struggle that would have confronted Canadians, a struggle for the defense and preservation of the «Western civilization». World War II represented a watershed moment in Canadian history that profoundly shaped the country's national identity and role in international affairs[193]. Between 1940-1941, Canada emerged as Britain's principal wartime ally during this critical period. This new role on the international stage elevated Canada's global standing and diplomatic influence. Domestically, the war catalyzed changes to Canada's political landscape. Moreover, the war years marked a pivotal phase for ethnic communities in Canada - those of non-British, non-French, and non-Indigenous ancestry[194]. As the war grew more severe, one of the major responses of the Great War to deal with foreign nationals living in Canada was also employed for WW II, namely, to intern those «elements» that were deemed dangerous for the war effort and to outlaw their organizations, the so-called «enemy aliens»[195]. During World War II, the Canadian government instituted internment policies that incarcerated citizens of enemy countries within the country. While Japanese, Italian, and German nationals faced detention, the internment policies had broader effects beyond citizens of the Axis powers. Namely, the internment targeted communists and members of the Ukrainian Labor Farmer Temple Association [ULFTA], a culturally focused organization with

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[192] Its separate declaration of war was a measure of the independence granted in the 1931 by the Statute of Westminster.

[193] Notably, the first general overview on Canada and WW II was written by a Canadian naval historian in 1977 and it was titled "Out of the Shadows: Canada in the Second World War", to underlines how the war transformed, according to the general sentiment, a quite country on the fringes of global affairs into a critical player of the war. GREENHOUS, B., and W. A. B. DOUGLAS. *Out of the shadows: Canada in the Second World War*. Hamilton: Dundurn, 1996.

[194] GREENHOUS, B., and W. A. B. DOUGLAS. *Out of the shadows,* cit., pp. 252-287.

[195] "Enemy alien" was the legal term used to describe citizens of states legally at war with the British Empire who resided in Canada during the war. The term became already during the Great War, and it included immigrants from the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria.

socialist and communist leanings established in 1918 that boasted around 10,000 members by 1939[196]. On June 4, 1940, the Canadian government outlawed the Communist Party of Canada and concomitantly seized the assets and properties of the ULFTA. Often, these confiscated lands and facilities were then leased or sold to leaders of other anti-communist Ukrainian organizations within Canada. The situation for Canadian communists remained dire until June 22, 1941, when Germany launched the invasion of the Soviet Union, thereby making Adolf Hitler's Nazi regime a mutual adversary for both Canada and the USSR[197]. With Germany now attacking the Soviet Union, the British government under Winston Churchill opted to form an alliance with Joseph Stalin to bolster its coalition against the Axis powers. This political shift had implications for domestic policy, as it now served the war interests of Canada and its British ally to take a more conciliatory approach to Canadian communists and organizations like the ULFTA that had faced repression the previous year.

At least eighteen internees have told their stories in forms that have led to publication. Looking at them, it might interestingly conclude how camp dynamics were in a sense very close. As highlighted by the historian Radforth who has analyzed these sources, in fact,

> When retelling their stories, these life-long leftists wanted to instruct readers about the harm that a so-called liberal democracy can inflict on the working-class movement […]. In camp, the pastimes of the left internees reflected their group commitment to the tight organization, mutual improvement through education, and furthering the cause of their movement[198].

Memories are manyfold, from the shame of the arrest to the treatment in the camps and going through the hard times of being separated from their families. However, internees also worked to maintain high their group morale, in order to be recognized as political prisoners and be then released. Moreover, in some cases, for instance in Hull, Quebec, Ukrainians also had access to a typewriter, which facilitated literary and propagandistic writing[199]. During the fieldwork I hadn't the chance to dig into detail of these events, however, I found an interesting memoir of the journalist and communist leader Peter Krawchuk on his internment[200]. In Krawchuk's book, there is an interesting urban

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[196] WHITAKER, R. "Official Repression of Communism During World War II". *Labour/Le Travailleur*, 1986, 17: 135-168; ANDERS, R. "Left-Right Camps: A Century of Ukrainian Canadian Internment". *Press for Conversion*, 2016, 40-55; HINTHER, R.; MOCHORUK, J. (Ed.). *Civilian Internment in Canada: Histories and Legacies*. Winnipeg: Univ. of Manitoba Press, 2020.

[197] RADFORTH, I. "Political Prisoners: The Communist Internees" in IACOVETTA, F. PERIN, R. and PRINCIPE, A. (Ed.) *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad*, Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2000, pp. 194-224.

[198] Ivi, p. 195.

[199] *Ibidem*.

[200] KRAVCHUK, P. *Interned without a cause. The internment of Canadian Antifascists during World War Two,* Toronto: Kobzar Publishing Company, 1985.

description of the camp of Kananaskis in Alberta and the forced cohabitation between Germans and Italians with Ukrainian antifascists:

> In the middle, between the rows of barracks, was the parade-ground where the internees played soccer in the evening and on Sunday. The Nazis named this square *Hitler Platz.* By the way, they called the little avenue by our barracks *Stalin Strasse*[201].

This description which may seem like a twist of fate is truly emblematic of the several levels on which the totalitarian paradigm came to the fore even before the end of the war in the West. Discussing, for example, the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, Germans stressed ironically and in a provocative stance how «We [Nazis and Communists] should be friends in camp»[202]. Moreover, the question of antifascist internment arose in the interview with Wilfred Szczesny, who was a leading figure in the leftist Ukrainian Canadian community, in his words:

> [We were] under suspicion particularly because of our close association with the Communist Party and especially around the time when there was the pact between Germany and the Soviet Union, the non-aggression pact, so again there was some feeling that the left-wing Ukrainians might have some interests other than Canada's welfare. They jailed, interned many of the leaders of the Communist Party and many of the leaders, not only of the AUUC, but of a number of other ethnic organizations who had friendly relations with the Communist Party. They confiscated our buildings, and, in some instances, sold them to the right-wing Ukrainian organizations, eventually many of these were returned but there had been a lot of damage done and so on… so that's kind of the division in the community[203].

Concurrently as some Ukrainians were undergoing forced displacement across Europe, Ukrainians residing in Canada who occupied an opposing position on the political spectrum relative to their European counterparts found themselves in a situation akin to internment, though their circumstances differed markedly from the confinement facing Ukrainians elsewhere in that period. In this ironic twist, two segments of the Ukrainian population experienced forms of internment or marginalization simultaneously, despite their opposing political positions and separation across continents.

The internment camps during World War I and World War II in Canada provide insight into a particular experience of Ukrainian Canadians, rather than solely representing the Ukrainian one.

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[201] *Ivi,* p. 34.

[202] *Ivi,* p. 66. However, the irreconcilability between the two ideologies was well underlined among internees.

[203] Wilfred Szczesny. Interview by me, 1st April 2021, online. It should be noted that this interview was the first conducted during the pandemic utilizing a digital medium.

The internment of enemy aliens by the Canadian government during the two world wars constitutes a complex chapter in Canadian history, with implications for multiculturalism, human rights, and collective memory. The historical obscurity surrounding the internment camps began lifting in the 1980s and 1990s, propelled largely by Ukrainian Canadian activists and scholars. Organizations such as the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association drew attention to the injustices, assisting in incorporating the internment narrative into Canada's collective memory, but with an emphasis on the World War I experience. This is linked to the division within the Ukrainian Canadian community mentioned previously. Which experience of Ukrainian Canadians was embraced by the third wave? What narratives became pivotal? To comprehend these later developments, particularly following the arrival in Canada of Ukrainian DPs, it is necessary to further investigate the division in the community referred to by Wilfred, establishing the complex dynamics involving Ukrainian migration to Canada.

CHAPTER 2
UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION TO CANADA (1891-1950s)

2.1. Ukrainians in Canada: a background

The first wave of Ukrainian settlers arrived in Canada as early as the late 19th century, establishing communities primarily in the Prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta as well as Ontario[1]. By the end of WW II, two distinct waves of Ukrainian immigration had occurred, demonstrating the lengthy historical process of population movement from Ukraine. This section briefly explores the background of these flows, further problematizes the issue of what does it mean to possess a Ukrainian heritage in Canada and highlights the multi-layered complexity of the fluid and ongoing dynamics of belonging in a community with a background of migration. Initially the mainstream society saw the newcomers as exotic, non-Western people whose Canadian experience was shaped by their preexisting culture, by the landscape they were expected to settle and tame, and finally by, as stressed by the Canadian journalist John Dafoe in 1913, what most Canadians hoped would be an unstoppable process of adaptation and integration to the Canadian way of life.

> The Ukraine is the proper place for Ukrainians. If there is such a place as Canada-Ukraine, we don't know of it. Hyphens should be left at the port of embarkation to be applied for when the immigrants return for good to the lands of their fathers[2].

The internal dynamics in the community, however, were more complex. As I will analyze in subsequent chapters, this first wave of Ukrainian immigration had to contend with the evolution from a vaguely Ruthenian[3] to a *nationalized* Ukrainian identity that increasingly took root with the arrival of more conscious political émigrés who participated in what was felt as a «Ukrainian War of Independence» and reflected the same processes that were already evolving in Europe, though declined in a peculiar way.

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[1] Satzewich's preliminary considerations on categorizing migration flows into waves are much to be noted. As she highlights, it facilitates the analysis, but still, we should not forget that it is individuals and families who decide to migrate, not an undifferentiated mass. In: SATZEWICH, V. *The Ukrainian Diaspora*. Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England, UK: Routledge, 2003, p. 26.

[2] *Speeches and notes*, John Wesley Dafoe fonds, R1831-0-5-E, MG30-D45. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[3] The term "Ruthenian" comes from the Latin word Ruthenia referring to East Slavic lands. In the late 1800s, intellectuals in nowadays Ukraine began using it to promote the distinct culture and history of its people, compared to Poland and Russia and it can be considered a sort of proto-national Ukrainian identity. BOECK, B. J. "What's in a Name? Semantic Separation and the Rise of the Ukrainian National Name". *Nationalities Papers*, 2004, 27.1-4: 33-65.

2.1.1. The Pioneers' Myth: Builders of Western Canada

The earliest documented Ukrainian immigrants to arrive in Canada were Ivan Pylypov and Vasyl Eleniak, who landed in September 1891. While some sporadic Ukrainian migration to the Americas may have occurred as early as 1812, Pylypov and Eleniak are recognized by the Ukrainian Canadian community to be the first confirmed settlers in Canada according to official records[4]. The two men undertook the transatlantic voyage encouraged by their German acquaintances to scout potential areas for future settlement. This seminal date of 1891 has become symbolic in representing the inception of large-scale Ukrainian immigration to Canada. It marked the initial waves of Ukrainians leaving the Austro-Hungarian Empire's Galician region, predominantly for economic opportunities[5]. In 1892, a small group of immigrants organized by Pylypov arrived in Winnipeg from the town of Nebyliv. Two years later, the families of Mykola Tychkowsky and Antin Paish left the group and settled east of Edmonton in Edna[6], the first and soon the largest Ukrainian settlement. Afterward, tens of thousands of Ukrainian speakers came to Canada between 1896 and 1914 as part of the Laurier government's attempt to fill the West with settlers, through a federal program promoting Canada as the «Last Best West»[7]. As demonstrated by articles published in local newspapers during this time, the late 19th century migration movement from the Habsburg Empire, and especially from the Galician region, was met with some criticism. For instance, an article published in the Weekly Herald of Calgary, Alberta on May 18, 1899, discusses the impending arrival of 50,000 Galicians preparing to leave their homelands. The article titles this movement as the «Galician invasion»[8] and questions whether these immigrants will provide any benefit to Canada. Some excerpts from the article are noteworthy. It refers to the immigrants as «an undesirable lot», further, the article draws a comparison between the «Galicians» and Chinese immigrants, suggesting the Galicians «are undesirable for the reason that they never become citizens but run back home the minute they have acquired a sufficient sum to pull their carts out of the mud»[9]. Another example is

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[4] This "community" narrative was also officialized by the Canadian federal government. In fact, in 1947, Wasyl Eleniak participated in a special ceremony in Ottawa where he received Canada's first citizenship certificates as representatives of the diverse cultural groups comprising early Canadian society. Eleniak's contributions to Ukrainian-Canadian cultural identity were further acknowledged through monuments and plaques erected in both Chipman, Alberta, where he settled, as well as his native village of Nebyliv in Ukraine. NAY, M. A. *Trailblazers of Ukrainian Emigration to Canada: Wasyl Eleniak and Ivan Pylypow*. Edmonton: Brightest Pebble Pub., 1997.

[5] MARTYNOWYCH, O. *Ukrainians in Canada: The formative period, 1891–1924*, pp. 60–61. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1991, pp. 3-21.

[6] Now called "Star".

[7] LUCIUK, L. and S. HRYNIUK. *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity*. Toronto: Published in Association with the Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Committee by University of Toronto Press, 1991, pp. 30-35.

[8] "Galician Invasion", *Weekly Herald*, Calgary, 18th May 1899, p. 1.

[9] *Ibidem.*

the article published on April 9, 1904, titled «Concerning Immigrants»[10] that categorized immigrant groups based on perceived literacy and social conditions. Some of the clusters said to exhibit the lowest standards were listed as Croats, Slovaks, Poles, Lithuanians, Ruthenians, Hebrews and Italians. Meanwhile, the article deemed English, Irish, Finns, Scandinavians, and Germans as the most desirable immigrant origins. The article discussed the need to limit immigration but criticized the Canadian government's approach. It noted that in Canada the government does not seem to think any such legislation to limit migration to those unable to read or speak the language is necessary. Racial undertones were also present, as the piece stated that Canada was assimilating «inferior races» citing Galicians as an example. While discussing policy issues around immigration, the article made problematic value judgments about certain groups and their perceived social and linguistic attributes. This type of coverage demonstrates the prejudices within Canadian society that led to differential treatment of immigrants. Against the backdrop of mainstream discrimination, then-Interior Minister Clifford Sifton, who designed the immigration policy, defended these «men in sheep skin coat» and their «stout wives and half-dozen children»[11] as exceptionally good value for the government's immigration and settlement dollar.

The stories and images of Ukrainian families stopping in Winnipeg and other railway centers before making their way across the Western frontier have long shaped the image of Ukrainian Canadians. These 170 000[12] Ruthenians, as they were called at the time, were mainly peasants from Bukovyna and Galicia, two provinces of the Habsburg Empire, and only a few from regions under tsarist rule. As they settled, most immigrants created a residential landscape modeled on their homeland because they simply could not think of any other style. They built the way they were used to; it was a practical response to the creation of a new milieu. Space was organized to fit the established patterns of use; therefore, the shape of the houses, the design of the barns, and the arrangement of the farms remained in the traditional form[13]. As Lehr notes, as time goes by these «pioneers» easily adapted to the use of new materials and made the necessary changes in design and form – they did not see the domestic landscape as imbued with the deeper meanings of ethnic identity, as was the case instead with sacred buildings. Esthetic values were expressed in building and decoration but were generally secondary to the more immediate concerns of securing economic status, as measured by the degree of integration into the Anglo-Canadian economic system. Like other settlers in rural areas, the peasants faced many initial problems – primitive living conditions, lack of

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[10] "Concerning immigrants", *Halifax Herald,* Halifax, 9th April 1904, p. 6.

[11] SIFTON, C. "The Immigrants Canada Wants", *Maclean's,* 1st April 1922, p. 16.

[12] A study on statistics is in SUBTELNY, O. *Ukrainians in North America: An Illustrated History,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991, p. 546.

[13] LEHR, J.C. "Kinship and society in the Ukrainian pioneer settlement of the Canadian west". *Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe canadien*, 1985, 29: 207-219.

money, and isolation to cite a few. However, cheap land and extensive block settlement eased the situation for the newcomers. They contributed to the shaping of the Canadian landscape, and the image of the «pioneer», the «builder of the Canadian West», will be fundamental in the community's later mythscape, especially in portraying themselves as a constitutive part of Canadian society. It is not surprising, then, that Ukrainians in Canada often associate symbolic references to pierogies, babas, folk songs, and grand weddings with the prairie, a place onto which they can project the «psychical space» of their «ethnic homeland»[14].

There is not enough space here to reconstruct in detail the history of this first wave[15], but a note on identity and belonging is essential for framing my analysis. Before 1914, Slavic immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe did not see themselves in national terms. As their national consciousness grew out of the peculiar multinational space of empires, their allegiances were influenced more by language[16], religion, and culture than by geographic and regional origin. In a groundbreaking paper by Lukasz Albanski and John Lehr[17] on Polish and Ukrainian cemeteries in rural Manitoba, the authors note from the language hybridization on the graves that the process of self-identification was dynamic and not even predetermined, as in the case of sir Wasayl Nazarewich:

> [He] was born in Stare Oleszyce, Galicia, located in an area now in Poland, close to the present Ukrainian border. At the time of his emigration, this was a mixed Ukrainian and Polish area, and most immigrants would have defined their nationality as Austrian but their ethnicity according to their religious affiliation: Catholics were Polish and Eastern-Rite Catholics (Ukrainian Catholics) were Ukrainian. They had what Turczynski (1976, 189-93) termed a "confessional nationality". After immigration to Canada in 1897, Nazarewich settled in Cooks Creek, Manitoba. He became an active member of Holy Ghost Roman Catholic Parish in Winnipeg. On this basis, he would appear to be Polish. However, he donated a few acres of his Cooks Creek property to St. Nicholas Ukrainian-Catholic parish for use as a cemetery, and he, his wife, and their children are buried there, suggesting that the Nazarewich family were ethnically Ukrainian, and self-identified as such[18].

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[14] An account of the pioneers' myth in the Ukrainian Canadian literature in: LEDOHOWSKI, L. A. *Canadian Cossacks: finding Ukraine in fifty years of Ukrainian-Canadian Literature in English.* Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 2008, p. 95.

[15] I cross-refer here to the first four chapters of LUCIUK, L. and S. HRYNIUK. *Canada's Ukrainians*, cit.

[16] Note, however, that the language spoken was not the literary Ukrainian but a dialect of some sort and full of grammatical and syntactical errors. In: KOSTASH, M. *All of Baba's Children*, Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1997, p. 199.

[17] ALBANSKI, L. and John C. LEHR. "Identity, integration, and assimilation recorded in Manitoba's Polish and Ukrainian cemeteries", *Great Plains Research*, 2012: 3-14.

[18] *Ivi,* p. 10.

This insight inspired me to define the first phase of this largely economically motivated migration as one of a «confusion of identities». The Ukrainian immigrants establishing block settlements throughout the prairie provinces of Canada while retaining their language, customs, religious traditions, and toponymy illustrates the evolution of a distinct Ukrainian identity in Canada. However, boundaries of belonging were vague during initial migration as identities were fluid, matching the embryonic status of Ukraine's national project and undefined European borders. Most first-wave immigrants came under varied designations: Galician and Bukovina geographical identities; Ruthenian and Carpatho-Ukrainian groups; or Austrian, Polish, and Russian, moreover, political, and religious affiliations complicated their self-identification within the evolving Canadian state. For officials this posed issues, but more profoundly for migrants negotiating self-identification amid flux while inventing themselves as Ukrainians engaging the larger polity. As Lindy Anne Ledohowski aptly put it, to study the experiences of Ukrainian Canadians means «analyzing the construction of a definitional homeland and the various ghosts that shape it»[19].

Over time Ukrainians of this first migration wave have come to define themselves as key contributors to the development of Western Canada. For instance, a centennial souvenir publication by the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians [AUUC], previously known as the ULFTA[20], notes their impetus for western development through activities such as clearing forests, plowing soil, and constructing railways and roads. The book also alludes to the seminal role of the Canadian Pacific Railway in unifying the young Dominion[21]. In retelling the story of immigration from the Eastern peripheries of Europe to the Western frontier of North America in the late 19th century, these commemorative works bolster a sense of Ukrainians' significance to populating the Canadian Prairies.

2.1.2. *Nationalizing* identities

As Ukrainian immigrants settled across Canada in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a unique cultural and political identity emerged within their expatriate community. New arrivals from Ukraine worked diligently to maintain connections to their homeland by establishing ethnic organizations from the old country in their new environs or founding new institutions dedicated to preserving Ukrainian language, faith, folkways, and cultural traditions on Canadian shores. The early Ukrainian settlers faced considerable challenges integrating into a predominantly English-speaking society while retaining what made them distinct from other immigrant groups. However, through

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[19] LEDOHOWSKI, L. A. *Canadian Cossacks,* cit., p. 37.
[20] The association has been mentioned in the previous chapter discussing WW II internment in Canada.
[21] *Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Souvenir Book 1867-1967,* Winnipeg: AUUC, 1967.

shared hardship and collective determination to pass cultural traditions to subsequent generations born in Canada, a vibrant Ukrainian Canadian community endured and flourished. One of the notable early developments in the Ukrainian Canadian community was the construction of St. Michael's Ukrainian Orthodox church in 1897 in Gardenton, Manitoba, a church built by emigrants from Bukovyna. Merely one year later, in 1898, the first Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was erected in Star, Alberta[22]. The establishment of Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches played a pivotal role in preserving cultural heritage and fostering community integration among new Ukrainian immigrants in Canada. Beyond solely conducting religious services, the early churches served vital social and cultural functions. They aided in preserving the Ukrainian language and traditions through rituals, rites of passage like weddings and funerals, and by establishing educational societies modeled after the influential Galician *Prosvita[23]* organizations. Additionally, some immigrants demonstrated political commitment beyond religious affiliations, such as a group that supported the Radical Party of Ukraine, a political party formed in 1890 that promoted Ukrainian independence and democracy. In 1905 the Socialist Party of Canada was established with many Ukrainian members. By 1907 there were three branches of this party catering specifically to Ukrainian communities in Winnipeg and Portage la Prairie, Manitoba as well as Nanaimo, British Columbia. In 1905 the Socialist Party of Canada was established with many Ukrainian members, and by 1907 there were three branches of this party catering specifically to Ukrainians in Winnipeg and Portage la Prairie in Manitoba as well as Nanaimo in British Columbia. Scholars who have researched this issue note that it is interesting that had other groups continued using the names "Ruthenian" or "Rusyn" to define themselves, the Ukrainian Socialists would have been the first to use the term "Ukrainian" in an organized institution[24]. During the first decades of the twentieth century, there were «quarrels and dissensions» in the Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada, but the anti-imperial stances were striking because: «the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine, was central in the minds of settlers who had lived in Ukrainian lands colonized by both Austro-Hungary and Russia»[25]. Here, "being Ukrainian" was associated with the anti-imperial fight, and the vocabulary used to define the "foreign yoke"

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[22] LEHR, J.C. "Kinship and society in the Ukrainian pioneer", cit., p. 210.

[23] Prosvita organizations, (known as "enlightenment") played a vital role in preserving and developing Ukrainian culture, education, and science among the population of Galicia and Lodomeria in the late 19th century through its scholarly publications, educational initiatives, and cultural events.

[24] NEWELL, P. E. *The Impossibilists: A brief profile of the Socialist Party of Canada*. Twickenham: Athena Press, 2008. For an account on the Ukrainian socialist movement see: MARTYNOWYCH, O. T. "The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada; 1900-1918 (II)". *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 1977, 2.1: 22 and HINTHER, R. *Perogies and Politics: Canada's Ukrainian Left, 1891-1991*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018.

[25] As it has been recalled in the history of the ULFTA commissioned by the AUUC in 1996: KRAWCHUK, P. *Our history. The Ukrainian Labour Farmer Movement in Canada 1907-1991*. Toronto: Lugus publications, 1996, p. 21.

undoubtedly resembles that which later developed with the radicalization of nationalism in the interwar period against the Soviet Union.

This was the context when WW I, a turning point in the treatment of civilians in wartime, outbroke. In Canada, many Ukrainians were registered as Austro-Hungarian and thus classified as «enemy aliens», which led to censorship, forced registration, deprivation of the right to vote, and in some cases even internment, as I have anticipated in the previous chapter[26]. The turbulent years represented a crossroads for Ukrainians in Canada, as the chain of events that reshaped the European map greatly accelerated the nationalization – and the ideological polarization of this community[27]. In addition, this process was then revived by the emigrants of the so-called second wave, who arrived in the interwar period[28] who had experienced, in one way or another, the Bolshevik Revolution. Many of the newcomers had actively fought for an independent Ukraine, or at least had been exposed to the idea. As historian Orest Subtelny pointed out: «Ukrainians, like other nationalities, were increasingly aggressive in pursuing their own interests and less and less willing to care about the fate of the empires»[29]. Ultimately, the goal of an independent Ukraine was not realized for the anti-Soviet front that harshly contested the European order emerging from the Versailles treaties, while the ULFTA welcomed the establishment of the Ukrainian SSR. Notwithstanding, the struggle for independence strengthened the national consciousness of many emigrants coming from those lands, also significantly contributing to spread the term "Ukrainian" instead of the former Ruthenian. These newcomers either joined already existing organizations and churches or founded their own associations. The traumatic experience of being labeled "enemy aliens" and the influx of new immigrants fleeing the USSR and Poland after World War I reinforced the process of self-awareness of Ukrainians in Canada, but also led to a new discord resulting from political ideologies.

Thus, Ukrainian life in Canada in the interwar period flourished not only along confessional lines but also along ideological ones, with the emergence of new secular mass organizations of a

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[26] The internment camps for "enemy aliens" on Canadian soil during World War I are receiving increasing attention not only in scholarly works but also in the public sphere. The fundamental role played by the Ukrainian community in raising awareness in the mainstream society will be explored in more detail in the second part of the thesis. For now, I refer to some recent works that provide a general introduction to the topic of Ukrainian internment: KORDAN, B. S. *Enemy aliens, prisoners of war: internment in Canada during the Great War*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 200; SANDERS, R. "Left-Right Camps: A Century of Ukrainian Canadian Internment". *Press for Conversion*, 2016, pp. 43-7; S. SEMCHUK. *The stories were not told. Canada's First World War Internment Camps.* Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2019; HINTHER, R. L.; MOCHORUK, J. (Ed.) *Civilian Internment in Canada: Histories and Legacies*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2020.

[27] SIMPSON, G. "The Names 'Rus,' 'Russia,' 'Ukraine' and their historical background", *Slavistica*, 1951, 10: 17-18.

[28] In 1925 the Canadian immigration policy was revised allowing new immigrants from Continental Europe with the so-called Railway Agreement.

[29] SUBTELNY, *Ukraine: A history*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009, p. 344.

dominion-wide character[30]. The most important transnational influences were the radicalization of ethnonationalism and communism: the former expressed itself, for example, in the organization with OUN-lineages, the Ukrainian National Federation [UNF] or in the monarchist faction that upheld Skoropadskyi's family's claim to the throne of an independent Ukraine – the United Hetman Organization [UHO]; the latter in the grow of the ULFTA, the above-mentioned communist cultural organization ideologically kindred to the Soviet Union that considered the Ukrainian SSR as the legitimate government in the homeland. The division of Ukrainian Canadians into "nationalist" and "communist" does not perfectly mirror the diverse organizational constellation of the community[31]. Especially, but not only, within the national group, factionalism remains high. Even when everyone agreed on an independent Ukrainian state, there were bitter disputes over what political and religious positions this Ukraine should be based on. It is perhaps no exaggeration to state that there were as many "Ukraines" as there were organizations. Specifically, four organizations dominated the "nationalist" scene until the late 1930s. Two of these groups – the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League [USRL] and the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics [BUC] – had their roots in the pioneering days of the first wave and were interested in preserving Ukrainian heritage and promoting Ukrainian independence in the context of loyalty to Canada. The other two – the UNF and UHO mentioned above – came in the period between the two wars on the initiative of second-wave immigrants, mirroring the radicalization of Ukrainian nationalism on the European continent. Not surprisingly, these last two organizations specifically attracted the attention of the RCMP and the Department of Foreign Affairs because of their «anti-democratic and pro-German tendencies»[32]. Letting aside this fragmentation, they all found common ground against a common "enemy", by firmly opposing the ULFTA and the idea of Ukraine as a Soviet socialist republic. Thus, from the early twenties, the need to unite the various nationalist souls of the community emerged from time to time[33] and the idea of a representative body to unite the different anticommunist was not new in 1940, when the Canadian government helped this side of the community[34] in creating an umbrella organization, called the

[30] MARTYNOWYCH, O. *Ukrainian in Canada. The Interwar Years,* Edmonton: CIUS Press, 2016.

[31] The ULFTA was outlawed during WW II and then reorganized in 1946 under the name of Association of United Ukrainian Canadians [AUUC]. The number of Ukrainian Canadian organizations is countless. I have attempted to map the national branches relevant for the research in Appendix A.

[32] "Letter from Robertson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, to the High Commissioner for Canada in the UK, 10 October 1941", *William Lyon Mackenzie King fonds,* RG 25 Vol. 2095, File: 39/1. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[33] MAKUCH, N. "The Influence of the Ukrainian Revolution on Ukrainians in Canada, 1917-22", *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 1971, 4.1: 42 – 50.

[34] The role of Canadian government in establishing this umbrella organization has been analyzed in various sources, such as LUCIUK, L. Y. *Searching for place,* cit.; KORDAN, B. S. *Canada and the Ukrainian Question,* cit., PANCHUK, B. *Heroes of Their Day*, cit., SIROMSKYI, R. and KACHMAR, V. "Ukrainian Canadian Committee Activities in Information and Analytical Materials of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR", *East European Historical Bulletin,* 2002, 24.

Ukrainian Canadian Committee [UCC][35]. The UCC purported to represent the Ukrainian community to the government and general public in Canada. An examination of the goals enumerated at the inaugural UCC congress in 1943 provides insight into how and where the organization sought to position itself and prioritize its objectives. Mobilizing for the war effort topped the list, understandably so as this was the impetus for establishing the UCC. However, advocating for the views of Ukrainians striving for independence in Europe was already the second item on the agenda. This illustrates how prominently this issue figured for the organized Ukrainian community in Canada and suggests the UCC viewed itself as representing not solely Ukrainians in Canada but also their brethren abroad—always within the framework of the Canadian constitution[36]. The First Ukrainian Canadian Congress held in Winnipeg in 1943 served as one of the major forums to publicize the concept of a free Ukraine based on the principles espoused in the Atlantic Charter. Some of the principal figures present at the convention were caricatured by cartoonist Bill Mozen [Fig. 6][37].

Caricatured At Ukrainian Convention: The Tribune's cartoonist, Bill Mozel, spent an afternoon at the All-Canada Ukrainian "Victory" convention this week, the results of his visit appearing above. The men depicted are: 1, Rev. Dr. W. Kushnir, president, Ukrainian Canadian committee; 2, Prof. Watson Kirkconnell, McMaster university, Hamilton, formerly of United college, Winnipeg; 3, W. Kossar, president, Ukrainian National federation and vice-president, Ukrainian Canadian committee; 4, J. "Harry" Poworoznyk, Thorold, Ont., delegate; 5, Anthony Hlynka, M.P.; 6, J. W. Arsenych, K.C., committee secretary; 7, Prof. N. Hryhoriiv, New York, guest lecturer; and 8, W. Brilinsky, Fort William delegate.

Fig. 6: "Ukrainians to place Canada's first interest"

Following the establishment of an alliance between Canada and the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941, discussions pertaining to Ukrainian statehood and anti-Soviet sentiments became increasingly taboo in Canadian society. Matters regarding the possibility of an independent Ukraine,

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[35] KORDAN, B. S. *Canada and the Ukrainian Question,* cit.

[36] *First All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada. Winnipeg Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1943, Diasporiana,* https://diasporiana.org.ua/ukrainica/16902-first-all-canadian-congress-of-ukrainians-in-canada-winnipeg-ukrainian-canadian-committee-1943/, Last accessed on May 16, 2023.

[37] *The Winnipeg Tribune,* 25th June 1943, p. 19.

as well as criticism directed towards the Soviet regime, were now deemed unacceptable and inappropriate, as they concerned territorial claims involving Canada's new ally. With the two nations united in their opposition towards the Axis powers during World War II, Ukrainian national aspirations and dissent towards Soviet rule could no longer be safely broached or debated in the public sphere. Nevertheless, independence was a topic close to the hearts of many Ukrainians, who were worried that «the rights of Ukrainians for national unity, freedom, and self-government should not be overlooked»[38] After 1941, Ukrainians in Canada were eager to reconcile their goals of an independent Ukraine – for which they engaged in a transnational dialogue with the American counterpart, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America [UCCA], with their loyalty to Canada. The assessment of the establishment of the UCC in the mainstream society was mixed[39]. Evaluations in Canadian press was bifurcated, partially because the UCC was perceived as merely another in the myriads of Ukrainian organizations in Canada[40]. Additionally, concerns were raised regarding the UCC's alleged ideological proximity to Nazi doctrine, as reinforced by statements from Moscow appearing in the Canadian press at that time[41]. In an article published in the Star-Phoenix of Saskatoon on April 8, 1943 titled «Ukrainian unity», the Saskatchewan executive of the UCC discussed the meaning of the organization as a common platform for Ukrainians in Canada and abroad: «Ukrainian organizations were all united for two purposes: to attain the greatest possible support of Ukrainian Canadians on Canada's war effort and to speak on behalf of the oppressed Ukrainian people in Europe and to promote their cause on the international forum»[42]. Moreover, the article provided an insightful discussion regarding why the UCC should have been considered as the sole representative of the Ukrainian Canadian community. Prior to the war, the text noted that there existed an internationally minded Ukrainian communist group in Canada called the ULFTA. However, this group had been banned by the Canadian government, and thus was not part of the UCC. After the German invasion of the Soviet Union, the banned ULFTA reemerged under the name Association in Aid of the

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[38] "RCMP Report on the First Ukrainian Canadian Congress held June 22, 23 and 24, 1943, in Winnipeg Dr. Pavlychenko" p. 17, LAC, Ottawa, RG 25 Vol. 1896, File: 165-39cIV.

[39] While a comprehensive analysis of all newspapers was not conducted, a sampling of publications from various provinces between 1940 and 1943 was examined to investigate how and to what extent news about the UCC was covered. Mentions or articles related to the congress may indicate whether the Committee and their goals of representing Ukrainian Canadians were considered significant developments warranting media coverage beyond only local or community publications. Of course, the ability to generalize findings will be limited without a full systematic review of multiple dailies. Still, the analysis presents an opportunity to explore early reception and portrayal of the Committee.

[40] For example: "Ukrainian executive decries statement", *The Province,* Vancouver, 2nd April 1943, p. 6; "Ukrainians would correct statement in the editorial", *The Windsor Star,* 20th July 1943, p. 21; "Ukrainians in Canada", *Calgary Herald,* 2nd March 1950, p. 4.

[41] For example: "A Nazi mouse", *The Windsor Star,* 5th April 1943, p. 2; "Ukrainian Canadian Committee pro-Nazi, Says Moscow writer", *The Gazette Montreal,* 14th May 1943, p. 10; "Campaign of slander", *The Windsor Star,* 23rd June 1943, p. 17.

[42] "Ukrainian Unity", *Star-Phoenix*, Saskatoon, 8th April 1943, p. 13.

Fatherland. When this name proved problematic, it was renamed the Ukrainian Canadian Association, though this caused confusion within the community. The executive noted that «The group was not solely Ukrainian in composition, as it consisted not only of Ukrainians with communist ideology but also Poles, Finns, Russians, Hungarians, Czechs and Slovaks»[43]. As the article continued, it stated that for this reason, Ukrainian Canadians did not consider this group as truly representing Ukrainians and would not view it as speaking for Ukrainian Canadians «any more than Tim Buck could be seen as speaking for all Canadians or Earl Browder for all Americans»[44].

The interpretation on the UCC in retrospect is divided. According to Oleh Gerus, in November 1940 the nationally conscious Ukrainians of Canada became consolidated in the form of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. The author sees the formation of this umbrella organization as a «major achievement on the part of the highly individualistic and factious Ukrainians. However, others offer a more critical perspective on the event and the involvement of the Canadian government. As Luciuk and Kordan assert: «The government involved itself in Ukrainian Canadian affairs, notably in the creation of a Ukrainian Canadian committee, thus bequeathing a constraining and inflexible organizational structure that has persisted, largely unmodified»[45]. While governments likely played an instrumental role, sentiment within the community favoring a consolidation of the Ukrainian community was already widespread among less radical factions. A balanced perspective should recognize both the agency of Ukrainians in seeking unity and the enabling function of the state. At the conclusion of World War II, the Ukrainian Canadian community remained divided between pro-Soviet and nationalist factions. The ULFTA aligned with Soviet interests while the UCC advocated for an autonomous conception of Ukraine. This ideological schism became increasingly apparent to Canadian state authorities, particularly following intsive investigations by the RCMP during the war.

The divide persisted unknown to mainstream Canadian society who tended to view Ukrainians as a single group and recognized them as citizens amid Canada's emerging self-identification as a nation. And in this very regard, it is interesting to note that in the immediate postwar era the Canadian

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[43] *Ibidem.*

[44] Timothy Buck (January 6, 1891 – March 11, 1973) served as the general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, also known as the Labor-Progressive Party from 1943 to 1959, from 1929 until 1962. Alongside figures such as Ernst Thälmann of Germany, Maurice Thorez of France, Palmiro Togliatti of Italy, Earl Browder of the United States, and Harry Pollitt of Great Britain, Buck was a prominent leader within the Communist International during the tenure of its General Secretary Joseph Stalin. As general secretary, Buck held one of the highest leadership positions in the Communist Party of Canada and helped direct its policies and activities from the late 1920s through the early 1960s. This placed him among a small group of top officials who helped lead communist movements internationally during the height of Stalin's influence over communist doctrine and organization. Buck played a pivotal role in shaping Canadian communism and its relationship to the broader international communist movement for over three decades. In: RODNEY, W. *Soldiers of the International; A History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1919–1929*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.

[45] LUCIUK L.Y. and B. S. KORDAN. *Anglo-American Perspectives on the Ukrainian Question, 1938-1951: A Documentary Collection*. Kingston, Ont.: Limestone Press, 1987, p. 97.

parliament passed the "Citizenship Act"[46], which created a new legal definition of what it meant to be "Canadian", formalizing belonging to the nation through this new framework of citizenship. The Canadian Citizenship Act came into effect on January 1, 1947, under Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King's government. This established Canadian citizenship as its own designation and allowed residents of Canada to obtain citizenship regardless of their country of origin. Previously, in fact, individuals born in Canada and naturalized immigrants were classified as British subjects rather than Canadian citizens. The Act significantly demonstrated the country's emerging national identity. Many Canadians felt Canada's role in World War II had strengthened its position as a sovereign nation and there was a growing desire to establish symbols of its independent statehood. Moreover, the government also hoped creating a Canadian citizenship would reduce racial and ethnic tensions and foster unity among its increasingly diverse population. The Canadian Citizenship Act set out the criteria for gaining citizenship and outlined when citizenship could be lost or revoked. Canadian citizenship was automatically given to natural-born Canadians, including those born outside Canada if their father was born in Canada or was a British subject residing in Canada. A mother's status was only considered if the child was born out of wedlock. Individuals not naturally born Canadians but British subjects residing in Canada or naturalized subjects before the legislation's enactment would also receive citizenship. Immigrants could apply for citizenship after living in Canada five years by being of good character and adequately knowing French or English. Interestingly, the language requirement could be disregarded if an immigrant continuously resided in Canada for 20 years or more. Immigrants who served in World Wars I or II were eligible for citizenship after only one year. This act helped formalize a Canadian national identity that was inclusive of diverse immigrant communities, including Ukrainians. The first official ceremony was held in Ottawa on January 3, 1947, where twenty-six individuals were presented with certificates of Canadian citizenship. Among the recipients was then-Prime Minister Mackenzie King who received certificate 0001 who famously pronounced the words:

> I speak as a citizen of Canada […] Canadian citizenship is not a citizenship which relates itself merely to the immediate community in which we live. As Canadians, we have a national citizenship, a Commonwealth citizenship, and a world citizenship[47].

After him, recipients included Mrs. Stanley Mynarski of Winnipeg – of Polish origin – whose son Andrew Charles Mynarski lost his life while saving a comrade during the war. This image was

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[46] "Canadian Citizenship Act 1947", Department of National Defence fonds, RG24-C-1-c, Volume number: 35639, File number: 1541-C1. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.
[47] "Canada's first Ukrainian settler one of fist given Canadian citizenship", *Edmonton Journal*, 13th January 1947, p. 2; "Ottawa Honours Wasyl Eleniak" in *Opinion (Winnipeg)*, Jan-Feb. issue, 1947.

deeply symbolic as it incorporated the traditional iconography of the nation with the themes of motherhood and sacrifice. Other recipients were Giuseppe Agostini, an Italian-born music conductor, Kjeld Berichman, a Danish-born potter from Moss Glen, the young French-Canadian Maurice Labrosse of Ottawa, a sergeant in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and his wife, and the Armenian photographer Yousuf Karsh of Ottawa. Among those personalities honored with receiving the certificate of Canadian citizenship was Wasyl Eleniak, the symbol of Ukrainian settlers in Canada[48]. One can conclude that the seeds for recognizing Canada as a national mosaic – and the Ukrainians as one of its tiles – were already planted on that day. Notwithstanding, another pressing issue was at the fore front of the community debate: what would become of Ukraine and the Ukrainians scattered across the European continent now that the war was over?

2.2. The third wave of Ukrainian Migration to Canada

For Ukrainians at home and abroad who did not recognize the Ukrainian SSR as legitimate, it can be said that the central goal of independence they had cherished during the war had not been achieved. The territories inhabited by - but not limited to[49] - Ukrainians were finally united but under the Soviet flag, which they considered an occupation. Nevertheless, in the immediate postwar period, the attention of the "national" Ukrainian Canadian community temporarily shifted from the homeland itself to the fate of the many anti-Soviet Ukrainian refugees scattered throughout Europe. While the pro-Soviet ULFTA eyed these potential immigrants suspiciously and supported the Soviet narrative that they were «war criminals» and «Nazi supporters»[50], the UCC-affiliated community instead has been actively involved in relief efforts to provide material and legal assistance to their brethren in Europe and developed a systematic lobbying strategy to influence the Canadian government on

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[48] *Ibidem.*

[49] This statement underscores a crucial point, namely that we ought not underestimate how the perceived "ethnic homogeneity" of Ukrainian communities in Canada, whether nationalist or communist aligned, did not accurately reflect the true diversity of demographics within Ukrainian territories. This divergence emerged primarily due to non-Ukrainians originating from those same lands organizing themselves externally not as Ukrainians, but rather according to other identities such as Poles, Russians, or religious affiliations like Jews and Mennonites. The mosaic of ethnicities, religions, and cultures encompassed by the geographical boundaries of historic Ukraine was considerably more varied than the simplified representations sometimes constructed within the Ukrainian diaspora of Canada. A more nuanced understanding acknowledges the multi-faceted nature of the populations and acknowledges that discrete labeling did not fully capture the complexity of lived experiences and group affiliations within these regions.

[50] See for example: KARDASH, W. *Hitler's Agents in Canada. A Revealing Story of Potentially Dangerous Fifth Column Activities in Canada among Ukrainian Canadians*, Toronto: Morris Printing Company, 1942 and KOLASKY, J. *The Shattered Illusion: The History of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada*. Toronto: PMA Books, 1979, pp. 88-108.

resettlement policies[51]. Historians dealing with the issue do not attribute great influence on ethnic petitioning activities during the immigration discussion. However, as noted by Lalande, the lobbying process was nonetheless important because it set the stage for later endeavors, such as participation during the multiculturalism discussion[52]. In the following section, I briefly summarize the changes in Canadian immigration policy in the postwar period and then analyze the narratives in which these "DPs" recount the story of their journey across the Atlantic. The threads that had been woven up to this point finally came together with the landing of nearly 40,000 of them in Canada.

2.2.1. Canadian immigration policy (1947-1953)

An analysis that focuses on human mobility wave cannot ignore contextualizing the legal stakes of immigration status. While Canada is widely known as a country of immigrants, Canadian immigration policy since Confederation has contained ambiguities and has consistently employed selectivity that distinguishes between preferred and non-preferred newcomers. Since the country's founding, directives have aimed to prioritize certain demographics and backgrounds over others. This stratified approach has been driven by shifting economic, social, and political considerations. At various points, higher preference has been afforded to immigrants based on factors like ethnicity, language, skills, financial means, and geographic origin[53]. Thus, like its American and Australian counterparts, the Canadian government remained reluctant to open its doors to these foreigners in the immediate aftermath of the war and focused on the safe return of its soldiers and their dependents. Moreover, historians Bell and Rudling noted the discrimination and the antisemitic tendencies of the authorities: «During the 12- year period of Nazi rule in Germany, the nation admitted fewer than 5,000 Jewish refugees, one of the worst records of any democracies. Indeed, in 1945, when asked how many Jews Canada would admit after the war, an official answered 'None is too many'»[54].

Notwithstanding, by the mid-1940s, the Canadian economy was not plummeting as expected, and soon the forestry, mining, and agricultural industries were in dire need of workers. In addition to

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[51] General ethnic lobbying in the postwar period has found attention in works by Harold Troper or Myron Momryk in BOSHYK et al. *The Refugee Experience*, cit., pp. 403-412 and pp. 413-434. Moreover, it is interesting to note the discussion of Lubomyr Luciuk in LUCIUK, L. Y. *Searching for place: Ukrainian displaced persons, Canada, and the migration of memory*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

[52] LALANDE, J. "Building a Home Abroad", cit., pp. 136 – 150.

[53] Research demonstrated that Canada's immigration policy until the 1960s was explicitly racist and exclusionary. See a review on the topic in: VINEBERG, R. "Continuity in Canadian Immigration Policy 1947 to Present: Taking a Fresh Look at Mackenzie King's 1947 Immigration Policy Statement", *Int. Migration & Integration*, 12 (2011): 199–216; WHITAKER, R. *Canadian immigration policy since confederation*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991.

[54] BALL, K. and RUDLING, P.A. "The underbelly of Canadian Multiculturalism: Holocaust obfuscation and envy in the debate about the Canadian Museum of Human Rights", *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History,* 20/3 (2014): 33-80.

these economic developments, international agencies such as the IRO began pressuring member countries to accept a fair share of those non-repatriable DPs who could not return to their home countries. The IRO estimated that Canada could absorb up to 100,000 DPs and lobbied Ottawa to ease its restrictive policies. Facing growing demands from within Canadian industries experiencing labor needs as well as external pressures from refugee advocacy organizations, the government adjusted its stance and began implementing new policies aimed at facilitating the immigration of DPs to Canada[55]. It's worth highlighting another pivotal shift that occurred during this era, which had a profound impact on postwar immigration policy - the introduction of private sponsorship. This progressive move fundamentally changed the nature of immigration and set a new course for the country's future policies. Privately or «sponsored» immigrants, referring to relatives of Canadian citizens who commit to sponsoring and supporting newcomers, differed from individuals selected based primarily on their potential economic contributions as assessed by Canadian authorities[56]. While independently immigrating individuals addressed immediate workforce needs, sponsored immigrants strengthened ethnic communities defined more by familial and social networks rather than professional qualifications alone. By making it easier for relatives with wider-ranging skillsets to immigrate, this new sponsorship program fostered growing immigrant populations that would evolve into influential advocacy groups over the ensuing decades. Examining this policy shift through the lens of Ukrainian DPs proves particularly informative. As time passed following these events, many Ukrainian Canadians became increasingly impatient to expedite the process of transferring Ukrainian family and community members trapped in displaced persons camps in Europe to Canada[57]. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee emerged as one of the most outspoken advocates on this issue. UCC representatives viewed themselves as intermediaries between the government in Ottawa and Ukrainians stranded abroad, advocating on behalf of their ethnic brethren. Their efforts underscored how sponsorship policies enabled diaspora communities to play a meaningful role in facilitating additional immigration from their countries of origin over the long term[58].

On January 30, 1947, a first order-in-council made broader admission of «close relatives» possible; DPs could be sponsored either by direct relatives or an ethnic organization that guaranteed

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[55] As noted by Whitaker, Canada, the United States, and Australia were among the few non-European countries with the capacity to assimilate large numbers of newcomers during the era in question. In: WHITAKER, R. *Canadian immigration policy since confederation,* cit., p. 14.

[56] *Ivi,* p. 16.

[57] MARGOLIAN H. *Unauthorized Entry: The Truth about Nazi War Criminals in Canada 1946-1956.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press; 2000, p. 27.

[58] See the Conference proceedings: Diasporiana, *Second All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada. Toronto, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1946.* https://diasporiana.org.ua/ukrainica/second-all-canadian-congress-of-ukrainians-in-canada/. Last accessed 16, May 2023.

to take care of them so that they did not become public charges[59]. A further series of orders-in-council issued later in 1947 initiated the immigration of contract laborers[60]. Although this scheme was still rather restrictive in the beginning, it opened the door for wider immigration in the future. The demand for more and more workers increased steadily; and by June 1950, the admissible category was further enlarged to any person who was a suitable immigrant having regard to the climatic, social, educational, industrial, labour, or other conditions or requirements of Canada. As a result, the immigration of laborers and close relatives was regulated through orders-in-council throughout the 1940s[61]. As part of either a bulk-labor or a sponsorship program, Ukrainians were subject to intensive screening tests conducted by RCMP security officers in cooperation with Canadian immigration teams. The main objective of this inspection was to detect criminal as well as subversive activities, service in the German army[62], or communist tendencies[63]. This meant that the majority of intellectuals in the camps who could not pass as lumberjacks or miners were ignored in the initial programs. The rigid selection process was criticized abroad because it was a burden for many DPs, who felt as if they were in a «slave market»[64]. Specifically, Ukrainian Canadian representatives argued that this approach did not acknowledge that the DPs' health had suffered due to the war and that it was impossible for many of them to meet the high health standards required by Canada. By 1948, Canadian government authorities observed that it was harder and harder to get «satisfactory DPs» because, not only did Canada have very strict entry requirements, but other countries such as the US or Australia had stepped up their immigration programs[65]. Due to international competition, government officials realized the value of specialists among the DPs, and the intellectual category became part of an official government agenda in 1948, until the new Immigration Act became

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[59] MARGOLIAN H. *Unauthorized Entry,* cit., p. 28.

[60] See for example the case of Italians: IACOVETTA, F. "Ordering in Bulk: Canada's Postwar Immigration Policy and the Recruitment of Contract Workers from Italy". *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 11.1 (1991), 50-80.

[61] LALANDE, J. "Building a Home Abroad", cit., pp. 158-159.

[62] Despite government precautions, some war criminals have found their way to Canada. The question of war criminals is not crucial for this study; however, one has to be aware that this issue would turn out to be significant during the 1980s. Margolian estimates that 1,500-2,000 war criminals made their way to Canada, that is to say 1-2% of the entire refugee movement in MARGOLIAN H. *Unauthorized Entry,* cit. For general literature on the war criminal discussion, see: TROPER H. and M. WEINFELD. *Old Wounds: Jews, Ukrainians, and the Hunt for War Criminals in Canada*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989; Ukrainian Canadian Committee, *Ukrainian Canadian Committee Submission to the Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals,* Toronto: Justinian Press for Civil Liberties Commission, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1986.

[63] What is interesting, according to Finkel, is the attitude of the Canadian government from 1945 to 1960 toward the immigration of persons suspected of having belonged in the past to either the extreme left or the extreme right. The research shows that both groups were initially considered undesirable immigrants, but that the ban on entry for right-wing extremists was gradually relaxed, while the anti-left policy remained untouched. In: FINKEL, A. "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Cold War, 1945-1980*, Journal of Canadian Studies*, 21/3(1986): 53-70.

[64] EDER, A. *Displaced Persons/"Heimatlose Ausländer*, p. 8.

[65] See for instance: ONGLEY, P. and PEARSON, D. "Post-1945 International Migration: New Zealand, Australia and Canada Compared". *International Migration Review*, 29/3 (1995): 765-793.

effective in June 1953[66]. The Immigration Act of 1952, or the McCarran-Walter Act, was notable for the exceptional degree of discretion it granted to the Minister and senior officials. It placed a heavy emphasis on identifying classes of applicants prohibited from entry, allowing the officials considerable powers of exclusion, arrest, detention, and deportation. This was particularly reflective of the Cold War anxieties that influenced policy at the time. Despite its seemingly exclusionary nature – prioritizing immigrants from the UK, white Commonwealth countries, France, the US, and Western Europe – the Act's arbitrary discretion also allowed for the possibility of opening doors when deemed necessary. This was demonstrated by the acceptance of 37,000 Hungarian refugees after the uprising in 1956, and 12,000 Czechoslovaks following the Prague Spring in 1968[67]. However, this same arbitrariness also sparked protests when applications were rejected, often leading to lobbying by family and ethnic groups. In certain cases, an endorsement by a backbench MP could even alter the outcome. Thus, the Act's discretionary power, while providing flexibility, also created a platform for arbitrary decision-making and public outcry. For this reason, it's not surprising that in the eyes of many community members, their lobbying efforts were successful, as members of the third wave, even those of the Galician Division[68], were finally accepted into Canada. This, along with pride in the extensive Ukrainian Canadian participation in the Canadian Army, led to greater self-confidence in the postwar period. Moreover, it is important to stress that the community developed a narrative of what constituted a "true" Ukrainian - Western-minded, democratic, religious, and hard-working. Overall, it was emphasized that they would be good Canadians if they were allowed into the country. On the one hand, some community members were genuinely convinced of the desirability of these immigrants. On the other hand, it is obvious that this presentation was part of a well thought out approach. This stance is well-reflected in the pamphlet written by Mykyta Mandryka[69] who described Ukrainian refugees as follows:

> In both zones in Germany the family life is kept very carefully and according to the Christian
> religion and moral […]. The Ukrainian D.P.s are very religious people and they resent with

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[66] In many ways, the 1953 Immigration Act reaffirmed Canada's historic position of basing immigration policy on economic and social absorptive capacity. This concept of absorptive capacity meant that an immigrant should be able to enter the labor market immediately, and it identified certain countries as preferred areas for receiving these immigrants. The areas preferred by law – Britain, Western Europe, and the United States – accounted for an average of 42 percent of immigrants in the 1950s. However, the countries of origin within Europe changed. Southern Italians and unemployed or displaced Central Europeans entered the stream in the late 1950s.

[67] WHITAKER, R. *Canadian immigration policy since confederation,* cit., p. 18.

[68] The case of the Galician Division is well analyzed in: LALANDE, *Building a home abroad,* cit., pp. 149-151.

[69] Born in Kiev, Ukraine, Mykyta Mandryka studied in Kyiv and Sofia, Bulgaria, and immigrated to Canada in 1928. He lived in Winnipeg and was active in many Ukrainian cultural, political and educational organizations. Author of several books on Ukrainian literature, he was also known as a poet.

> contempt and indignation the persecution of their own church in the Ukraine by the Soviets.
>
> [In DP camps] the English language is obligatory in all the schools[70].

This ideal reflected not only their interpretation, or better idealization, of the third wave but also the image they had of themselves. Indeed, the established community had high expectations of these newcomers who were ready to make their way to Canada.

Away from the DPs' idealization, however, were those in the community who decided to come into direct contact with DPs in Europe. As Luciuk points out, some community members – such as Bohdan Panchuk, a community leader at the forefront of refugee assistance[71], – quickly became disillusioned with the "character" of the DPs, especially owing to the heightened politicization in the camps. One response, according to Luciuk, was the attempt to suppress Ukrainian DP political activity in the camps; furthermore, Ukrainian Canadians did not publicize their disappointment to avoid alarming the Canadian government and hampering immigration efforts[72]. However, in this context one must keep in mind that the government itself was keeping track of the DPs and their political activities through a broad screening system. And with the government, the hope and conviction prevailed that many of these people were rather apolitical. As Keenleyside, the deputy minister of Mines and Resources, stated in 1949: «In general, I think that the refugees coming to Canada are more interested in economic re-establishment than in political matters in Europe, and as such their primary aim is to become successful citizens of Canada»[73].

What the Ukrainian Canadian community said about DPs also mirrored how they perceived themselves in the country. For example, in a petition regarding the admission of Ukrainian displaced persons, the UCC made a direct reference to Ukrainian settlers in the country:

> They are noted for their diligence and thrift for their inborn desire to work on the land. They
> are religious and morally sound and have proven their worth by their unswerving loyalty to

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[70] "Ukrainian Refugees", Winnipeg 1946. Mykyta Mandryka fonds, MG 30 D 238. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[71] Bohdan Panchuk (Meacham Saskatchewan, 1915 – Montreal 1987) joined the Royal Canadian Air Force in 1940. In August 1942, he was assigned to the Royal Canadian Air Force intelligence. He was one of the organizers of the U.K.-based Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association, founded in January 1943, and served as its president during its three-year existence, remaining at the forefront of Ukrainian refugees' assistance. Biography: PANCHUK, B. *Heroes of Their Day: The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk*. Toronto: Multicultural Historical Society of Ontario, 1983.

[72] LUCIUK, Lubomyr Y. "Unintended consequences in refugee resettlement: post-war Ukrainian refugee immigration to Canada". *International Migration Review*, 20/2 (1986): 467-482.

[73] "Letter from H.L. Keenleyside, Deputy Minister, to Mr. Heeney", 17 May 1949. Department of Employment and Immigration fonds, R1206-0-2-E, RG118. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

the laws of the country they inhabit. It would not be amiss to say that the present Ukrainian refugees are of the same caliber[74].

Highlighting the positive qualities of being Ukrainian was as much about reinforcing the place of Ukrainians already in Canada as it was about convincing the Canadian government to increase quota of acceptance. Another unifying factor between the two groups was their strong anti-communist standpoint, although the 1950s were to show that there were significant differences in the scope, ideology, and intensity of that sentiment. Notwithstanding, as the Cold War intensified, this anti-Communist argument, struck a chord with the government, whose major concern during the postwar years was to keep communist – «our fascist from the Left»[75], out of the country[76].

2.2.2. Faded memories of a transatlantic journey

As efforts increased in Canada to facilitate the immigration of Ukrainian DPs and while the camps in Europe were closing, the last acts of displacement from the point of view of the community object of this analysis are embodied in the two activities of going out from the DP camps and embarking on a transatlantic journey to Canada. For the thousands of DPs who had been selected for sponsorship and immigration to Canada, this meant packing up their few belongings after years spent in limbo in the camps and boarding overcrowded ships for the multi-week journey across the Atlantic Ocean. Embarking on yet another displacement, this time by sea, represented the last major upheaval and transition in their journey from war-torn Europe to their hoped-for new start in North America.

In the accounts of the people I interviewed, and in the memories of the contemporary witnesses, these two moments, and especially the boat journey, takes up a very narrow space compared to the refugee camp. This may suggest that the Atlantic did not enter the «memoryscape» of this migration's wave as a symbolic space of identity and it may be safely argued that the displacement was more visible in the theme of the camp than in the *topos* of the sea[77]. However, it

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[74] "Memorandum of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to the Government of Canada on the admission to Canada of Ukrainian Displaced Persons", March 1947, p. 3. Ukrainian Canadian Committee, or Komitet Ukrayints's iv Kanady fonds, MG 28 V 119 Vol. 10, File: 21. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[75] KIRKCONNELL, W. *Our Ukrainian Loyalists: The Ukrainian Canadian Committee,* speech at UCC congress, 1943.

[76] Among others see: WHITAKER, R. *A Secret Policy, Secretly Administered.* In TULCHINSKY, G. (Ed.), Immigration in Canada. Historical Perspectives. Toronto: Copp Clark Longman Ltd, 1994, 353-379, p. 357.

[77] As instead some studies have highlighted for the African diaspora in North America: BADEROON, G. "The African Oceans—Tracing the Sea as Memory of Slavery in South African Literature and Culture". *Research in African Literatures*, 40/4 (2009): 89–107; ECKSTEIN, L. *Re-membering the Black Atlantic: on the poetics and politics of literary memory.* Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006.

does not seem to be a «forgotten memory»[78] either. The journey from the camp to the disembark was retold, but only in a very superficial way. Although I am aware that the imbalance is also due to the length of time spent in camp and on the boat, there is nevertheless one element that seems worth noting. If, as mentioned above, the camp experience takes on almost "mythological" features and the narrative seems to take on the connotations of «collective memory», this feature is less present in the memories about the journey outside the camp, which seem to be more varied and based on individual experiences.

The first example is the three-hundred-page memoirs of Petro Potichnyj, who arrived in West Germany as a UPA soldier [79]. He dedicated only two pages of it to his journey through the sea:

> I was then transferred to Funk Kasserne in Munich, which served as a half-way house and after two weeks or so transported to Bremen Haffen. There I was loaded along with hundreds of other DPs on the USNS General Hershey, which took us to Boston via Halifax in Canada. […] The Atlantic passage was not pleasant. As soon as we left the English Channel, we hit stormy seas. We were segregated by sex and stuffed into hanging hammocks spread out in huge halls throughout the ship. […]. I was among the lucky few who did not get seasick, but I could neither stand nor sit and most of my guard duty was carried out by lying on the bench next to the women quarters. […] The food on board was good and plentiful with generous portions of fresh fruit such as apples, oranges, and bananas[80].

The most important features that can give us information about the voyage are the name of the boat, the gender distribution on it, the stormy weather, and the food. Instead, there are no concrete indications of the exact length of the journey, since the only time indications being the vague «a couple of days», «another night»[81]. He also recalled a moment during the journey when he became seasick for the only time in his life:

> There was no need to overeat at main meals because some food could be obtained between meals. But at one time a passenger, who apparently could not satisfy his hunger with a single portion and asked for more. That day we were served spaghetti with meatballs and this glutton at our table was stuffing a third serving into his mouth. He suddenly paused, and with a surprised look on his face, unloaded all he ate on the table right in front of us. We all know

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[78] KLEIN, N. M. *The history of forgetting: Los Angeles and the erasure of memory*. London: Verso Books, 2008; KNUTSEN, Ketil. Strategic silence: political persuasion between the remembered and the forgotten. In: *Beyond Memory*. Routledge, 2015. p. 139-154.

[79] POTICHNYJ, J. *My journey*. Toronto: Litopys UPA, 2008., pp. 110-111.

[80] *Ibidem.*

[81] *Ibidem.*

how people react when someone yawns. Well, such collective reaction seems to apply to vomit as well[82].

Other scattered testimonies are found in oral sources collected by the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21. The museum is located in Halifax Harbor, Nova Scotia, the immigration shed where nearly a million people landed in Canada between 1928 and 1971[83]. I decided to analyze this collection[84] because I expected to find more narratives about the sea voyage since they are oral histories about this immigration facility itself. Consistent with Potichnyj's autobiography, the sea journey is not the focus of the interviews, although the port of embarkation and the name of the ship are somewhat recurrent in almost all sources. For example, Irena recalls that she was on the boat «Goya» to Montreal[85], while Gerhard and Lina remember that: «The ship was a New York resisted merchant marine ship called Marine Tiger which disembarked from Bremen Haven, Germany»[86]. They also add that these boats were not passenger boats and highlight the presence of another space on the barrier for the elderly, children, and the sick on the main deck[87]. The weather condition is also retold, focusing this time on the fear that they «might never make it to Canada as they were certain the ship would sink»[88]. Different was instead the experience of John, who «also remember nice days and calm seas and clear blue skies when whales and dolphins put on a show for us»[89].

Some summarized telegraphically the journey, to give space to war memories:

> To a ten- year- old girl, she was palatial. Her name was "SS Marine Tiger". A rusty hulk of a former freighter, she had crossed who knows how many seas. Now, in October of 1948, she was commissioned to carry a load of 750 refugees or Displaced Persons, "DPs" as they were known, from Bremerhaven, Germany, to Halifax, Nova Scotia, to the land called Canada […]. The passengers had previously lived in Russia and Ukraine, then known as the Soviet Union […]. I have many memories of the trip and the horrendous following two years of refugee camps, bombings, atrocities and deaths[90].

Others have instead briefly played out the journey as a starting point for what would have happened in Canada:

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[82] *Ibidem.*

[83] Along with Grosse Isle in Quebec, Pier 21 is often compared to the landmark Ellis Island in the United States.

[84] I have selected the 24 interviews of the Ukrainian DPs.

[85] Irena Bell. Interview by me, 23rd March 2022, Ottawa.

[86] Pier 21, *The Immigration Story of Gerhard and Lina Kasdorf,* S2015.246.1

[87] *Ibidem.*

[88] *Ibidem.*

[89] Pier 21, *The Immigration Story of John Thiessen,* S2012.834.1

[90] Pier 21, *The Immigration Story of Margarita Bruehler,* S2017.267.1

> Took a boat from Holland across the English Channel. Arrived in Harvick Port. Took a train
> to London, then took bus to Southampton and left on the 17th of March. We boarded the
> ship, Aquitania, for Canada. Arrived at Pier 21, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada on March 22,
> 1948. (This day is special for me for two reasons: freedom day in Canada and, my first
> grandchild's birthday) […]. When the ship arrived at Halifax […] we were made ready to be
> sent to our final destination in this land of milk and honey[91].

Or also: «The ship was small and they [my parents] bought the cheapest tickets they could get. [When they arrived in Canada]. Finally, they slept in a bed that was not moving. Finally, they had a good, *kosher* meal. This was surely the land with the streets paved in gold»[92]. These images are quite common, since the majority of respondents seem grateful to Canada for opening the door for them, like Victor: «Not one member of our family would have chosen another country to call home»[93] and Ross, who even likens the landing to a new birth:

> I consider Sept. 4, 1949, my second birthday. I was born again on that date when I became a
> landed immigrant in Canada. Six years later I became a citizen - for the first time in my life.
> Finally, I came to Pier 21 in 1949 as a teenager and began to be a real person; a born-again
> person[94].

Emma, however, seems to warn us against romanticizing migration with a terse sentence. In fact, each story is different from the others, the land of «milk and honey» did not mean a happy ending for everyone: «My story is a sad story. My parents came thru Pier 21 along with others from the Ukraine and took up homesteads in the Peace River Area, between Bear Flats and Wembly, Alberta»[95].

All things considered, it seems that the transatlantic crossing is considered a sort of individual and nebulous space suspended between the nostalgia of the past and the hopes and fear for the future which strongly contrasted the full-fledge description and memories of the camps. This dichotomy between the communal representation of the camp and the framing of the journey as an individual undertaking provides insight into how displaced peoples construct the vocabulary used to remember and discuss their experiences. The refugee camp appears to have served as the originary space where the dominant narrative was first elaborated and established as the site where a collective identity first

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[91] Pier 21, *The Immigration Story of John Martens,* S2012.331.1

[92] Pier 21, *The Immigration Story of Max Weinstein,* S2016.374.1

[93] Pier 21, *The Immigration Story of Victor Froese,* S2012.2497.1

[94] Pier 21, *The Immigration Story of Ross Chomiak,* S2012.2334.1

[95] Pier 21, *The Immigration Story of Emma Barber,* S2012.2134.

formed among displaced peoples. Even when discussing motivations to resettle, the foundational narrative referenced and drawn upon centered on the camp experience. The personal nature of how and why each journey was undertaken emerged as a more private component of the narrative but it was not given priority in the selection of the events retold. This may be caused by the fact that specific job opportunities or family sponsorships cannot be universalized in a sole narrative as the camp experience can. This dichotomy is an important consideration because it may also demonstrate how diasporic identities that focus on forced displacement from the homeland silence socio-economic factors to prioritize political ones if the diasporic identity focuses on the forced displacement from the homeland. A consideration that might be evocatively described by the following passage:

> Artem along with other Ukrainian men collected money to buy material to sew a Ukrainian flag. They wanted to wave the flag when they arrived in Halifax, so the Ukrainians in Canada would know they arrived and were Ukrainians. They had this conception that many fellow Ukrainians would greet them. They had no relatives or knew no one in Canada and this connection with other Ukrainians was very important[96].

As described here, the desire to publicly declare and display one's Ukrainian ethnicity was an important means for Artem and other men to not only assert their national identity but also connect with others from their homeland who may already be settled in Canada. Limited in their social and familial networks as new arrivals without prior relatives or acquaintances, waving the Ukrainian flag upon disembarking in Halifax symbolized their hope that fellow Ukrainians living in Canada would recognize and welcome their countrymen. Seeking out this sense of connection and community from conationals demonstrated the significance these new immigrants placed on maintaining their Ukrainian identity and cultural bonds even upon first arriving in an unfamiliar country and facing the uncertainties of building new lives abroad. While Canada has historically been viewed as a land of opportunity, it is important to acknowledge that for many Ukrainian immigrants at that time, one of the primary opportunities they were seeking was to freely express their identity as Ukrainians.

2.3. Conflict and encounter with the pre-existing Ukrainian community

After the transatlantic journey, by the late 1950s, over 40,000 Ukrainian immigrants had settled across Canada. The vast majority of these newcomers arrived as part of mass labor migration initiatives and found their initial employment in the mining and logging towns located in northern Ontario. Later, the bulk of third wave Ukrainian Canadians chose to settle permanently in this

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[96] Pier 21, *The Immigration Story of Olena Kolomijchuk,* S2012.2287.1

province within major urban centers such as Toronto, Thunder Bay, Hamilton, Kingston, and Ottawa. Regardless of whether third wavers immigrated via private sponsorship programs or government-organized mass labor schemes, upon arrival in Canada, they bore full responsibility for establishing independent lives within their newly adopted home country. Successfully doing so necessitated fulfilling temporary work contracts, frequently in occupations distinct from their professional training and experience. Additional challenges included promptly securing permanent employment and housing, then striving to advance socioeconomically to facilitate improved standards of living and opportunities for their families. They joined existing institutions and formed their own organizations, the largest of which - the League for the Liberation of Ukraine [LVU] - eventually joined the UCC in 1959. However, until this happened, Ukrainians had to overcome some difficulties in the new land of settlement. Since the divided character of the Ukrainian Canadian community is widely accepted, this chapter outlines the differences within the nationalist side and between the nationalists and the pro-Communist faction. Furthermore, it examines the nationalist community's development during the 1950s, asking whether a unifying factor existed for the group.

2.3.1. Conflict

As shown in the previous sections, the organized anti-Communist Ukrainian community developed an idealized conception of the DPs and their qualities. In their attempt to convince the Canadian government to accept these refugees, they painted a picture of a group whose members were hardworking, religious, Western-minded, and democratic, in short, perfect Ukrainians and ideal Canadian citizens. Moreover, many organizations had hoped that the newcomers would revive the Ukrainian institutional life and develop more activities. UNF representatives, for example, had expected newcomers to flock to their organization; and indeed, initially some did. However, while no data are available to indicate the number of DPs who joined UNF, an RCMP report suggests that there were fewer than originally expected. According to the report, the newcomers «Either voluntarily left, or were ousted and formed an organization in Toronto, Ontario, approximately two years ago, known as the League for the Liberation of Ukraine»[97]. For example, Jaroslaw and Tetiana, the parents of Roman Fedoriw, were among the "DPs" who emigrated to Edmonton in 1948, under the sponsorship of Eva Maday (Tetiana's Aunt) and her husband Harry. They decided not to join the pre-existing community, as their son recalls: «They told me that there were several Ukrainian halls, but they [family and other DPs] felt to have their "own" »[98]. Bohdan Panchuk, a community leader pivotal in

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[97] "Letter from the RCMP to the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, 28 April 1950", RG 25 Vol. 6178, File: 232-L-40. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.
[98] Roman Fedoriw, interview by me, 15th September 2022, Edmonton.

resettling Ukrainian displaced persons to Canada, mentioned division between newcomers and established Ukrainian Canadians in his memoir[99].

> In a funeral I attended recently in Lachine, Quebec, there was a great steel fence in the cemetery, hate feet high, dividing the cemetery of the old time Ukrainians from that of the newcomers. There is no difference between the people, but they are buried on different sides of the fence. An Iron Curtain between the dead. What have we learned when you see that sort of barrier? It's all a problem of education, as once there was a problem of the education between those who called themselves Ruthenians and nationally conscious people who title themselves Ukrainians. The deputies could have merged with the old immigration in Canada[100].

The metaphor of an «iron curtain between the dead» effectively conveys the idea of division between communities. Beyond describing this case study, insights are provided into general migration patterns and complex processes of community construction, contestation, and negotiation. Upon initial resettlement, individuals tend to associate with others who share similar life experiences and cultural backgrounds. This provides a sense of community and familiarity during the uncertain early stages of establishing oneself in a new homeland. In the end, «Why being swallowed by somebody else? It's better to be a big fish in a small pond than a sardine in the ocean»[101]. However, identities are not static constructs, but rather evolve as one's circumstances and environment change over time. As evidenced by the ethnic identities of Ruthenians and Ukrainians, the meanings and expressions attached to cultural labels can be renegotiated and take on new dimensions as resettled life progresses. While assimilation into mainstream society has received significant scholarly attention, it is remiss to consider this process as occurring solely along the native-born/immigrant binary. Intra-ethnic assimilation dynamics warrant consideration as well. Specifically, later waves of immigrants from a given ethnic community may face pressures to assimilate to the norms and behaviors already established by earlier cohorts from the same background. This intra-ethnic stratification complicates conceptualizations of ethnic identity and cultural retention/loss. The category of ethnicity itself

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[99] Bogdan Gordon Panchuk was born on February 8, 1915, in Meacham, Saskatchewan and died on June 20, 1987, in Montreal, Quebec. He was a community leader who enlisted in the Royal Canadian Air Force in 1940 and was posted to the United Kingdom, where he founded the Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen's Association in 1943. While serving in Europe, Panchuk became aware of the Ukrainian displaced persons and refugee problem and mobilized resources to assist them. To this end, he helped establish the Central Ukrainian Relief Bureau in 1945 and secured Ukrainian support in North America for refugee relief. After serving in the Ukrainian language section of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's foreign service from 1952 to 1955, he taught high school in Montreal from 1955 to 1980. His memoirs were published in 1983 as Heroes of Their Day.

[100] PANCHUK, B. *Heroes of Their Day: The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1983, p. 124.

[101] *Ibidem.*

requires problematization when considered not as a monolithic bloc but as comprised of diverse subgroups differentiated by immigrant generation, timing of arrival, and relationship to the mainstream versus co-ethnic community.

So, the political landscape of post-World War II Ukrainian immigrant communities in Canada saw the emergence of new organizations that differed in orientation from those established by earlier waves of immigrants. One of the most notable examples was the League of Ukrainian Canadians, founded in May 1949 at a meeting organized by Stanley Frolick, a Canadian-born Ukrainian who aligned with the faction of the OUN- B. The inaugural conference establishing this new organization was held on December 25, 1949, in Toronto. As Luciuk attributes, the LUC modified its name in December 1950 to the «Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine» [CLLU] a strategic decision likely reflecting the influence of the more moderate faction within the nascent group which, at that early stage, held only weak influence[102]. The CLLU had a Youth's Association [SUM], a Women's Association and a newspaper, *Homin Ukrainy* [The Ukrainian Echo], which had already been published in December 1948 by the same printing press that also produced the paper of the United Hetman Organization. The first branch of the organization was established in Toronto, and by the end of 1949 addition local offices existed in Hamilton, Oshawa, and St. Thomas. The members of the League felt that they were fresh from the resistance frontlines of Ukraine and highly motivated and thus formulated goals for the organization that focused on the liberation of Ukraine from Soviet oppression[103]. Apart from the League, the DPs brought other smaller political organizations to Canada, such as the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party [URDP] with its youth organization, or the Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, a group of approximately 5000 former Soviet prisoners who wanted to inform the public through demonstrations and publications about the terrors of the Soviet regime[104]. Some non-political organizations also successfully made the transition from DP camp life to the diaspora. For example, the literary and cultural organizations such as the *Ob'yednannya Pratsivnykiv Literatury dlya Ditey i Molodi* [Association of Ukrainian Writers for Children], headquartered in Toronto since 1954. Moreover, scouting and students' organizations flourished, such as the Central Union of Ukrainian Students which transferred part of their organization and many of its activities to Canada. The Canadian equivalent *Soiuz Ukrains'kykh Studentiv Kanady* [Ukrainian Canadian Student Union, SUSK] was founded in 1953 in Winnipeg, and during the 1950s, more and more of the international Ukrainian

[102] LUCIUK, L. *Serching for place,* cit., p. 229-233.
[103] LUCIUK, L. and WYNNYCKYJ, I. (Ed.), *Ukrainians in Ontario*, p. 154.
[104] *Ivi*, p. 175.

students' conferences took place on the North American continent. Plast was another organization that put down roots in Canada during the late 1940s and experienced enormous growth during the 1950s[105]. When Toronto became the center of Ukrainian DP life in Canada, there was a great growth in this city. Churches in particular benefited from the influx of newcomers and migrants from other provinces alike. Congregations in the city flourished, and some new ones - such as St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Church, Holy Protection Catholic Church, or Ukrainian Baptist Church - were established to accommodate the growing number of parishioners. As the parishes grew, so did their activities, and today the 1950s and 1960s are often referred to as the «golden years» of these churches[106]. Overall, since many of the organizations established or transferred by the third wave were more political in outlook, the differences in ideology could lead to friction. Clashes within the nationalist community were rather subtle and did not usually involve physical violence. Like many ideological conflicts, they were mostly confined to the pages of the organizations' newspapers. As one interviewee, an active member of UNF, put it: «They argued, in the paper mostly, otherwise, what else could you do? »[107]. Much of the division in the Ukrainian nationalist community was due to incompatible political ideologies. The resulting conflicts must also be understood in the broader context of international Ukrainian diaspora politics, expressed, as it will be shown, in terms of affiliation with either the UNR or the UHVR. At lower levels of the community, the differences between the established community and the newcomers were probably less sharp. Not all newcomers were strict Bandera followers, and many from the existing community did not even know who Melnyk was. Even among the small sample of third-wave respondents interviewed for this thesis, the diversity of opinion is striking. There were those such as Roman's parents who were ardent supporters of the League and saw the liberation of Ukraine as their primary concern and goal[108], others were staunch members of other national organizations and considered the League and its approach too radical[109]. But there were also those who had never belonged to either group; they identified with the Ukrainian community mostly through the church or youth organizations such as Plast.

Clashes between the established community and the newcomers mostly centered around ideological issues. In addition, political divergence – which expressed itself in differences of opinion and the establishment of organizations such as the League – were one part of the friction; unfulfilled expectations on both sides also added to a feeling of uneasiness and dissatisfaction during the early years of settlement. Some of the newcomers were not prepared for what they encountered in the "new

[105] Recently, a comprehensive history of Plast was published: SUBTELNY, O. et al. *Plast Ukrainian Scouting: A Unique Story*. Toronto: Plast Publishing, 2016
[106] Marko Stech. Interview by me, 22nd September 2022, Toronto.
[107] Orest Martynowych. Interview by me, 1st June 2022, Winnipeg.
[108] Roman Fedoriw. Interview by me, 15th September 2022, Edmonton.
[109] Orest Martynowych. Interview by me, 1st June 2022, Winnipeg.

world" – long hours of work in remote locations, simple accommodation, and a general "culture shock"[110]. Although the established community had hoped that the third wave would rejuvenate their organizations and community life, they were discontented that the third wave either took over important positions or, even worse, created flourishing organizations of their own. Nonetheless, despite the disappointment and misunderstandings, clashes within the nationalist Ukrainian community were not as fervent as the ones between nationalists and communists, and the frontlines were also not as clearly defined. Furthermore, the hatred of the communists and their activities in Canada acted as a common denominator for the nationalist community and the newcomers, offering them opportunities for cooperation, as the following section will show.

The situation with the Ukrainian communists was the other way around[111]. As one RCMP officer noted at the time.

> The Communists are aware of this and fear possible repercussions for their organization. Since the DPs arrived in Canada, therefore, the Ukrainian Communists have openly done everything in their power to discredit these people, in order to invalidate their accusations against the Communist regime[112].

As it has been shown before, the Ukrainian communists had been lobbying against the DPs even before their immigration. The arguments put forward were in line with official Soviet propaganda, which portrayed the third wave as Hitler supporters, war criminals, and a potential danger to Canada[113]. As elucidated for instance in a Soviet-era ethnographic study on Ukrainian migration patterns to North America post-World War II, the progressive newspaper "Ukrainian Canadian" published accounts from 1947 highlighted the paradoxical circumstances many refugees faced while interned in DP camps. Specifically, the newspaper drew attention to how «Nazi collaborators» frequently assumed positions of power and authority over the same populations as newly appointed DP camps administrators. Further exacerbating internees' plight, these newly minted leaders were documented actively propagating their ideologies among vulnerable DPs under their purview[114].

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[110] "Kaye to Howson, 16 November 1948", MG 31 D 69, Reel H 2997 Vol. 6, File: 11. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[111] The clashes between communists and DPs were not limited to the Ukrainian community. See for instance: DANYS, M. *DP, Lithuanian Immigration to Canada After the Second World War*. Toronto: Multicultural history society of Ontario, 1986.

[112] "Letter by S.T. Wood (RCMP) to MacNamara, 27 December 1948", RG 26 Vol. 130, File: 3-33-34. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[113] KOLASKY, *The Shattered Illusion ...,* cit., p. 96-97.

[114] SHLEPAKOV, A.M. *Ukrains'ka Trudova Emigratsiia v Ssha I Kanadi (Ukrainian Labor Immigration to The U.S. And Canada)*. Kiev: Nauka, 1960, pp. 75-78.

Once DPs were in the country, the pro-Communists continued their campaign, so these two groups inevitably clashed. Although most of the propaganda from both sides was confined to their respective newspapers, there were also actual physical clashes that could lead to violence. In this context, both government officials and the Ukrainian nationalist community saw the DPs as having an advantage because they had intimate and personal knowledge of the situation in Soviet Ukraine and were therefore able to provide evidence of the «evils» of communism. Meetings and rallies organized by the newly formed AUUC, or who simply wanted to disrupt the meetings. In some cases, these interruptions even led to physical violence between the two groups. For example, a gas bomb once exploded at a meeting in Edmonton, unsettling the proceedings. Although bombings were the exception rather than the rule, the Edmonton incident was not the only one. The most prominent and apparently rather isolated violent incident was the explosion of a bomb during an AUUC concert in Toronto on October 8, 1950, in which eleven people were slightly injured. This event came up also in the interview with Wilfred Szczesny who recalled:

> for example, shortly after the war ended, the immigrants from Ukraine among those who supported the Nazis, would sometime take a quite violent action against the AUUC. So, for example, there was a concert, and somebody planted a bomb with nails and other things that was exploded during the concert in the hall in an effort to cause harm to people and to the building, and it did[115].

Although the AUUC suspected members of the newly arrived Galician Division were behind the attack, the bomb blast was never solved[116]. In this climate of clashes and conflicts, the AUUC - as the main Ukrainian pro-communist organization - turned to the Canadian government with its protests against the DPs "attacks" and also complained that the Canadian police did nothing to put an end to these violent disruptions. John Horbatiuk, vice-president of the AUUC, for example, warned that the DPs - «Nazis» in his eyes - were exploiting the democratic environment[117] and urged that they be punished for their actions. The pro-Communist complaints, however, did not find many sympathetic listeners in either the RCMP or the Canadian government. Regarding the gas bomb incident in Edmonton, for example, the RCMP officer in charge stated that it was merely a tear gas bomb and accused the AUUC of building incidents into disasters[118]. The downplaying of pro-Communist

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[115] Wilfred Szczesny. Interview by me, 1st April 2021, Online.
[116] KOLASKY, *The Shattered Illusion* …, cit., p. 105.
[117] "Letter by John Horbatiuk, Vice President of the AUUC, to the Honourable Minister of Justice, 24 November 1948", RG 26 Vol. 130, File: 3-33-34. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.
[118] "Letter by S.T. Wood (RCMP) to MacNamara, 27 December 1948", RG 26 Vol. 130, File: 3-33-34. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

grievances must be seen in the context of international politics. With the outbreak of the Cold War, the Canadian government had changed its attitude toward the Communists. While the Soviet Union had been an important ally during the war, Canadian officials were particularly determined to keep Communists out of the country during their 1947-1952 immigration program. When it comes to clashes between the pro-communist faction and the DPs, it is important to point out that these conflicts probably stirred more reaction and seemed more common than they were. Although on occasion the former displaced persons were successful in motivating some 100 people to disrupt a communist meeting, we should bear in mind that these people were still a minority within the overall group. Indeed, not many violent clashes were listed with the RCMP[119]. And the interviews are another indicator that direct violent confrontation with communists was not so widespread. Some of the interviewees stressed that they personally never had any contact with communists and that they only heard about fights going on in the community. Others stated that they were actively involved in convincing communists in Canada that the Soviet system was wrong and oppressive but stressed that this interaction did not include violence. In the end, the DP efforts were crowned with success – at least in the eyes of the RCMP. As one official observed, «Communist functionaries are acutely aware their mass language organizations are losing membership and support because of the factual knowledge being brought to this country by Displaced Persons having actually lived under Soviet Domination»[120]. And indeed, the AUUC's membership and activities plummeted once the war was over and never reached the heights that the ULFTA had maintained during the Depression or War. The DPs and their radical anti-Soviet stance were part of the reason for the demise of this organization. In addition, Kolasky points out that "Khrushchov's [sic!] revelations, in 1956, of the crimes of Stalin and, as it will be shown in the next chapter, the visits of members of the pro-Communist organizations to their native land, disillusioned many with Soviet reality. The Ukrainian communist leaders faced the problem of holding members who were realizing that there could be truth to what the displaced persons had been saying[121]. Once the Cold War was in full gear, the Canadian government had no sympathy for the pro-Communist groups and their struggle with the DPs. Furthermore, during the Second World War Canada had turned into a welfare state where unions had gained a stronger position. And in the postwar period Canada experienced a lasting economic upswing, so that three factors that had usually attracted members to pro-Communist organizations – lack of representation, unemployment, and a difficult economic situation – no longer existed for the majority of Canadians.

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[119] LALANDE, *Building a home abroad ...,* cit.

[120] "Secret Report from S.T. Wood (RCMP) to Mr. MacNamara", Department of Labour, 23 January 1950, RG 26 Vol. 130, File: 3-33-34. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[121] KOLASKY, *The Shattered Illusion* …, cit., p. 177.

2.3.2. Encounter

In a nutshell, on the one hand, families' and friends' networks formed a tight circle of direct support for this third wave. On the other, also the government and voluntary agencies, as well as the established Ukrainian Canadian community, were there to help the newcomers with the initial settlement process. Already during the war, the Canadian government had established a bureaucratic structure to promote the integration of the non-British, non-French groups into the war effort. Of this, the Citizenship Branch survived the end of the war and was first transferred to the Department of Secretary of State and in 1950 to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. The Branch had three divisions: the Liaison Division, the Programs and Material Division, and the Research Division. Its staff provided services to immigrant and voluntary organizations to «develop a greater mutual understanding amongst all Canadians»[122] Early on, members of the Canadian Citizenship Branch realized that the influx of nearly one million newcomers since 1945 has had, and will continue to have, a decisive impact on virtually every aspect of life in this country and that ways had to be found to integrate the newcomers. The Canadian government, represented by Eugen Bussiere, director of the Canadian Citizenship Service, also promoted this concept in international forums such as the UNESCO Conference on the Cultural Integration of Immigrants, held in Havana in 1956. Bussiere pointed out that the concept of integration as defined and practiced by Canada (which emphasized acceptance of and the right to differences as long as national unity was not threatened) «was considered a more realistic and desirable approach, as it recognizes the benefit derived from cultural pluralism for both the immigrants and the receiving country»[123]. One of the most pressing issues to ease the adjustment process for the newcomers, was the development of a program that included language and citizenship training and operated primarily through established contacts with immigrant communities and through liaison officers. In addition to language and citizenship classes, the distribution of informational literature such as handbooks and brochures about Canada and its ethnic composition was seen as one of the best ways to familiarize newcomers with the country[124]. Immigrants could learn more about Canada through booklets such as «Facts about Canada» or «This is Canada»[125] which were meant to provide the newcomers with the maximum of basic information on Canada in friendly practical terms and in such a format as to be conveniently carried in the pocket.

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[122] "Alex Sim, Acting Director, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, to Nichols, Technical Services, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 18 July 1956", RG 26, Vol. 75, File: 1-1-1 part 1. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[123] "Report on the UNESCO Conference on the Cultural Integration of Immigrants held in Havana (Cuba) 18-27 April 1956. Report is given by Eugene Bussiere, Director, Canadian Citizenship Branch, 11 May 1956". RG 26 Vol. 81, File: 1-24-24 part 1. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[124] "Advisory Committee on Citizenship", RG 26 Vol. 67, File: 2-18-2. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[125] In the repository of the Shevchenko Museum, Toronto.

Some pamphlets were also translated into different languages, among them German, Dutch, and Ukrainian, to ensure that these new immigrants could be reached right from the start. Furthermore, assembly centers showed films about citizenship training, Canadian history and geography, and the CBC broadcast Apart from Canadian voluntary and government agencies, the Ukrainian Canadian community also contributed to easing of the settling process.

All the interviews stressed that the church was an important source of comfort and support for many immigrant groups but also the first point of contact for many Ukrainian DPs with the whole community. Helen, Iroida, and Marta, for example, discussing the topic of their relationship - or lack thereof – with the preceding waves, supported this interpretation:

> H: Church!
> I: See, maybe it was our fault. Because when we came here, instead of joining we formed our own.
> M: Well, there was a difference. We spoke only Ukrainian; they spoke half and half or English.
> I: Yeah, and there was an intellectual component after all. I mean…
> M: They were Canadian, and we were not.
> I: The people who came, the DP, that immigration was more a political and more intellectual. That was hard to accept by the others.
> M: The values, the aims were different.
> I: But it's the same now with the people who come from Ukraine. There is a difference. They do not all fit in.
> M: Most economic immigration right now.
> H: But we did get together in churches. Church was the united component.
> I: True! We didn't form different churches![126]

The established community was helpful not only for the settlement of some individuals, but also for the founding of organizations. For example, Ukrainian Canadians from Toronto helped the Plast Toronto branch to acquire their first premises on 992 Dundas Street. Community organizations such as the UNF also started recruitment campaigns to attract new members into their organization – an interesting phenomenon if one considers later indignation about the 'take-over' of the organization by the third wave[127]. But the third wave also started, as mentioned above, organizations of their own which led to a considerable amount of friction with the community. In line with Iroida's insight, one of the top members of the League reminisced in the late 70s that:

[126] Iroida Wynnyckyj, Marta Waschuk and Helen Junyk. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto.
[127] LUCIUK, L. *Searching for place*, …, cit., p. 235ss.

> The League was organized not because there was some physical need for the formation of yet another Ukrainian organization in Canada but because there was a spiritual need for such a development. We newcomers had come out of the cauldron of Ukraine in World War II and we brought with us a new idea of what it meant to be a Ukrainian in modern Ukraine[128].

Many members of the third wave felt that they were more in touch with what was going on in Ukraine. In a way, this was also an illusion, because their memories and thus their imagination of a liberated Ukraine were tied to their experiences up until the Second World War and camp life, and they too were physically detached from what was going on in Soviet Ukraine once they emigrated to Canada[129]. Reverend Nestor Yurchuk, interviewed by the historian Sophia Isajiw, in 2016, mentioned this dynamic:

> Well, we were of the third wave, and we came, and we thought that we were the most important and that the people who had been here were good, but maybe not as knowledgeable about Ukrainianism as we were, and therefore we were going to create our own Ukrainian community. And the fourth wave came, and history repeats itself in the way that, and it's quite natural, that they are more enthusiastic about Ukrainianism than the people who have been here for 50 years. They haven't yet run into the kind of problems that we have, and they still have one leg in Ukraine, and again that's natural.

Finally, in contrast to the established community, the third wave saw themselves not as economic immigrants, but as a refugee wave, and hence more dedicated to the Ukrainian cause. To be active became one of the most important and most cherished characteristics. Members of the third wave treasured their activism and devotion to the homeland; this becomes especially vivid when they compare themselves to other waves of immigration. Although they were very busy during the immediate settlement period – getting a job, finding accommodation, learning the language, and getting into contact with the wider Ukrainian as well as Canadian society took up time and energy – one other topic continued to occupy the minds of many of them: the fate of Ukraine and the wish to return home one day. For the existing community in Canada, the desire to return to Ukraine was not immediate as many of them had been born in the country or had come decades ago. However, for the DP wave that came in the late 1940s, the question of returning was still more prominent. Two streams among the DPs could be detected in oral interviews – the ones who hoped for a third World War, the

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[128] LUCIUK, L. *Ukrainians in the Making: Their Kingston Story*. Toronto: Limestone Press, 1980. p. 100.

[129] There were sporadic contacts with the family in Ukraine, but correspondence and communication were not easy due to censorship. This topic will be discussed in the next chapter.

eventual liberation of Ukraine, and with it the possibility to return to Ukraine itself[130], and those who knew right from the start that Canada was and always would be their new home. The latter is at least an opinion which they stated in retrospect, stressing that it was not because they did not miss Ukraine, but rather because they realized that returning was not feasible. An age gap becomes obvious between these two groups, because it was mostly the older generation – those who experienced the DP camps as adult – that harbored a desire to return home. As one interviewee put it: «My parents were sitting on the suitcase, ready to go back home»[131]. For those interviewees who saw the return to an independent Ukraine as a primary goal, the underlying explanation was their background as refugees, the fact that they had never willingly planned to come to Canada. One of the expressions of the desire to return «home» was a toast made during festivities that went: «Next year in a free Ukraine»[132]. Over time, the desire declined as life in Canada took precedence and the Cold War did not develop as many had hoped. For example, disillusionment set in when the United States of America did not response to the Hungarian Crisis in 1956. However, whether the wish to return existed or not, all interviewees stressed that they took a lively interest in Ukraine's destiny and future[133]. Many immigrant groups take a deep interest in their homeland, especially those who fled for political reasons. In the case of Ukrainians, this interest in the camps took on forms of a "mission" since their homeland – and for the first time ever all territories of Ukraine – was part of the Soviet Union. In this context the idea of "fighting" for the homeland gained wider acceptance in postwar Canada and served as a tool to unite the established nationalist community and the newcomers.

During the initial settlement period of the third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada in the post-World War II era, the League of Ukrainian Canadians vocally questioned the position of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee as the sole representative organization of Ukrainians in Canada. A key point of criticism from the LVU was the statutory regulations governing the composition of the UCC presidium. For example, the UCC statute stipulated that the president must always be recruited from the ranks of the Ukrainian Canadian Brotherhood, the vice-president from the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, and so forth. In a 1953 letter to the UCC, the League emphasized that changes would need to be enacted to the umbrella organization's governing statute before they could consider joining the umbrella organization. Furthermore, the League stated it could not accept the UCC's stance that recognized only the UNR-in-exile as the legitimate international representative body of

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[130] LUCIUK, L. *Ukrainians in the Making,* cit. p. 98. This view was especially popular in LVU's circles. The return theme that would be elaborate in the third part of the thesis.

[131] Zorianna Hyworon. Interview by me, 28th June 2022, Winnipeg.

[132] *Ibidem.*

[133] The question of the return is examined in the third and last section of the thesis.

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Ukraine. Finally, the League also demanded acknowledgment of the organizations that fought for Ukrainian revolutionary liberation abroad, especially the Ukrainian Insurgent Army[134]. The differences between the UCC and the League have to be seen in the broader context of the diaspora politics mentioned above. The League, in fact, was a member of the broader «Ukrainian Liberation Front», it supported the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations [ABN] and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council [UHVR]. The established Ukrainian Canadian community, represented through individuals such as Panchuk and organizations like the UCC, saw, instead, the UNR as the only representative body of Ukrainians abroad. According to the League's historical account, the question of joining the UCC became topical once again in 1956 when the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference, held by both the UCC and the UCCA, issued a statement saying that UNR «can become the Ukrainian political center in the emigration, if it can find a platform for the unification of all Ukrainian political forces in the emigration»[135] However, a letter sent to the UCC by the League addressing this issue received a negative response from the umbrella organization, and it took another three years until the UCC presidium passed a resolution concerning the admission of the League. By the time the League joined the UCC, both the UHVR and UNR had lost a considerable portion of their significance, in Luciuk's words «the former eliminated by force of arms, the latter fading into émigré…irrelevance»[136] Furthermore, after the OUN-B split in Germany in the mid-50s, not the OUN-B but the newly formed OUN-Z [OUN abroad] continued to support the Foreign Representation of the UHVR. The LVU joined the UCC in 1959 and was listed at the sixth UCC congress in July 1959 as one of seven dominion-wide organizations that dominated the UCC and could send up to five delegates to the presidium. However, the president continued to be recruited from the BUC. In its constitution of 1959, the UCC stressed its determination to act as a spokesman for the community, to strengthen and coordinate the participation of Ukrainian Canadians in Canadian social and cultural life and to safeguard the aspirations of the Ukrainian nation in Europe for independence and self-determination on its ethnic territories[137]. Although the League joined the UCC, this did not mean that tensions or disagreements subsided. Internally, the struggle for supremacy within the UCC continued throughout the 1960s. However, with the League's entry into the UCC, the Ukrainian Canadian nationalist community had achieved unification, at least outwardly, a fact that would prove important for its recognition and lobbying efforts in the following decade. The Ukrainian Canadian community continued to be active and outgoing during the 1950s, and so it is not astonishing that government

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[134] Letter from League to UCC, 20 June 1953, printed in LVU, *Narys Istorii*, pp. 178-180.

[135] *Ivi*, p. 184.

[136] LUCIUK, L. *Searching for place …,* cit., p. 242.

[137] "Constitution of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, adopted by the VI Ukrainian Canadian Congress, July 9-12, 1959, in Winnipeg", MG 28 V 103 Vol. 24, File: 12. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

officials were present at Ukrainian events such as the celebration of Independence Day. Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent even visited the third UCC Congress held in Winnipeg in July 1953, a fact that received mention in a short UCC history[138].

Furthermore, the postwar period also saw the emergence of closer cooperation between Ukrainian-Canadian institutions and other Canadian organizations. A few examples adequately illustrate this point. For example, once it was established in Canada, the Women's Association of the LVU started to cooperate with non-Ukrainian Women's organizations to sensitize other women in Canada and abroad to the plight of Ukrainian women[139]. This step was in line with the overall development of the Ukrainian Canadian women's movement that saw more cooperation during the decade while Plast worked together closely with the Canadian scouting movement, but it never joined the movement to preserve its autonomy[140]. Ukrainian papers such as the Ukrainian Voice (Ukrains'ke Holos), a weekly paper from Winnipeg with Greek-Orthodox background, belonged to the Canada Press Club in which it cooperated with different ethnic newspapers. Overall, Ukrainians worked in a Canadian framework with groups that were not necessarily of a refugee background and therefore had different goals and aspirations. Not only had the Ukrainian Canadian community grown bolder during the 1940s and 50s, but the overall Canadian context had changed in their favor as well. The 1950s saw a rise in immigrant groups and their activities, a fact that could no longer be overlooked by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. The Canadian Citizenship Branch further tried to keep in touch with ethnic groups – and here with a special focus on the newcomers – through Liaison Officers who toured the communities and met with representatives. The closer contact with Canadian institutions and agencies was also easier because Canadian society underwent changes in the postwar period. As Owram has shown in his in-depth study of Canada in the 1950s, that decade was a time of growth and prosperity in the country. Parents of the "baby boom" generation emphasized family values and economic success, so there was an increased focus on education. In addition, the fear of communism and the threat that the Cold War might turn into a "hot war" were widespread[141]. The majority of Ukrainian DPs and the existing Ukrainian Canadian community shared these values engrained in the society. Many of them were very well educated, having received this education in the camps or in Canada. Although the third wave was the smallest of all three waves of Ukrainian immigration that came to Canada prior to the independence of Ukraine, it was still a very important

[138] Diasporiana, *Third All-Canadian Congress of Ukrainians in Canada. Winnipeg Ukrainian Canadian Committee, 1953, Winnipeg.* https://diasporiana.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/books/15903/file.pdf. Last accessed 17 May 2023.
[139] SWYRIPA, F.. *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity 1891–1991.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993, p. 98.
[140] SUBTELNY, O. et al. *Plast Ukrainian Scouting,* cit.
[141] OWRAM, D. *Born at the right time: A history of the baby-boom generation.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

addition to the existing community. As it has been shown, the lobbying of the existing community and the self-interpretation of the newcomers defined what constituted a 'true Ukrainian' - active, committed to the liberation of the homeland, Ukrainian-speaking, anti-Soviet, and devoted to the preservation of the heritage. Moreover, the goal of fighting the Soviet Union united the nationalist factions of the community early on. This is not to say that the conflicts and tensions usually mentioned in connection with the arrival of the third wave were not an important aspect of the community experience. This study does not seek to downplay these conflicts; rather, it shows that despite these tensions, the community consistently found common ground in some aspects of community life[142]. Moreover, while the experiences of DPs from Europe undoubtedly involved trauma, the socio-political environment of mid-20th century Canada tended to mitigate against the development of extreme nationalist ideologies among newcomers. Specifically, two factors blunted radicalization. First, Canada's gradualist, consensus-driven approach to social change created an environment that discouraged revolutionary politics. Rather than confront past experiences head-on, Canadian society implicitly urged refugees to adapt incrementally over time. Second, the pre-existing Ukrainian Canadian community served as an example for how to balance cultural preservation with integration Earlier waves had learned that an «Old World» orientation risked marginalization, as evidenced by the revisionist tendencies of organizations like the Ukrainian National Federation in the 1930s. While their experiences undoubtedly shaped identities, the pressures of postwar Canadian pluralism nudged newcomers towards evolutionary change rather than revolutionary action. This case thus may be instrumental in highlighting how receiving environments can mitigate the radicalizing potential, especially of those who were nationalized within the camps but did not came from a family background of radical nationalism. In the interview I conducted with Zorianna, she recalled that despite being part of the third wave, she could not reconcile how certain factions remained so radically isolated in their views with the potential to create conflicts with other ethnic communities - notably Jewish and Polish peoples. For example, Zorianna recounted that during several anti-Soviet protests in the 1960s and 1970s, there were often individuals openly waving red and black nationalist flags. In Zorianna's view, this type of exclusionary nationalism had the propensity to undermine the broader community aims and risk alienating potential allies in the fight against the Soviet Union[143].

Having said that, the League's joining the UCC also seems less surprising. The ideal of an independent Ukraine and the ideas of how to fight for it were to remain in the community for decades

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[142] It is noteworthy that Ukrainian Canadians have only had one umbrella organization – in contrast to Ukrainians in the US, where the differences between newcomers and existing community led to the formation of a second such organization. In: Satzewich, *Ukrainian Diaspora …*, cit., pp. 131-133.

[143] Zorianna Hyworon. Interview by me, 22nd June 2022, Winnipeg.

to come. However, as early as the 1960s, as the Cold War was rumbling on, a new aspect preoccupied Ukrainians in Canada - the discussion of their place in Canada and in the Canadian history.

PART TWO

TRANSLATION: FROM SOJOURNERS TO ETHNIC TILES (1960s-1980s)

The second part of the thesis explores what it meant for this wave to identify as "Ukrainian" in the context of the multi-layered Ukrainian Canadian community and the relationship with Canada and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. While they preserved the Ukrainian culture from afar, organized rituals and festivals, and developed Ukrainian mythology, the peculiarities of the country in which they lived, above all the implementation of the official policy of multiculturalism to deal with cultural diversity, led to a "Canadianization" of this group. I, therefore, pose the question of whether and how, in the efforts to culturally build the Ukrainian nation, they contributed to the construction of a certain "group identity" in Canada.

CHAPTER 3
MNEMOSCAPES: TILES OF THE MULTICULTURAL MOSAIC

3.1. Canada in the Sixties: An Improbable Nation

> *It sometimes seems that Canadians have deconstructed their past,*
> *sacrificing it for the good of a mythical present*[1].

The collection of essays "Is Canada Postcolonial? Unsettling Canadian Literature"[2], questions the use of the concept "postcoloniality" in the context of Canadian culture. Even if dealing with English studies, this work raises relevant issues around memory, history, and identity. In her introduction, the editor of the volume, Laura Moss, alerts the reader that any analysis on Canadian culture should first come to grips with the former term of the preposition: what is "Canada"?

> It depends on whether or not you focus on Canada as a member of the British
> Commonwealth; on the vastly different histories of the countries in that Commonwealth; as

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[1] GRANATSTEIN, J. L. *Who Killed Canadian History?* Toronto: Harper Perennial, 1998, p. 4. The provocative book caused a harsh public debate on national history and history education in Canada. See for example: STANLEY, T. J. "Why I killed Canadian history: Conditions for an anti-racist history in Canada". *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 2000, 33.65: 79-103.

[2] MOSS, L. (Ed.). *Is Canada Postcolonial? Unsettling Canadian Literature*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 2003.

both an invader and settler colony; as holding two solitudes and/or other solitudes[3]; see Canada as a nation of immigrants; see Canada continuing the colonization of First Nations people; isolate Canada as a country with pockets of poverty; define Canadian primarily as "not American"; think of a Molson "I am Canadian!" identity[4]; consider multiculturalism in Canada to be more than a series of folklore festivals; and/or consider Canada to be a nation of writers from widely diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds[5].

This chapter brief introduction addresses the complexity of Canadian history, starting from the struggle to establish a founding moment in its past, when Canada became Canada. While 1867 works for the four original "provinces in confederation", New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Ontario, this date serves less well for other areas that were later induced to join[6] what the historian Margaret Conrad defined an «improbable experiment in nation-building»[7]. From 1867 onwards, Canadians engaged in a lively debate over the nature of Canadian nationhood between those who yearned for unity in duality and those who sought a single, typically anglophone, nationality. In fact, no longer taking their cues from Britain with the sign of the Statute of Westminster in 1931[8], they attempted to develop a distinct, if discordant, voice while in the meantime accommodating the overwhelming influence of the United States[9]. The difficulties that come with being «the child of one superpower and the sibling of another»[10] were then complicated by the tremendous environmental challenge of governing a country that spans half of North America, including the Arctic. The former Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King summarized this national dilemma in his famous

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[3] The phrase "two solitudes" comes from Hugh MacLennan's 1945 work by the same name and refers to French and English Canada. MACLENNAN, H. *Two solitudes*. Toronto: Collins, 1945.

[4] It refers to an ad campaign of the Molson beer company which became popularized as a slogan for Canadian nationalism between 1994 and 1999. See a reference in COLOMBO, J. R. *The penguin treasury of popular Canadian poems and songs*. Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2002.

[5] MOSS, L. (Ed.). *Is Canada Postcolonial?,* cit., pp. 7-8.

[6] Currently Canada has 10 provinces and three territories who have been incorporated in the Confederation gradually: in 1870 Manitoba and Northwest Territories, in 1871 British Columbia, in 1873 Prince Edward Island, in 1880 Arctic Islands, in 1898 Yukon Territory, in 1905 Alberta and Saskatchewan, in 1949 Newfoundland and Labrador and in 1999 Nunavut.

[7] CONRAD, M. *A concise history of Canada*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022, p. 1.

[8] Ivi, p. 9.

[9] The United States' impact on Canadian politics has been frequently criticized in the intellectual circles. See for the well-known "Lament for a Nation" of the philosopher George Parkin Grant, considered the father of Canadian nationalism: GRANT, G. *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism.* Toronto: Macmillan of Canada Ltd., in association with the Institute of Canadian Studies at Carleton University, 1965. His fundamental argument—that the "defining particularisms" that made Canada unique in North America had been obliterated by the homogenizing impacts of liberalism, modernity, and technology—resounded with anglophones seeking explanations for their own separate identity from that of the United States.

[10] CONRAD, M. *A concise history of Canada,* cit., p. 9.

speech to the House of Commons in 1936: «If some countries have too much history, we have too much geography»[11].

Canadian history in the post-WW II era is profoundly embedded in the Cold War, to the extent that some traced back the triggering event of its unfolding in Ottawa. Canadian historian Jack Lawrence Granatstein, for example, stated that the Gouzhenko affair[12] was the beginning of the Cold War for public opinion[13]. If it goes too far the claim that Cold War started in Ottawa, it is notwithstanding interesting to note the role of a country that, while not usually mentioned in the literature, attempted at finding its own place as a "middle power"[14] on the international scenario. In those decades, Canada championed the management of international relations through diplomatic solutions and peacekeeping mission. One example for all is given by the Suez crisis, where it was the Canadian Secretary of State Lester B. Pearson who proposed at the UN that an armed, impartial peacekeeping force could enforce a ceasefire and stabilize the situation. Pearson received the 1957 Nobel Peace Prize for his role in creating this first UN Emergency Force[15]. In fairness, the politics of a "middle power" and the emphasis on "peacekeeping" served most of all as narratives to define Canadian identity[16]. In fact, since in the four decades following the Second World War, Canada was essentially "reinvented" as a modern nation-state with the peak reached in the Sixties, a decade whose legacy continues to shape the country's values with shifts in political ideologies, social norms, and cultural expressions, at the point that it has been defined «a phenomenon» more than a decade[17]. In

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[11] Speech on Canada as an international power, Canadian House of Commons, 18 June 1936. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. Digitalized and available online: https://parl.canadiana.ca/browse/eng/c/debates/18-1. Last accessed 9 November 2023.

[12] The Gouzhenko Affair entails the disclosure of a spy ring led by Igor Gouzhenko, a cipher clerk of the Soviet embassy in Ottawa. Three days after the end of World War II, on 5 September 1945, he fled with 109 documents detailing USSR espionage operations in the West. In response, Mackenzie King, the prime minister of Canada, established a royal commission to investigate espionage in the country. Gouzhenko uncovered the technique of planting sleeper agents and Soviet intelligence's attempts to gain nuclear secrets. In: KNIGHT, A. W. *How the Cold War began: The Gouzhenko affair and the hunt for soviet spies*. London: M&S, 2005; BLACK, J. L. and RUDNER, M. (Ed.). *The Gouzhenko Affair: Canada and the beginnings of Cold War counterespionage*. Manotick: Penumbra Press, 2006. A recent work analyzed the British role in the Affair with the use of declassified sources: MOLINARO, D. "How the Cold War began... with British help: The Gouzhenko affair revisited", *Labour*, 2017, 79: 143-155.

[13] GRANATSTEIN, J.L. STAFFORD, D. *Spy Wars. Espionage and Canada from Gouzhenko to Glasnost*, Toronto: Key Porter Books Ltd., 1990

[14] CHAPNICK, A. *The middle power project: Canada and the founding of the United Nations*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007; UNGERER, C. "Influence without power: Middle powers and arms control diplomacy during the Cold War". *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 2007, 18.2: 393-414.

[15] HAYES, G. "Canada as a middle power: the case of peacekeeping". In: *Niche diplomacy: Middle powers after the Cold War*. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1997. pp. 73-89; CARROLL, M. K. *Pearson's Peacekeepers: Canada and the United Nations Emergency Force, 1956-67*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.

[16] WAGNER, E. et al. "The peaceable kingdom? The national myth of Canadian peacekeeping and the Cold War". 2006, 7.4: 45-54.

[17] KEALEY, G. S.; CAMPBELL, L., CLÉMENT, D. (Ed.). *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012, p. 3.

the international literature on the Sixties, Canada is almost absent[18] and it has not until recently that Canadian historiography attempted to analyze the decade integrating international and global developments with the peculiarities of the local context, exemplified for example in the Quebec question at home and in the diversification of foreign relations beyond its traditional ties with the United Kingdom and the United States abroad[19]. The Sixties in Canada were a decade characterized by social and political ferment, a popular culture revolution, youthfulness, economic prosperity as so much as the United States, Britain, France, and Italy[20]. Thus, the broader postwar years context serves as a necessary framework to grasp the unfolding of domestic developments.

As concern Canadian political history, the 1960s saw the election of the Liberal Party as a governing party, led first by Lester B. Pearson and then by Pierre Elliott Trudeau, the latter serving as Prime Minister as almost sixteen years in a wave of what has been popularized as "Trudeaumania"[21]. During this decade, significant policies were implemented, among all the depenalization of abortion and homosexuality, the legalization of divorce and the introduction of universal healthcare through the Medical Care Act in 1966[22]. This period of intense political and social change was evident in the province of Quebec where momentous reforms sought to include, in the context of the Second Vatican Council, extensive state involvement and declericalization in education[23]. Here, the period, symbolized in the ideals of the so-called *Révolution Tranquille*, also caused the emergence of a distinct Québécois identity that resulted in a call for greater autonomy and even independence from Canada. This produced an array of separatist political parties and movements that coalesced around the *Parti Québécois* in electoral politics and the *Front de Liberation du Quebec* in direct action politics. *Separatisme* in 1960s Quebec occurred against a background of anti-colonial,

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[18] See for example the seminal work: MARWICK, A. *The sixties: cultural revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958-c. 1974*. London: A&C Black, 2011.

[19] FINKEL, A. *Our Lives: Canada after 1945*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 2012; CONRAD, M. *A Concise History of Canada*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022; PALAEOLOGU, M. Athena. *The Sixties in Canada: A Turbulent and Creative Decade*. Montreal: Black Rose Books Ltd., 2009. PALMER, B. D. *Canada's 1960s: The ironies of identity in a rebellious era*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

[20] In their introductory chapter "Time, Age, Myth: Towards a History of the Sixties" Lara Campbell and Dominique Clément analyze the key role played by Canada in the Cold War scenario. I refer to that chapter for an overview of the main issues: KEALEY, G. S.; CAMPBELL, L., CLÉMENT, D. (Ed.). *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, cit., pp. 6-12.

[21] Public fascination with Trudeau was promoted with the term "Trudeaumania"*,* a phenomenon characterized by widespread popularity and enthusiasm for Pierre Elliott Trudeau among the Canadian public, particularly the young generation of the *babyboomers.* He served as prime minister from 1968 to 1979 and then from 1980 to 1984*.* In: LITT, P. *Trudeaumania*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016.

[22] The universal health insurance system that would eventually be adopted across Canada was first introduced by Tommy Douglas, a Saskatchewan politician and province's Premier, best known as the "Father of Medicare". In: CONRAD, M. *A concise history of Canada,* cit., p. 469.

[23] A valuable interpretation of the Quiet Revolution is in ROUILLARD, J. "La révolution tranquille: rupture ou tournant?". *Journal of Canadian studies*, 1997, 32.4: 23-51. Instead of analyzing it as a rupture in the province's history, Rouillard contextualizes it in the wider developments happening in the Canadian society.

civil rights, and guerrilla movements globally and in North America, with a tone that reflected once again its historic context. In fact, Quebec nationalism was not the only issue stirring the political pot. On expanding university campuses, the "New Left" was raising troubling questions and sponsoring "sit-ins" to raise political consciousness. American movements for Black Power, Native Rights, and Women's Liberation quickly took root in Canada, and gay rights, trade unionists, and environmental activists joined hands across the border[24]. If in Quebec the Quiet Revolution intensified nationalistic trends among the francophone majority, many Canadians of British heritage experienced what the historian José Igartua calls «the Other Quiet Revolution»[25] as they moved from an ethnic-based to a rights-based notion of citizenship, and tried to produce a set of symbols and policies that would bind all Canadians together in one "improbable" nation. Bryan Palmer's study offers an original perspective of the decade as a fulcrum in the struggle over identity: «As the old attachment to British Canada was finally and decisively shed it was replaced only with uncertainty»[26]. In fact, the Sixties were also a period of reflection with the country celebrating its centennial in 1967, a new flag featuring the iconic maple leaf design unveiled in 1965, and Expo '67 in Montreal showcasing the country to the world. The persisting old cleavages in the social fabric, such as the French– English and Indigenous–settler divides remained[27], but here, too, there were shifts in respect to on the one hand, all the other ethnic communities, like Italians, Japanese and Ukrainians, becoming "visible"[28] and on the other hand, the exacerbation of gender and class inequalities[29]. As noted by Finkel, the poorest of the poor were not the immigrants but the children with the deepest roots in Canada and moreover each group differed in their "imagination" of Canada:

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[24] SANGSTER, J. "Radical Ruptures: Feminism, Labor, and the Left in the Long Sixties in Canada". *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 2010, 40.1: 1-21. LEXIER, R. "Do you remember the sixties? The scholarship of resistance and rebellion". *Labour/Le Travail*, 2010, 66: 183-193.

[25] IGARTUA, José E. *The other quiet revolution: National identities in English Canada, 1945-71*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011. See also: CLÉMENT, Dominique. *Canada's rights revolution: Social movements and social change, 1937-82*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009.

[26] PALMER, B. D. *Canada's 1960s: The ironies of identity in a rebellious era,* cit., p. 5.

[27] According to the Metis scholar Dwayne Donald, Canadians refuse to fully acknowledge the colonial means through which this land was acquired. While the nation was founded on an agreement between Indigenous nations and settlers, this partnership is often forgotten. Instead, settlers imagine their separateness and difference from Indigenous people, ultimately refusing the idea of a shared past. In: DONALD, D. T. "The curricular problem of Indigenousness: Colonial frontier logics, teacher resistances, and the acknowledgment of ethical space" in NAHACHEWSKY, J. and I. JOHNSTON (Eds.). *Beyond Presentism: Re-Imagining the Historical, Personal, and Social Places of Curriculum.* Rotterdam/Boston/Taipei: Sense Publishers, 2009: 23-39.

[28] I agree with the critique of the concept of "visible minorities", especially in this context where it resembles a stereotypical Canadian euphemism to address the "other-than-white communities", who are in fairness not always minorities. In: MOSS, L. (Ed.). *Is Canada Postcolonial?* cit., pp. 301.

[29] FINKEL, A. *Our Lives: Canada after 1945,* cit. p. 79.

A Quebecois middle-class feminist and separatist, a First Nations Warrior, a Nova Scotia woman factory worker, and a male engineer student in British Columbia might all have been 21 years old in 1975 and all enjoy listening to the Rolling Stones and smoking marijuana. But their views of the world and of the directions in which Canada should develop would often have little in common[30].

Sparked by the separatist threat and in a wider societal change, the discussions around national identity in the «new Canada» not so much revealed a triumphant Canadian identity as they disguised the tensions that were threatening to tear it apart. It is in this wider perspective that should be understood the effort of redefining Canadianness beyond the traditional «one nation, one people, and one language» motto, a debate that would have flown into the governmental policy of bilingualism and multiculturalism and finally coalesced into the section 27 of the Charter of Rights and Freedom, part of the Constitution Act, 1982[31], instructing that «[The Charter] shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians»[32].

3.1.1. Envisioning the Multicultural Canadian Nation[33]

I am Canadian but what kind?[34]

The question of managing cultural diversity has always been at the forefront of political debates since plurality is a fundamental aspect of Canada's social fabric. From the outset, the federal policy had to seek solutions to three central challenges: how to integrate or assimilate new immigrants, how to deal with the existence of groups whose members wanted to maintain a sense of common identity, the so-called "ethnic"[35] groups, and finally how to promote intergroup relationships. However, how

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[30] Ivi, p. 128.

[31] The Constitution Act, 1982, was a significant step towards Canada achieving full independence from the UK and gave the country complete control over its Constitution. Canada's Constitution is not contained in a single written document, instead, it is a combination of written documents, statues and unwritten conventions and traditions, such as the Constitution Act, 1867, and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom, 1982. While the Constitution Act of 1982 was adopted by the Canadian federal government and the majority of provinces, the Province of Quebec did not formally consent to its patriation from the British Parliament. There continues to be debate surrounding the division of authority over constitutional matters as between the federal government in Ottawa and the Province of Quebec. Specifically, Quebec has maintained the position that the Constitution Act of 1982 was adopted without its approval and over its objections, thereby disregarding the province's perceived right to veto constitutional amendments.

[32] DODEK, A. *The Canadian Constitution*. Hamilton: Dundurn, 2016.

[33] YUZYK, P. "The truth Canadian Identity – Multiculturalism", *Joseph Boyko fonds*, R14905-0-X-E. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[34] Roman Petryshyn. Interview by me, 12th September 2022, Edmonton.

[35] I use the term "ethnic group" because this is the definition that it will be found in governmental and community sources. The volume TONKIN, E., MCDONALD, M. and CHAPMAN, M. *History and ethnicity*. Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2016

came that, in the span of a few decades, Canadians begin to view themselves less as members of the British Empire, and more as "Canadians"? And how non-British ethnic identities came to be seen as foundational to "Canadian" identity?

Pressures from change were manyfold; they stemmed from Canada's First Nations, the separatist threat of Québécois nationalism and the increasing resentment of some minorities regarding their place in society, especially after the massive influx of post-WW II immigrants from Europe. It is in this context that «multiculturalism in a bilingual framework» emerged as an official policy of the government to recognize, promote, and celebrate the diversity of its population while fostering a sense of national unity. The multiculturalism policy is usually traced back to the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism to advise on policy relating to Canada's francophone population in 1963[36]. Its primary objective was to investigate and address issues related to language and cultural diversity, particularly the tensions between English-speaking and French-speaking communities. Between 1963 and 1971, the Commission conducted extensive research, held public hearings, and received numerous submissions from individuals, community organizations, and experts across the country. Its final report, known as the "Biculturalism Report", was published in 1969 and contained numerous recommendations aimed at promoting bilingualism and biculturalism within Canadian society[37]. The Commission's recommendations led to the recognition of both English and French as official languages at the federal level[38] and highlighted the importance of bilingual education and language training. What it is worth mentioning for the purpose of this analysis is the fourth volume of the Report, which was dedicated to «the other ethnic groups»[39] of Canada. The account included an appendix listing various ethnic communities in Canada from 1957 to 1965.

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problematizes and contextualizes its use in historiography and social anthropology research. However, it is also worth noticing the widespread use of the terms "ethnic" in the north American context to identify members of specific communities who are neither foreigners nor immigrants. See for example the comparative work on US and Italy in: MORNING, A. MANERI, M. *An Ugly Word: Rethinking Race in Italy and the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2022. Related to this specific issue, it is worth mentioning the close reading of the discourse about ethnicity in Canada in HAQUE, E. *Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework: Language, race, and belonging in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

[36] This is for example the standpoint of CONRAD, M. *A concise history of Canada,* cit., p. 390. However, it might be useful to widen the perspective and historicize the attempt of dealing with cultural diversity made in the two previous decades. See for reference: WOTHERSPOON, T., JUNGBLUTH, P. *Multicultural education in a changing global economy*. New York: Waxmann Verlag, 1995, pp. 25-30.

[37] "Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism. Final Report", 1969, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism fonds, R1161-0-6-E. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[38] "Official Languages Act", 1969, R188, RG13, Box number: 5, File number: 6-216000-49. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[39] "Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism", UCAMA memorandums collection 1919-1990, CA BMUFA 0284, file 9. BMUFA, Edmonton, Alberta.

Specifically, it featured a table documenting the ethnic groups considered in the analysis [Tab. 1][40]. While the list does not include all ethnic communities in the country, this table could provide an initial understanding of the "tiles" that made up the ethnic mosaic.

Ethnic origin	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Total	282,164	124,851	106,928	104,111	71,689	74,586	93,151	112,606	146,758
Albanian	22	13	18	33	43	27	51	20	24
Arab[2]	87	69	60	81	58	65	153	205	260
Armenian	272	189	231	143	176	769	899	841	871
Austrian[3]	2,293	905	748	953	583	445	538	671	766
Belgian	2,786	1,000	814	739	707	516	509	674	650
British[4]	112,828	26,622	19,361	20,853	13,295	16,635	25,256	29,928	39,523
Bulgarian	59	15	44	42	25	17	23	32	73
Chinese	1,662	2,615	2,561	1,370	861	826	1,502	3,176	5,182
Czech and Slovak	307	139	112	133	96	81	77	162	207
Danish	7,790	1,799	1,372	1,126	484	606	612	739	895
Dutch	12,310	7,595	5,354	5,598	1,960	1,681	1,812	2,061	2,628
Egyptian	52	19	16	12	7	62	241	379	423
Estonian	221	122	88	134	52	51	63	44	59
Finnish	2,829	1,258	890	993	350	340	285	415	580
French	5,471	2,539	1,797	2,179	1,731	2,109	2,559	3,155	3,367
German	29,564	14,449	10,781	10,792	6,191	5,118	4,906	5,128	7,454
Greek	5,631	5,418	4,965	5,009	3,858	4,164	5,554	5,127	6,630
Hungarian	29,825	2,723	1,044	1,207	734	759	902	987	1,212
Icelandic	56	43	23	12	5	1	12	16	3
Indian[5]	324	451	716	673	744	814	1,301	2,167	3,784
Iranian	24	13	8	13	18	28	41	35	137
Italian	29,443	28,564	26,822	21,308	14,630	14,181	15,887	21,091	28,893
Japanese	178	188	191	159	116	134	174	137	203
Jewish	5,472	2,290	2,686	2,385	1,510	1,349	1,697	2,636	2,269
Latvian	415	186	123	141	98	56	72	48	81
Lebanese[6]	348	244	279	225	200	422	579	624	748
Lithuanian	168	140	87	80	86	34	46	49	54
Luxemburger	124	26	12	12	8	13	21	12	9
Maltese	654	473	422	481	207	364	895	1,191	1,130
Mexican	15	29	21	38	22	18	14	22	38
Negro[7]	634	781	989	1,013	1,020	1,377	2,270	2,470	3,853
Norwegian	1,337	471	354	341	180	208	288	289	346
Polish	2,909	2,996	3,733	3,182	2,753	1,956	1,866	2,399	2,566
Portuguese	4,748	2,177	4,354	5,258	2,976	3,398	4,689	6,090	7,040
Roumanian	206	130	148	174	135	143	153	135	127
Russian	375	196	140	158	109	112	108	132	174
Spanish	1,182	639	531	758	768	739	1,351	1,498	1,792
Swedish	763	282	248	227	111	144	160	213	234
Swiss	1,294	793	612	742	591	584	588	737	1,100
Syrian	76	21	49	19	36	109	80	164	227
Turkish	91	99	82	122	129	130	285	325	521
Ukrainian	494	351	295	298	128	122	164	154	230
Yugoslav[8]	5,725	4,868	2,304	3,517	2,266	1,965	2,383	3,055	3,151
Others	92	65	105	131	116	271	349	608	2,101
From the United States[9]	11,008	10,846	11,338	11,247	11,516	11,643	11,736	12,565	15,143

[5]Includes immigrants from India, Pakistan, and Ceylon.
[6]Included with those of Syrian origin until 1955.
[7]Except from the United States.
[8]Includes those of Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian, and Slovene origin.
[9]Not divided by ethnic origin.

Tab. 1: Ethnic Origin of Immigrants-Canada, 1957-1965

Originally mandated to examine the growing tensions between the English and the French groups, the Commission held hearings in various parts of the country and expanded its view as a

[40] *Ibidem.*

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result of lobbying from those "other ethnic groups" wanting to have their contributions to Canada publicly acknowledged. The sixteen recommendations of the Commission[41] ranged from endorsing basic guarantees of legal equality to enriching all levels of education with the inclusion of the languages and cultures of non-French, non-English Canadians. The commission also recommended that the Canadian Broadcasting Company and the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission remove their restrictions on broadcasts in languages other than French and English. In fact, following the Second World War, debates concerning the necessity and viability of establishing new broadcast services that would cover a larger range of ethnocultural communities took place as the number of immigrants arriving in Canada expanded. However, there were still worries that these new services would make it difficult for recent immigrants to integrate into Canadian culture or that they would even supplant the cultural customs that the majority of English- and French-speaking Canadians adhere to[42].

In a funny but significant anecdote retold by Mark Hayward:

> CHIN-AM, only the second radio station to be licensed with "new Canadians" as its primary audience, moved its transmission towers from their original site at the western edge of Toronto to the northern suburb of Willowdale in the summer of 1967. When it disrupted the local CBC television station during the Stanley Cup playoffs, an article in the Toronto Star later that year noted that "CHIN is still trying to live down the impression its bouncing Greek music and Italian commercials made upon hockey fans then. […] The interruption of the Stanley Cup playoffs serves as a metonym for the public debate taking shape around identity and culture in the nation"[43].

In general, the report encouraged greater historical and social knowledge on the part of all Canadians. The commissioners then agreed that Canadians of whatever background would benefit from exposure to the breadth of cultures living in the country. While the report sought to recognize the contributions by "other ethnic groups", it notwithstanding demonstrated a clear asymmetry in power relations. The government is instructed about what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation based on an «equal partnership between the two founding races»[44], taking into account, just as a sort of addendum, the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the

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[41] *Ibidem.*

[42] HAYWARD, M. *Identity and Industry: Making media multicultural in Canada.* Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019, pp. 106-108.

[43] *Ibidem.*

[44] "Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism", UCAMA memorandums collection 1919-1990, CA BMUFA 0284, file 9. BMUFA, Edmonton, Alberta.

cultural enrichment of Canada. The Commission's recommendations were rightfully considered one of the factors that led to the introduction of the «Canadian Multicultural Policy» announced by Pierre Trudeau on 8 October 1971[45] a commitment to promoting e maintaining a diverse and multicultural society, that it would then be enshrined into law in 1988 with the Canadian Multiculturalism Act[46]. Notwithstanding, this reading is somewhat limited because risks to fall into the trap of historical causality that plague many works on multiculturalism policy that teleologically consider it a necessary consequence of the Royal Commission's work[47]. An attentive reading of the Final Report, in fact, shows that Trudeau's announcement ignored the findings of the Commission, since he rejected the notion of a "bicultural" Canada[48]. For this reason, some scholars had argued that Trudeau was the «first theorist of Canadian multiculturalism»[49] and publicly became known as the «father of multiculturalism». However, as noted by Patricia Wood and Liette Gilbert, the political biography of Trudeau «has but one reference to multiculturalism in more than a thousand pages»[50] and in Trudeau's own "Towards a Just Society"[51] he, despite recognizing the pluralist nature of Canada, does not once mention multiculturalism. As Wood and Gilbert convincingly conclude, it seems that the policy was never more to Trudeau as a necessary appendix to the Official Languages Act, to tone down and weaken Quebec's nationalism and appease the increasing lobby carried out by "other ethnic groups". In doing so, Trudeau did not envision a new public approach to ethnicity, rather, he appropriated pre-existing programs that the Citizenship Branch had developed over two decades, and the language that had been popularized by activists in the multicultural movement[52]. In fact, another relevel factor was indeed the lobby role played by the abovementioned «other ethnic communities», a handful of voluntary organizations and activists from across the country, who were able to get "multiculturalism" on the national agenda in a time in which the rights of French Canadians dominated the national discussion.

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[45] Right Hon. P. E. Trudeau (Prime Minister), *Announcement of Implementation of Policy of Multiculturalism Within Bilingual Framework*, Routine Proceedings, House of Commons, 8 October 1971, LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[46] For a detailed account see: BLANDING, L. *Re-branding Canada: The Origins of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy, 1945-1974.* 2013. PhD Thesis.

[47] For instance, the work of Haque, despite being fundamental for the study of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, neglects other factors, such as the archival material on the civil service's discussions and the governmental debates on cultural plurality in Canada. HAQUE, E. *Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework,* cit.

[48] MCROBERTS, K. *Misconceiving Canada: The Struggle for National Unity.* Toronto: Oxford University Press; 1997.

[49] BLISS, M. *Right Honourable Men: The Descent of Canadian Politics from Macdonald to Chrétien.* Toronto: Harper Collins, 2012; FORBES, H. D. "Trudeau as the First Theorist of Canadian Multiculturalism." In TIERNEY, S. (Ed.) *Multiculturalism and the Canadian Constitution*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007, pp. 27-42.

[50] WOOD, P. K.; GILBERT, L. "Multiculturalism in Canada: Accidental discourse, alternative vision, urban practice". *International journal of urban and regional research*, 2005, 29.3: 679-691, p. 679.

[51] TRUDEAU, P. E. AXWORTHY, T. S. *Towards a Just Society.* Toronto: Penguin, 1990.

[52] BLANDING, L. *Re-branding Canada*, cit.

It would be misleading to narrow this "multiculturalism movement" only to the "third force"[53] of ethnic minority groups. As noted by Brubaker: «We should not uncritically adopt categories of ethnopolitical practice as our categories of social analysis»[54]. So that, even if a number of organizations and individuals insisted that they were part of a "third force" during the 1960s and early 1970s; this does not, however, prove that the "third force" existed. Whereas the "third force" was said to represent the non-French and non-English ethnic minority communities, the "multicultural movement" is a more accurate description of what was a broader social movement that included both members of the "founding peoples" and ethnic minorities, who was also embedded in the societal change of the 1960s and in the growing acceptance of the human rights discourse. In a nutshell, an understanding of Canada as a multicultural nation that does not take into consideration the myriad of factors and contingencies will fail to provide an adequate interpretation of Canada in the 1960s. The global forces and the Cold War impacted on the North American continent in the postwar era, but they need to be problematized and contextualized. First, domestic contingencies were crucial – above all the Liberal party policies, the upsurge of migration from Europe and Asia and the separatist forces of Quebec, the first nations question, and class and gender inequalities. These elements coincided with the necessity of forging a new Canadian identity whose buzzwords were "We are not British; we are not American". Notwithstanding, there was also the influence of a long wave of debates on cultural pluralism which was always recognized as a distinctive feature of Canadian society. The idea of Canada as a "mosaic of cultures", which rose to full prominence in the 1960s, had already been used to describe Canada earlier, and it did not originate in this decade[55]. On 20 February 1895, Joly De Lotbiniere, addressed the Legislative Assembly of Canada proposed the adoption of the rainbow as its emblem because it will: «give an excellent idea of the diversity of races, religions, sentiments and interests of the different parts of the Confederation»[56]. In a similar vest, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, first francophone Prime Minister of Canada from 1868 to 1878, popularized the metaphor of Canada as a "cathedral":

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[53] Usually this is taken to mean that all of the non-English and non-French ethnic minority groups formed at least a third "solitude" in Canadian society and, at most, a unified bloc of ethnic lobbyists. For example, in Francis, Jones and Smith's Journeys textbook, the authors do not even mention the Royal Commission. They refer to the emergence of a "third force"" in the 1960s and intimate that this was the context in which Pierre Trudeau brought about the 1971 multiculturalism policy. In: FRANCIS, D. F., JONES, R. and SMITH, D. B. *Journeys: A History of Canada, 6th edition*, Toronto: Nelson Education, 2010, p. 549.

[54] BRUBAKER, R. "Ethnicity without groups", *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 2002, 43.2, p. 166.

[55] Above all: GIBBON, J. M. *Canadian mosaic: The making of a northern nation.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1938. See also the seven chapter "The Rise of the Mosaic Metaphor," in DAY, R. J. *Multiculturalism, and the history of Canadian diversity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

[56] UCC, *Presentation of Views to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and of the House of Commons on the Canadian Constitution*. Winnipeg, 10 September 1970. UCAMA memorandums collection, CA BMUFA 0284, file 31. BMUFA, Edmonton, Alberta.

The cathedral is the image of the nation I would like to see Canada become. I want the marble to remain the marble; the granite to remain the granite; the oak to remain the oak; and out of all these elements I would build a nation great among the nations of the world [57].

One last element worth mentioning is that these metaphors, which symbolize how the 1971 Multiculturalism policy envisioned the country as "unite in diversity", were also instrumental in defining Canada as not America. In fact, Canada has largely been defined in comparison with, and often in contrast to its neighbour to the south: «Americans do not know but Canadians cannot forget that two nations, not one, came out of the American Revolution. Americans are descended from winners, Canadians, as their writers frequently reiterate, from losers»[58]. The mosaic was thus proudly contrasted with the American melting pot, «a pastel bland of "blah" »[59]. Even if they are both immigration countries, and their societies are made up of diverse elements, the symbolism of the mosaic used at the time also served the purpose to set Canada apart from its powerful neighbor. These sections unfolded the complexity of the debate around Canadian identity and the policy of multiculturalism to avoid simplistic interpretations that focus only on one prevailing factor.

However, for the scope of this thesis, one issue remains open. On 9th October 1971, the day after having announced the policy of multiculturalism in front of the House of Commons, the first trip of Trudeau was in Winnipeg, where he addressed the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. If multiculturalism served the need of contrasting a Canadian civic identity against the backdrop of ethnic nationalism, especially of the francophone community[60], why has the Prime Minister given the Ukrainian community – an ethnic community in itself – such a prominent position in this matter? What part did they play in the multicultural discussion? And perhaps most importantly, how does

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[57] I was not able to retrace the original source of the Laurier's speech. Quoted from: *Notes for the Remarks by the Prime Minister to the Ukrainian-Canadian Congress*, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 9 October 1971, UCC fonds, MG 31 D 58 Vol. 8, file 27, page 8. . LAC Ottawa, Ontario. Same quote can be found in YUZUK, P. *The Emerging new Force in the Emerging New Canada, at the Thinkers' Conference on Cultural Rights,* Dec. 13, 14, 15 1968. MG 31 D 58 Vol. 9, file 12 (1), p.7 LAC Ottawa, Ontario, and OSTASHEWSKY, R. J. *Multiculturalism and historical agencies,* 33rd Annual Meeting of the American Association for state and local history, Edmonton 1973, UCAMA memorandums collection, CA BMUFA 0284, file 13. BMUFA, Edmonton, Alberta. Moreover, the same quote is also cited on the website of the Government of Canada: *Discover Canada. Memorable Quotes.* https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/publications-manuals/discover-canada/read-online/memorable-quotes.html. Last access: 18 June 2023.

[58] LIPSET, S. M. *Continental divide: The values and institutions of the United States and Canada*. New York and London: Routledge, 1990, p.1.

[59] OSTASHEWSKY, R. J. *Multiculturalism and historical agencies,* cit., p. 3.

[60] WINTER, E. "Neither 'America' nor 'Québec': constructing the Canadian multicultural nation". *Nations and Nationalism*, 2007, 13: 481-503

their involvement with this matter affect how the community remembers it? According to recent arguments made by academics like Michael Temelini, Julia Lalande, Richard Menkis, Harold Troper, and Lee Blanding[61], Ukrainian Canadians were the multicultural movement's primary power. John Munroe, the Minister responsible for Multiculturalism in the early 1970s, stated that the Ukrainian Canadian Community, through the leadership of the UCC, established itself as one of the most vibrant and cohesive social, cultural, and political groups within Canada. They had been a constructive voice in the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and in the development and implementation of the Federal Government's Multiculturalism Policy[62]. Indeed, Ukrainians submitted the largest number of briefs to the Commission, discussed the topic widely in their newspapers, and are generally hailed as the most vigorous proponents of the policy[63]. As recalled by Roman Petryshyn:

> From the 60s we finally left the basements of churches and community halls. […] In the 70s we were working very hard to survive – we were in the business of resistance; we felt we were fighting the good fight, but that Soviet Union will always be there in the end. Our aim was to support the disappearing community in Canada[64].

Leaders, their lobbying efforts, and their motivations have all been already examined in the literature. However, these analysis fails to adequately highlight how not only the Ukrainian community contributed to the forging of a "multicultural nation" – in other words actively participating in Canadian nation-building, but how they also remember this pivotal role, which seems to be a building block of the Ukrainian Canadian collective identity[65].

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[61] LALANDE, J., "The Roots of Multiculturalism - Ukrainian-Canadian Involvement in the Multiculturalism Discussion of the 1960s as an Example of the Position of the Third Force", *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 2006, 38.1: 47-62; TEMELINI, M. "Multicultural Rights, Multicultural Virtues: A History of Multiculturalism", in TIERNEY, S. (Ed.) *Multiculturalism and the Canadian Constitution*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007, pp. 43-60; LALANDE, J. "The 1960s in Canada: An Era of Lobbying, Ukrainian Canadians and the Issue of Bilingualism," in MARTEL, M. PAQUET, M. (Ed.) *Légiférer en matière linguistique*, Quebec City: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2008, pp. 59-73; TROPER, H. *The Defining Decade: Identity, Politics, and the Canadian Jewish Community in the 1960s*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010, pp. 68-76; MENKIS, R. "Jewish Communal Identity at the Crossroads: Early Jewish Responses to Canadian Multiculturalism, 1963-1965", *Studies in Religion/ Sciences Religieuses* 2011, 40.3, pp. 283-292; BLANDING, L. *Re-branding Canada*, cit.

[62] LALANDE, J., "The Roots of Multiculturalism, cit., p. 54.

[63] Ivi, p. 47-62.

[64] Roman Petryshyn. Interview by me, 12th September 2022, Edmonton.

[65] I draw this conclusion taking into consideration the UCC perspective, because it was the organization where the third wave took part in the 1960s. It might be interesting to analyze sources of the AUUC to understand their perspective on the issue.

3.1.2. «That day in October at the Fort Garry Hotel»[66]

Prime Minister Trudeau during speech and later meeting Ukrainians at conference.

Fig. 7: Pierre Elliott Trudeau addressing the UCC in Winnipeg, 9th October 1971[67].

While in Ottawa, I had the opportunity to interview Vicki Karpiak, daughter of Paul Yuzuk, one of the leaders of the multicultural movement. She proudly gifted me with a commemorative book titled "Senator Paul Yuzuk (1913-1986). Father of multiculturalism»", that she had compiled for Canada's 150th Anniversary in 2017.

> My father was a nation builder in changing the face of Canada. The common Canadian would
> link multiculturalism with Trudeau, who was mourned as the father of multiculturalism. But
> it was my dad in a speech in 1963 who firstly envisioned Canada as a multicultural nation. I
> don't like that Trudeau took credit for it[68].

Indeed, Paul Yuzyk, Candian-born, was a professor of Slavic Studies and History at the University of Manitoba from 1951 until 1963 and a professor of Soviet and Eastern European studies at the University of Ottawa from 1963 to 1978. He was appointed to the Canadian Senate as a Progressive Conservative in 1963 and took a particular interest in the issue of multiculturalism, as the maiden speech "Canada: a multicultural nation" mentioned by Karpiak indicated. In this speech he highlighted how that «Biculturalism is a misnomer. Canada was never bicultural»[69] and, most importantly, underlined the contribution that Ukrainians made to Canada since 1891: «Mostly of peasant origin, they took up homesteads and farms throughout the prairies, thus establishing

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[66] Oksana Rozumna. Interview by me, 5th July 2022, Winnipeg.

[67] In: *The Winnipeg Tribune*, 10-11 October 1971, p. 1.

[68] Vicki Karpiak. Interview by me, 3rd May 2022, Ottawa.

[69] *Senator Paul Yuzuk (1913-1986). Father of multiculturalism,* Ottawa, 2017, p. 9.

civilization in large areas, many of which bear witness in over 130 Ukrainian place names»[70]. For this very first source, the "Ukrainian Canadian" narrative is rooted in the abovementioned discourse of the "builders of Western Canada", which serves as a myth for the community in being one of the "founding races" of the prairies[71]. The early settlement experience was used as an argument to support claims for recognition, participation, and equality. At the time of the interview with Vicki, I wasn't fully able to grasp the reason behind her bitterness in respect to Trudeau, especially her reference to his «instrumental announcement in Winnipeg»[72]. If it is understandable given her family history, the sources demonstrate that this sentiment was widespread in the whole community even at that time. The Winnipeg Tribune's article on 10-11 October 1971 noted with surprise that there were no incidents which were instead «predicted» in front of the Fort Garry Hotel, the venue where Trudeau addressed the UCC[73].

Fig. 8: Senator Paul Yuzyk and his wife, Mary, speaking with Prime Minister P.E. Trudeau[74]

To understand the dissatisfaction of the Ukrainian community in respect of the Prime Minister, one should consider his positioning in the Cold War and especially the policy of "diversification of foreign relations". Trudeau had long been vocal about his desire to pursue a foreign policy that was less dependent on the United States and more tolerant of countries with Communist governments. His efforts to forge greater ties with Cuba, China[75], and the Soviet Union were met with dismay by

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[70] *Ivi*, p. 8.

[71] FRIESEN, G. *The Canadian prairies: A history*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987; LEHR, J. C. "Peopling the prairies with Ukrainians" in LUCIUK et al. (Ed.) *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity*, cit., pp. 30-52.

[72] Vicki Karpiak. Interview by me, 3rd May 2022, Ottawa.

[73] *The Winnipeg Tribune*, 10-11 October 1971, p. 2.

[74] Courtesy of Vicki Karpiak

[75] During Trudeau's years Canada recognized the People's Republic of China (1970) and established diplomatic relations with Cuba (1976).

Ukrainians, whose leadership was firmly anti-Communist, except for the Labour Temple groups. In May 1971, Trudeau flew to the Soviet Union and at a large official banquet in Kyiv, he told the Ukrainians that many of their countrymen lived in Canada and, though they were thousands of miles from Ukraine, they live in a political structure which is in essence the same as that in the Soviet Union[76]. This speech and the comparison between the Canadian democratic and federal form of government and the totalitarian system of the Soviet Union was received by the Ukrainian Canadians with great indignation[77]. The same feeling was underlined by the Ukrainian Weekly: «The PM last June had aroused the ire of the Ukrainian Canadian community by his comparison of Ukrainian dissidents [in the USSR] to the Front de libération du Québec terrorists»[78]. In the light of these events, it may be better understood the feeling of Vicki and the Ukrainian community at large. However, as recalled by Oksana Rozumna, everyone seemed enthusiast of Trudeau's speech[79]:

> That day of October at the Fort Garry Hotel he knew that he was walking into the most vocal anti-Soviet group in the whole country. Of course, he had to say something against the USSR[80]. But, you know, nothing was more important at that time. We did it. Canada was multicultural. Oh we [my husband and I] were so proud[81].

Oksana's husband, Jaroslav Rozumnyj, a former DP who came to Canada in 1951, was professor in the Department Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba for more than thirty years and lively engaged in the multicultural debate. As she recalls, in fact, Winnipeg and the University of Manitoba was the beating heart of the Ukrainian community at the time: «There was my husband, but also Jaroslav Rudnyckyi, they were friends»[82]. Jaroslav Rudnyckyi, also professor at the department of Slavic Studies at the University of Manitoba, was a prominent figure since he was the only Ukrainian member of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism who strongly supported the recognition of a multicultural Canada. When looking into the backgrounds of these delegates, an intriguing thread emerges, that is youthful members, particularly those working in academia, are part of the third wave of Ukrainian immigration. They were undoubtedly a minority in the multicultural movement, however the literature on the topic has overlooked the prominent role they had[83], as in the

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[76] For a detailed overview of Trudeau's visit to the Soviet Union and the Canadian foreign policy, see FARR, D. "Prime Minister Trudeau's Opening to the Soviet Union, 1971", BLACK, J. L., HILLMER, N. (Ed.). *Nearly Neighbours. Canada and Soviet Union: From Cold War to Détente and Beyond.* Kingston: Ronald P. Frye, 1989, pp. 102-118.

[77] Letter from Kushnir to Trudeau, 7 June 1971, LAC Ottawa, MG 28 V 103 Vol. 23, File: 57.

[78] *Ukrainian Weekly,* 16 October 1971,78, n.172, p. 1.

[79] The full speech is in: *Ukrainian Weekly,* 16 October 1971,78, n.172, p.2.

[80] Reference to Trudeau's promise to intercede for political prisoners in Soviet Ukraine. Ivi, p.1.

[81] Oksana Rozumna. Interview by me, 5th July 2022, Winnipeg.

[82] *Ibidem*.

[83] LALANDE, J., "The Roots of Multiculturalism…", cit.

case of Rudnyckyi, a former DP too, who was representing the whole Ukrainian community in the Commission. He was especially interested in the preservation of the Ukrainian language and culture, as noted by his research on language rights and linguicide[84] and in his view multiculturalism was seen as instrumental to reach this aim[85]. On a preliminary glance, this is noteworthy because may be a sign of the integration of the third wave in the wider community, as also indicated by the fact that the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation was present during Trudeau's speech and has been considered «one of the founding organizations of the UCC»[86]. Embracing the multiculturalism debate, they incorporated the DP experience into a wider "Ukrainian Canadian" one, with symbols that went beyond their individual memory, as in the case of the pioneer's myth. Moreover, if multiculturalism promotes a weak "Canadian" nationalism, it reinforces the idea of "ethnic purity" within "ethnonational communities".

> In response to multicultural Canadian society's demand for crisp, well-packages, snazzy, and eye-catchy ethnic culture, and in order to establish a place for themselves within the national mosaic, established and third-wave Ukrainian Canadians together turned their heritage in a commodity […] They unite by common symbols and expressions of their ethnicity – began to take public pride in their cultural heritage[87].

With a memoir authored by Manoly R. Lupul[88], the Ukrainian Canadian community's collective memory of creating a multicultural Canada found its highest expression in 2005. Lupul highlighted that the aim of multiculturalism was the recognition of not immigrants but established ethnic minorities and the integration of their languages and histories in a variety of public institutions. According to him, it was «the dignification of ethnicity»[89] and «the term for the transmission of the traditional Ukrainian-Canadian agenda: the preservation and development of Ukrainian culture through as much as language retention as possible»[90]. At first, many Ukrainians were content with

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[84] RUDNYCKYJ, J. B, *Language rights and Linguicide*. Munich: Ukrainisches Technisch-Wirtschaftliches Institut, 1967; RUDNYCKYJ, J. B. *Linguicide*. Munich: Ukrainisches Technisch-Wirtschaftliches Institut, 1976.

[85] RUDNYCKYJ, J. B. "Unilingualism versus bi-and multilingualism in Manitoba". *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 1972, 4.1: 49; PRYMAK, T. M. "The Royal Commission and Rudnyckyj's Mission: The Forging of Official Multiculturalism in Canada, 1963–71". *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 2019, 88.1: 43-63.

[86] *Ukrainian Weekly,* 16 October 1971,78, n.172, p. 1.

[87] GREKUL, L. *Leaving Shadows: Literature in English by Canada's Ukrainians*. Edmonton: University of Alberta, 2005, p. 54.

[88] LUPUL, M. R. *The politics of multiculturalism: A Ukrainian-Canadian memoir*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2005.

[89] Ivi, in the Prefatory note.

[90] Ivi, p. 57.

the multiculturalism policy not only because the organizations now had the possibility of acquiring funds from outside their own community[91], but also because it represented the

> Awakening interest in their heritage on the part of those who grew up in homes or communities that were in the periphery of cultural-oriented activities. All of a sudden is "in" to be an ethnic […] Multiculturalism may have been designed as a sweetener to help bilingualism go down, but it may well end up as the entire cake with bilingualism serving as a filler between the many different layers[92].

This quotation comes from a very intriguing response in defense of multiculturalism that Roma Franko, a scholar specialized in Slavic Studies and Ukrainian literature, gave to Myrna Kostash, a Canadian writer and journalist with Ukrainian roots, who in the 1970s was skeptical about the Ukrainian community in Canada and the politics of multiculturalism. It is especially in the closing remarks of Franko's contribution that emerges the deepest hope that drove many in the community at the time:

> Welcome home, Myrna. At the moment you may well be a "second-generation Ukrainian-Canadian, socialized Anglo-American, English-French bilingualist", but with any luck at all, you will soon be trilingual and the hyphenated Anglo-American part of you will be replaced by a new sense of what it means to be Canadian[93].

Lupul too stated in retrospection that he was excited about the release of the policy,[94] however, in his memoir, he took a more cautionary stand, a sign that in 2005, the multicultural ethos has been already waning[95]. This conclusion somehow reflects the discourse surrounding the failure of multiculturalism that soared in the new millennium after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. According to some, in fact, multiculturalism created segregated communities, encouraged terrorism, and failed to foster shared national identities[96]. In the interview with Roman Waschuk, the diplomat noted a widely held view that the understanding of multiculturalism has evolved in a way that seems to overlook the

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[91] See for example the meeting summoned by the Ukrainian Canadian Professional Businessmen's Federation: "(Multiculturalism), Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Businessmen's Federation; Afternoon Session, 9 October 1971", MG 31 E 55 Vol. 10, File: 2. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[92] FRANKO R. "In response *to Myrna* Kostash's "Baba Was a Bohunk and So Am I — a Stranger", *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 1977, 2.1: 84-88, p. 88.

[93] *Ibidem.*

[94] LUPUL, M. R. "The Federal Government, Multiculturalism, and Education in Canada ", MG 31 D 58 Vol. 8, File: 17, page 1f. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[95] LUPUL, M. R. *The politics of multiculturalism,* cit., p. 168.

[96] RUBIN, D., VERHEUL, J. (Eds.). *American Multiculturalism after 9/11: Transatlantic Perspectives*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009.

ethnic communities that once helped establish it. Waschuk suggested that while multiculturalism aims to recognize diversity, some feel the original communities building multicultural spaces have been left out of the discussion in recent times:

> Obviously, multiculturalism as a policy has kind of escaped that definition and now it's more a kind of social equality and race relations policy where the initial ethnic groups are kind of forgotten. That's why now there's a sort of regret in part of the Ukrainian community about that. They feel that multiculturalism left them behind[97].

The risks and perils of the politics of multiculturalism have been highlighted also in the Canadian context. Notwithstanding, I would not go that far in stating that it failed. As beautifully put by the Canadian novelist of Ukrainian heritage Janice Kulyk Keefer in the same year of Lupul's memoir:

> It is because Canada is a multicultural nation, and because so many New Canadians bring along, in the baggage they packed in the old world, an assortment of prejudices and hatreds, ingrown suspicions of the "other" and narrow loyalties to "their own" that I believe ethnicity must be understood and explored in its historical formation, as well as experienced through a "caravan" of sumptuous colours and textures. This is a belief fostered by my experience as a Ukrainian-Canadian living in a predominantly Polish neighborhood of Toronto, and whose friendships over the years have turned out to embrace as many Jewish as Ukrainian – Canadians. It has involved me in painful difficult situations, and brought me a weight of knowledge, not only of profoundly distressing events and beliefs, but also of underlying systems and structures. […It was] a process of learning and unlearning[98].

As in any historiographic reconstruction, one should work with shades of meaning: the politics of multiculturalism was not only a Ukrainian-Canadian history, nor it would be possible to tell this story without mentioning their lobby activities. Indeed, the multicultural discourse had a significant influence on how Ukrainians' cultural production in Canada was later developed, and, more importantly, on the ways in which this community's peculiar "multiple belongings" have been localized and creatively performed, because as members of the host culture, state policies play an important role in facilitating the making of new homes. One last relevant source which I consider fundamental is a leaflet issued by the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine. In this

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[97] Roman Waschuk is a retired foreign officer. He served as Canadian ambassador to Ukraine (2014 – 2019), and beforehand he also worked in Moscow, Ottawa, Berlin, and Belgrade. I was granted the opportunity to interview him after having made contact with his mother, Marta Waschuk, who experienced displacement in the DP camp as a child. Roman Waschuk. Interview by me, 22nd December 2022, Toronto.
[98] KULYK KEEFER, J. *Dark ghost in the corner. Imagining Ukrainian Canadian-identity,* Saskatoon: Prairie Centre for the Study of Ukrainian Heritage, 2005, p.20.

manifesto, the League summon Canadians to condemn the Soviet crimes, but it is the vocabulary that it worth highlighting, in which emerge the new narrative of Canada as a peaceful and human-right defender country, but also an underlying Canadian nationalism:

> [We] Summon you to condemn all these *anti-Canadian*, *anti-human*, and anti-democratic actions which you have just acknowledged; to preserve your national and spiritual values, and your democratic way of life against the intensive onslaught of the hammer and the sickle! To act on behalf of a *stronger Canada* by supporting the struggle for freedom, independence, and peace with justice, of the enslaved millions behind the Iron and Bamboo curtains[99].

The following discussion provides an internal focus on the development of the Ukrainian immigrant community in Canada. However, it is important to note that this was part of broader trends seen in the establishment of ethnic communities during this period. As the nation increasingly adopted a multicultural identity, many immigrant groups sought to preserve their cultural traditions and languages through the formation of strong cultural organizations and institutions. The Ukrainian experience should be viewed within the context of these larger societal shifts.

3.2. Spaces and Practices of Belonging

An emotional commitment to a country or place of origin, whether it be real or imagined, is evoked by the idea of belonging. However, "home" is not always associated with an existing building. Diasporic communities employ a variety of strategies to remodel their homes, and their sense of belonging is always evolving because of ongoing interactions with the host society[100]. This section is devoted to the nexus interplaying among memory, identity, and landscape. Collective identities, in fact, are linked not only with collective tradition but also to the shared material forms in which those traditions are conceived and performed:

> When we think about social or cultural identity, we inevitably tend to place it, put it in a setting, imagine it in a place. Ideas and feelings about identity are located in the specificities of places and landscapes in what they actually look like or perhaps more typically how they ought to appear[101].

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[99] Emphases are mine. *ABN Correspondence,* September-October 1969, 20.5: p. 20.
[100] BRAH, A. *Categories of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*. Abingdon: Routledge, 1996.
[101] TILLEY, C. "Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage". *Journal of Material Culture,* 2006, 11.1-2: 7-32, p. 14.

To move forward this nexus, scholars as Marianne Hirsch stressed how memories are «anchored» in the landscape[102]. Memories, specifically the most controversial, becomes objectified in the so-called sites of memory[103], which comprehend material elements as monuments, memorials, museums and performances linked to them. The sites of memory can be thus defined as the institutionalized forms of collective memories about the past; places in which a community deposits the memories that its members believe to be a fundamental part of their identity. The category of "site of memory" should be considered in its multidimensional nature, which is together material, performative, symbolic, functional but also relational. To be clear in fact, there is no inherent identity to places: everyday practices of living and formalized rituals and commemorations impart meaning to place and develop identities with places. Monuments, streets, neighborhoods, buildings, churches, and parks are all material things, but they also evoke specific kinds of meanings based on the specific kinds of activities that are performed. There is an ongoing reciprocal relationship between people and the places they inhabit: «People produce places, and yet they derive identities from them»[104].

Given the peculiarities of the Canadian context in general and specifically in the 1960s, the landscape of the country underwent a process of "reimagination" through strategies that have attempted to integrate different communities separated by geography, history, ethnicity, and class, that is to incorporate peripheral domains into a «semblance of common central purpose»[105]. For the scope of this thesis, I will limit the analysis on the so-called ethnic communities, or the "multicultural tiles of the national mosaic", and specifically on Ukrainians. Scholars, following the *transcultural turn* in the field of memory studies, have tackled this issue focusing on monuments and memorials in the context of migrations, displacement, and diaspora[106]. In the field, Canada is considered «a curious case-study»[107] because due to its entangled history of settler colonialism and recent migration, it does not fit the traditional models of collective memory that imply a fixed relationship between what is remembered and the mnemonic community, or better communities, doing the remembering. Ann Rigney, one of the leading figures of the field of memory studies, argues that:

[102] HIRSCH, M. "The generation of postmemory". *Poetics today*, 2008, 29.1: 103-128, p. 120.
[103] SULLAM, S. L. "Dai lieux de mémoire ai luoghi della memoria: prime note sulla genealogia di una categoria storiografica". *Il mestiere di storico: rivista della Società italiana per lo studio della storia contemporanea*, 2018, X.1, 43-52; NORA, P, et al. "From lieux de mémoire to realms of memory". *Realms of memory: Rethinking the French past*, 1996, 1: 15-24; ASSMANN, J. and CZAPLICKA, J. "Collective memory and cultural identity". *New german critique*, 1995, 65: 125-133.
[104] OSBORNE, B. S., et al. "Landscapes, memory, monuments, and commemoration: Putting identity in its place". *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 2001, 33.3: 39-77, pp. 4-5.
[105] *Ibidem.*
[106] On the topic see the fundamental: MARSCHALL, S. (Ed.). *Public Memory in the Context of Transnational Migration and Displacement: Migrants and Monuments*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.
[107] RIGNEY, A. "Epilogue: citizenship, memory, and the curious case of Canada", *Citizenship Studies*, 2018, 22:4: 452-457.

> Canada may actually provide the best model for understanding developments else-where –
> to begin with, in Europe, where nation-states are currently struggling with the double
> challenge of becoming "European" and of integrating non-European migrants who are
> perceived as a threat to local traditions[108].

It is not surprising that studies tackling the memory culture of each community have recently mushroomed[109]. The theoretical and methodological frameworks of these analyses offer the unavoidable toolbox for any research. However, the focus on each ethnic community risks to underestimate the impact that these processes have on the larger stage, exacerbating the argument that each community is a «solitude» in the wider Canadian landscape. And indeed, I am aware that focusing solely on a single ethnic community risk creating a biased perspective, as it only examines one piece of the larger societal mosaic. However, the analysis on the Ukrainian community aims at locating the issue: it is true that multiculturalism intensifies "ethnonational memory"? I partially agree with the perspective of historian Rudling, who asserts that the failure to deconstruct the "ethnic" building blocks of Canadian multiculturalism and the acceptance of the primordial claims and nationalist myths of "ethnic" groups has given Canadian multiculturalism the character of multi-nationalism. According to the historian's analysis: «The institutional framework of official multiculturalism has facilitated and entrenched radical ethnonationalist discourses»[110]. However, the "nationalism from afar" of the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada was not simply - or more accurately not for everyone - an imaginative exercise of nationalism aimed at an actual radical political project, but it was grounded in a broader necessity: gaining legitimacy and recognition from mainstream society, that is being perceived as "Canadian". Avoiding both idealization and demonization, Ukrainians in Canada submitted themselves to an agenda that would shape first and foremost the future of Canada.

By 1961, the number of people self-identifying as Ukrainians had almost reached the half million mark[111]. The largest Ukrainian populations could be found in Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Toronto, with Toronto being particularly dynamic and fast developing among the three, but there was also a sizable Ukrainian presence in other urban areas like Saskatoon, Vancouver, Hamilton, Windsor,

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[108] *Ivi,* p. 454.
[109] MARSCHALL, S. (Ed). *Public Memory in the Context of Transnational Migration,* cit.*;* DEMARIA HARNEY, N. (2006). "The Politics of Urban Space: Modes of Place-making by Italians in Toronto's Neighborhoods". *Modern Italy, 11*(1), 25-42. doi:10.1080/13532940500489544; MARK-FITZGERALD, E. *Commemorating the Irish Famine: Memory and the Monument*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
[110] RUDLING, P.A. "Multiculturalism, memory, and ritualization: Ukrainian nationalist monuments in Edmonton, Alberta", *Nationalities Papers*, 2018, 39:5, 733-768.
[111] 1961 Census, in: DARCOVICH, W. *A statistical compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980.

and Thunder Bay. This rural-urban movement that had begun during the postwar period continued during the 1960s when Canada witnessed increased industrialization and urban employment opportunities. Many industries expanded or relocated to urban areas, leading to a rise in urban job opportunities. This, in turn, attracted people from rural regions seeking better economic prospects. The 1960s also saw a surge in suburbanization, with many families moving out of the central cities and into the suburbs. This trend was influenced by factors such as improved transportation infrastructure, the desire for homeownership, and the availability of more spacious properties outside the city centers[112]. The process of urbanization shall be underlined because if in the earlier decades Ukrainian landmarks have been found in the rural landscape of the prairies[113], from the Sixties onwards, Ukrainian sites of memory developed within urban environments. The following section will specifically address the impact that Ukrainian Canadians had primarily on the urban landscape of Toronto, Winnipeg, and Edmonton, which were chosen among others because they were the center of Ukrainian cultural life during the Cold War, as the national headquarters of the major associations were in those cities. They are situated in different Canadian provinces, respectively Ontario, Manitoba, and Alberta, so that local dynamics cannot be underestimated in the analysis. Even if contextualizing provincial and municipal specificities, they provide an interesting prism through which to examine general dynamics concerning the appropriation of public space within the Ukrainian community in Canada. Firstly, it is analyzed the question of materiality of the *mnemoscape* of the community, through the selection of relevant case studies concerning the construction of monuments and memorials. Then, the chapter moves forward focusing on performances of belonging in the urban space through celebrations, commemorations, and rituals.

3.2.1. The urban landscape

On July 16, 1951, an article appeared in Ukrainian Weekly magazine warning Canadians about the «Moscow's Trojan Horse in Canada»[114]. This provocative title referred to the statue dedicated to the poet Taras Shevchenko[115] erected in the city of Palermo[116], not far from Toronto, Ontario, to commemorate the poet's death and the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian community in Canada. The monument, built and transported from the USSR, was erected on land

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[112] ROBINSON, G. M. (Ed.). *A Social Geography of Canada*. Hamilton: Dundurn, 2013, pp. 271-275.

[113] ROTOFF, B; YERENIUK, R; HRYNIUK, S. *Monuments to Faith: Ukrainian Churches in Manitoba*. Winnipeg: Univ. of Manitoba Press, 1990.

[114] *Ukrainian Weekly,* 16 July 1951,19, n.29, p. 2.

[115] For deepening the knowledge about Taras Shevchenko as a national symbol of Ukraine see: GRABOWICZ, G. "Taras Ševčenko: The Making of the National Poet*", Revue Des études Slaves*, 2018, 85.3:421–39.

[116] Of the original monument only the head has survived. It is preserved at the Shevchenko Museum in Toronto.

owned by the AUUC[117]. Such a symbol on Canadian soil constituted a noteworthy event. Significantly, the inaugural ceremony was scheduled for July 1, on Canada Day, to appear in the eyes of the public as a recognition of the presence of the Ukrainian community in Canada. However, the event was not greeted with the same enthusiasm by the UCC-affiliated anticommunist organizations. According to the Toronto correspondent[118], the Shevchenko affaire represented an example of Soviet tactics, carried out with the support of the AUUC and with the unwitting approval of the Anglo-Saxons. The latter would have been, in fact, easy prey for communist propaganda since they did not know the internal dynamics of the community thoroughly. The article concludes with a radical contrast in the diaspora between the Ukrainians «loyal citizens of Canada and good Ukrainian democrats» and the pro-Soviet opponents described as «communists loyal only to the Kremlin»[119]. This event is a snapshot of how the dynamics within the Ukrainian community were mirroring the Cold War hostilities but also on how the dispute tackled two intertwining elements: who was the «real Ukrainian» and who the most «loyal citizen of Canada». Against this background, ten years later, among the many planned celebrations for Shevchenko's centenary, was the unveiling of a statue dedicated to the poet, the second on Canadian soil, erected this time at the initiative of the UCC, in Winnipeg, Manitoba. The ceremony was attended by the prime minister, John Diefenbaker, political authorities representing the province of Manitoba and the city of Winnipeg, and religious authorities, including the archbishop of the Catholic Church of Winnipeg, Maxim Hfermahiuk, and the Reverend Ilarion Ohienko, metropolitan of the Greek Orthodox Church in Canada[120]. In the local paper *Manitoba Pageant*, Paul Yuzuk celebrated the fact that «Canadians are becoming increasingly conscious of the contributions ethnic groups are making to the development of Canada»[121] and he concluded**:** «So today, in front of the Legislative Building of Manitoba, stands a new monument of a new friend on the Canadian scene, Taras Shevchenko, a symbol of the lasting contribution of the Ukrainians to the many-sided development of Canada»[122]. Anticipating or perhaps opening the debate on ethnic communities and multiculturalism in Canada, the statute of Shevchenko in Winnipeg is one the first symbols of the Ukrainian experience in Canada on public soil which has been openly backed by the Canadian government. Therefore, it is certainly not ancillary that the sitting statute of Shevchenko, one of his kind, towers in front of the province's legislative building.

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[117] KOLASKY, J. *The Shattered Illusion: The History of Ukrainian pro-Communist Organizations in Canada,* Toronto: PMA Books, 1979, p. 29.
[118] *Ukrainian Weekly,* 16 July 1951,19, n.29, p. 2.
[119] *Ibidem*.
[120] UCC, "Souvenir Book July 8-9, 1961". Winnipeg, KUK fonds, Shevchenko statute. Oseredok, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
[121] YUZUK, P. "A new monument on the legislative building ground"*, Manitoba Pageant*, September 1961 7.1.
[122] *Ibidem.*

Fig. 9: The sculptor Andrew Daragan[123], ponders Shevchenko portrait, New York.

Taras Shevchenko is the most notable symbol of Ukrainianness, having been recognized by both "souls" of the Ukrainian community, albeit in different ways. In this regard, the two monuments are significant in that «they unite but also divide and can reveal invisible rifts, beyond the known alignments, or on the contrary, intersections between groups that seemingly stand on distant positions»[124]. It is not by chance that his image is the most present on Canadian soil. Although the list may not be exhaustive, beyond the two abovementioned monuments, there is another statute in Winnipeg, sculpted by Leo Mol[125] and other more recent built monuments honoring the poet in Timminis (Ontario), Quebec City and in the capital Ottawa. In addition to Shevchenko, another poet who has been commemorated in the cityscape is Lesya Ukrainka, one of the leading writers of Ukrainian literature. The two monuments honoring this important national symbol are somewhat parallel to her male counterpart, but they are inscribed more than around multiculturalism, in the debate concerning the Ukrainian Soviet dissent of the 1970s, which is the focus on a later section of the thesis[126]. In 1975, the UCC Women's Council commissioned sculptor Mykhailo Chereshniovsky to create a bronze and black granite monument of the poetess, to be placed in Toronto's High Park[127].

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[123] Andrew Daragan was the winning sculptor of the contest for the Shevchenko monument project in Winnipeg. Photograph Courtesy of Koval.

[124] My translation. BRICE, C. "Perché studiare (ancora) la monumentalità pubblica?", in TESORO, M. (a cura di), *La memoria in piazza. Monumenti risorgimentali nelle città. lombarde tra identità locale e nazionale*, Milano: Effige, 2012, p. 12.

[125] Leo Mol was a stained-glass artist, painter, and sculpture. Displaced after WW II, in 1945, he moved to The Hague, and in December 1948, he and his wife, Margareth (whom he married in 1943), emigrated to Winnipeg, Manitoba. Information about his biography and career are collected in the UoM archives and special collection, *Leo Mol fonds.* CA UMASC MSS 349 (A2011-015).

[126] Section 3.4.; BILOCERKOWYCZ, J. *Soviet Ukrainian dissent: A study of political alienation.* Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2019; BERTELSEN, O. "Ukrainian and Jewish Émigrés as Targets of KGB Active Measures in the 1970s". *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence*, 2021, 34.2: 267-292; MOROZ, V. Ukrainian political prisoner in the Soviet Union, Toronto: Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine, 1979.

[127] WARKENTIN, J. *Creating memory: A guide to outdoor public sculpture in Toronto*. Becker Associates, 2010, pp. 8-9 and p. 290.

The following year, the Association for Cultural Relations of the USSR gifted the University of Saskatchewan with a monument in honor of Lesya Ukrainka. The statue was at the time seen by some merely as Soviet propaganda designed to rehabilitate their international reputation tarnished, in part, by injustices perpetrated against the people of Ukraine. There was public outcry followed by protests at the unveiling of Lesya Ukrainka's statue in 1976 and the gift was initially declined by both the Province of Saskatchewan and the City of Saskatoon[128], before being accepted by the University of Saskatchewan[129]. In his letter to the UCC, Dr. Begg, president of the University, explained his decision by saying that he considers this an opportunity to honor a great Ukrainian poetess. The UCC local branch, then replied that the statue would be a «compliment to the Saskatchewanians of Ukrainian heritage [however] the statue as a gift from the Soviet Union becomes a cynical mockery of Soviet reality disguised in the tokenistic gesture of a cultural gift»[130]. In the sphere of culture and folklore, I would mention also the massive project of realizing the biggest *pysanka*[131] in the world, in Vegreville, Alberta, in the context of the centennial celebrations of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The committee distributed funds to several Alberta municipalities including Vegreville. With these funds, the local Chamber of Commerce decided to build the enormous Easter Egg representing Vegreville's Ukrainian culture[132] and the security that the RCMP offered the area's pioneers and their descendants[133].

The urban landscapes of Canada do not visualize only prominent cultural figures or folkloristic symbols of Ukraine, but also more divisive and politicized symbols. Two examples for all are the bust of Roman Shukhevych in the Ukrainian Youth Unity Complex of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine in Edmonton erected in 1973 and the Monument to the Glory of the UPA, which displays the emblem of 14th Waffen Grenadier Division of the SS (1st Galician) in the St. Volodymyr Ukrainian Cemetery, Oakville, Ontario, built in 1988. These memorials are the most controversial symbols not only for the Ukrainian community in Canada, but I would say for Ukrainian nationalism at large. The statues, in fact, materialized the wider debate on Ukrainian collaborationism with the

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[128] *Ukrainian Weekly*, 26 September 1976, 83.182, p.4.

[129] History of the Lesya Ukrainka Monument on the University of Saskatchewan website: https://library.usask.ca/uasc/exhibitions/2013/Lesya-Ukrainka.php. Last access: 18 June 2023. In 2012 the UCC and the Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Club endorsed the project to "appropriate" and move the monument. Donations came from Buyniak, and the Winnipeg based Shevchenko Foundation. Lesya now rests in what is to be called the Lesya Ukrainka Garden by the main entrance of Murray Library facing the Arts Tower.

[130] *Ukrainian Weekly*, 26 September 1976, 83.182, p.4.

[131] Decorated Easter Eggs, typical of Ukrainian folklore.

[132] From 1940 to 1949, Vegreville was represented in the House of Commons by Anthony Hlynka, a Ukrainian migrated to Canada in 1910: HLYNKA, A. *The Honorable Member for Vegreville: The Memoirs and Diary of Anthony Hlynka, MP, 1940-49*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005.

[133] LESIV, M. *Pysanka: The Ukrainian Easter Egg in Canada*. Thesis, University of Alberta, 2005.

Nazi regime that I have analyzed in the first chapter, the radical nationalism of the thirties that was kept alive by the ABN during the Cold War, but also the later memorialization of those personalities not as Nazi collaborationists but as anti-Soviet national heroes. These elements intertwined and overlapped in a deep incoherent way. The abovementioned arguments of the historian Rudling, according to whom Canadian multiculturalism entrenched radical ethnonationalist discourses, was based on those monuments[134]. In fact, in 1985, the Progressive Conservative government of Brian Mulroney established the Deschênes Commission, in response to a mounting public outcry over exposures of Nazis and Nazi accomplices who had found a haven in Canada and tasked the inquiry with identifying Nazi war criminals residing in the country. This debate will be deepened in the fifth chapter of the thesis; however, it is noteworthy to mention how it has been materialized in cityscapes.

Finally, the Holodomor has emerged as yet another foundational component of Ukrainian national identity that has become ingrained in urban locales. The man-made famine of 1932-1933 has been frequently linked to the Holocaust as the "Ukrainian genocide". So that, it comes with no surprise that as the *memory boom* concerning the Shoah unfolded from the 1980s onwards, this parallel became more and more frequent, especially if one considers the concurrent debate on Ukrainian collaborationism[135]. The narrative became more and more polarized around the victimization of the Ukrainian people who was persecuted and experienced the «genocidal» plans of both the Nazi and the Soviet regimes. This ought to appear on the urban landscape too. Consequently, in 1983 and 1984 in front of the City Halls of respectively Edmonton and Winnipeg, two memorials to the victims of the Holodomor were unveiled to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the famine. The dedication on the Edmonton memorial, which according to the sources is the first Holodomor monument in the world[136] goes: «In memory of the millions who perished in the genocidal Famine inflicted upon Ukraine by the Soviet regime in Moscow 1932-33. Let us all stand guard against tyranny, violence, and inhumanity».

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[134] RUDLING, P. A. "Multiculturalism, Memory, and Ritualization: Ukrainian Nationalist Monuments in Edmonton, Alberta". *Nationalities Papers*, 2011, 39.5: 733–68. See also: HOWARD M. *Unauthorized Entry: The Truth about Nazi War Criminals in Canada, 1946-1956.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000; HIMKA, J. P. "War Criminality: A Blank Spot in the Collective Memory of the Ukrainian Diaspora". *Spacesofidentity*, 2005, 5.1.

[135] KASIANOV, G. "Holodomor and the holocaust in Ukraine as cultural memory: comparison, competition, interaction". *Journal of Genocide Research*, 2022, 24.2: 216-227.

[136] *Planning Department fonds,* CA EDM RG-17-17.9-ET-30-44. CEA, Edmonton, Alberta.

Fig. 10: Holodomor Memorial in Edmonton[137]

The Winnipeg's memorial, designed by Roman Kowal, an artist and former DP, was unveiled on 24th June 1984[138]. As recalled by his son, the sculptor was skeptical of yet another monument committee after losing the competition in Edmonton to a «large flat metal doughnut with handprint on it» [Fig. 10][139], but then he was convinced and won.

> Roman put a great deal of time, energy, and careful consideration into creating a design which expressed the tragedy and pain of the forced famine without resorting to sensationalistic horror imagery, pathos, maudlin sentimentality, or lamentation; all of which he considered Ukrainians were far too fond of swimming in[140].

This overview of significant monuments selected for analysis concludes with the one built in 1992 which commemorates the first wave of Ukrainian migration to Canada, bringing this parabola to a close. Even if less popular, the "Vytaieno monument", sponsored by the UCC in Halifax, Nova Scotia, personifies the final stage of the story. In fact, after Ukrainian independence, the diasporic dream of "return" faded and was replaced by an awareness of this community's place in Canada, also sparked by the centennial celebration of the pioneers who landed in the New World in 1891[141].

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[137] *Planning Department fonds,* CA EDM RG-17-17.9-ET-30-44. CEA, Edmonton, Alberta.

[138] More information on the Winnipeg's memorial in: http://monumental.kovalartist.com/winnipeg-holodomor-monument/monument1-forced-famine-memorial-city-hall-winnipeg326.html. Last access 19 June 2023.

[139] Koval, Interview by me, Winnipeg, 9th June 2022.

[140] *Ibidem*.

[141] *Ukrainian Weekly,* 25 October 1992, 50.43, p. 10; "Centennial of Ukrainians in Canada - correspondence and booklets", UCC fonds, R3729-2450-3-E. Box 241. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

3.2.2. Celebration and festivals: the case of Folklorama

In anthropology, a social practice refers to a recurring pattern of behavior or activity within a particular culture or society. It encompasses a wide range of actions, rituals, customs, traditions, and everyday activities that people engage in as part of their social and cultural lives[142]. In the context of ethnic groups, the concept of "practices of belonging" refers to the various ways in which individuals and communities from a specific cultural background maintain their sense of identity, connection, and affiliation through social practices. Even more remarkably, the same concept of "diaspora" has been defined not as a theoretical term, a fixed identity, or a passive experience but a *practice* in itself[143]. Among the various social practices of Ukrainian Canadians, I consider the organization of cultural festivities to be particularly thought-provoking. In fact, all the Ukrainian associations oftentimes have organized – and they still do –festivals and events to showcase their traditions, customs, music, dance, and cuisine. These gatherings not only serve as opportunities for cultural expression but also create spaces for individuals to connect with others who share a similar heritage and may be considered part of the public space appropriation and an identity-making tool.

In the cities where the fieldwork has been conducted, namely Victoria, Toronto, Winnipeg, Ottawa, and Edmonton, I have searched for celebratory pamphlets and programs of any cultural event organized during the Cold War by Ukrainian organizations focuses on the ones linked to the UCC. More than sixty fonds contained material related to the topic, especially in the Multicultural History Society of Toronto, the University of Manitoba Archive and the Oseredok Archive in Winnipeg, and the Bohdan Medwisky Ukrainian Folklore Archives in Edmonton. As concern celebrations and commemoration of significant dates, I have grouped them in three categories: Ukrainian, Canadian, and Ukrainian Canadian. The first concerned the commemoration of symbolic date for the Ukrainian history, such as the birth or death of national figures (especially Taras Shevchenko, Lesya Ukrainka and Ivan Franko), the establishment of the Ukrainian's People Republic in 1918-1919, the Holodomor and the Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine (988)[144]. The second group relates to the Canadian celebrations, that are Canadian events like the Expo '67 and anniversaries of the founding dates of the country. For example, the Manitoba and the city of Winnipeg Centennials, celebrated respectively

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[142] STRECKER, I. *The Social Practice of Symbolisation: an anthropological analysis*. Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2021.

[143] EDWARDS, B. H. *The practice of diaspora: Literature, translation, and the rise of black internationalism*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2003; SIGONA, N, et al. (Ed.). *Diasporas reimagined: Spaces, practices and belonging*. Oxford: Oxford Diasporas Programme, 2015.

[144] As an example, see the following: Ukrainian Reading Association "Chytal'na Prosvita" fonds, Mss 361, Pc 317 (A.11-91), box 10, file 20. UoM Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada; Ivan Lahola collection, CA BMUFA 0269-4-84. BMUFA, Edmonton, Alberta; Millenium: a celebration of faith and culture, CA BMUFA 0022-2000.079.z006. BMUFA, Edmonton, Alberta; Alexander Balan fonds, Jewish-Ukrainian Relations and Centennial of Christianity in Ukraine, A2005-049 Box 0012, File 0012-0013, UoM Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

in 1970 and 1974, featured several events organized by the Ukrainian community[145]. Lastly, several public ceremonies were related to the Ukrainian Canadian experience. This last group included not only the anniversaries concerning the arrival of Ukrainians in Canada in 1891[146], but also the internal developments of the community, such as when the celebration of when an organization has been established[147]. Accordingly, the festival celebration Ukrainian folklore and traditions were countless throughout Canada: Folklorama in Winnipeg, the Pysanka Festival in Vegreville, Alberta, and the Caravan Festival in Toronto and the Canada's National Ukrainian festival in Dauphin, just to cite the most relevant. This brief introduction attempts to provide an overview of the extraordinary richness in the community's organizational life. A simple list of the numerous events would have been insufficient for this analysis, so I decided to focus on one festival that may aid in the investigation of my research questions: this event was chosen to because it has been popularized has a "multicultural", with participants from various ethnic groups. So that, it might also be intriguing to frame the analysis in the wider question on Canadian multiculturalism. Moreover, the fact that members of these groups decide how they will represent themselves makes this festival an excellent opportunity to understand the ways groups use these festivals to interact with the broader society and among themselves.

Folklorama is an annual festival held in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. It is one of the largest and longest-running multicultural festivals in the world and typically takes place over two weeks in the month of August. The idea of the Folk Arts Council of the City of Winnipeg, which organized the first edition in the context of the celebration of the Manitoba Centennial in 1970, was that visitors should experience and learn about the diverse cultures that makes the «Canada cultural mosaic»[148]. It is noteworthy to mention that the mayor of Winnipeg at the time was Stephen Juba, the first Ukrainian Canadian to hold high political office in the city[149].

During his mandate, the City Council also adopted the official Winnipeg flag on 1st October 1975, which astonishingly resembles the symbolism of the Ukrainian one: «The clear blue skies and the golden wheat fields»[150]. Local and provincial contingencies are thus fundamental if one thinks that

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[145] "Programs of events", Koshetz Choir fonds, CA UMASC MSS 438, box 6 and 7. UoM Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
[146] See the celebration for the 60th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada: Martynec family fonds, A2019-047 Box 0001, File 0073 – 0101. UoM Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Centennial of Ukrainians in Canada in 1991, UCC fonds, Centennial of Ukrainians in Canada - correspondence and booklets, R3729-2450-3-E. Box 241. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.
[147] For example, the 100th anniversary of the Koshetz choir: [147] "Programs of events", Koshetz Choir fonds, CA UMASC MSS 438, box 6 and 7. UoM Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba; "Centennial of Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada 1991", Alexander Balan fonds, A2005-049 Box 0013, File 0008. UoM Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
[148] Danyliuk fonds, A2010-074, Box 0034. UoM Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
[149] BUMSTED M. Dictionary of Manitoba Biography, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999, p. 126.
[150] The Winnipeg Tribune, 2nd October 1975, p. 74. I was not able to find more information about this decision, but it might be interesting to further research the issue and see if it was or not a coincidence. See a description of the Ukrainian flag in: Petro Danyliuk fonds, A2010-074, Box 0034. UoM Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba. It goes without saying that I refer

one year before, in Ottawa, the mayor Pierre Benoit refused to raise over the city the blue-and-yellow flag on the occasion of the «Ukrainian Independence Day» because it would have been inappropriate since Canada does not recognize Ukrainian independence[151]

Coming back to the festival, during Folklorama celebrations, various "pavilions" are at display, showcasing the music, dance, food, and arts of its respective culture. The entry ticket is a "passport" which would be stamped at the entrance of each pavilion. Even if I would reject any speculation which goes beyond any historical analysis, I consider the choice of using the symbol of the "passport", a sign of citizenship and identity, significant. Is each pavilion a country, or better a nation, in itself? This also reveals something about the incoherent understanding of multiculturalism: the more cultural diversity is displayed as part of the "Self" in Canadian identity, the more it appears to remain a "Other" in this "Self".

Looking at the 1972 passport, the most striking feature is that the Ukrainian community is represented in, the "Kiev-Ukrainian" and the "Lviv-Ukrainian" pavilions. The presence of two pavilions was understandable: the Kiev-Ukraine has been UCC-sponsored, while the Lviv-Ukraine has been AUUC-sponsored. The establishment of a Lviv pavilion has been harshly criticized by the UCC-sponsored organizations, as in the leaflet: "An Appeal of concern to the All Freedom-Loving Winnipeg citizens", which warned that it was a «Communist Political Propaganda Pavilion which represents the Big Brother in Moscow»[152]. This political conflict and variation in cultural display, demonstrates that identities are not fixed and essentialized[153]. However, similarities and contrasts within and between groups are presented in discrete, separate locations, limiting actual confrontations between opposing viewpoints. In doing so, it reduces difference and diversity gives way to standardization and sameness. The Kiev pavilion featured an understanding of culture as folklore, with the «traditional food», dances, choirs and artisan works such as woodcarving and embroidery[154], but it was not limited to it. Each year, in fact, the Pavilion was represented by a girl elected beforehand as «Miss Kiev» during a pageant which was not simply a beauty contest[155]. To apply as a candidate, each girl had to fill out an application form, which is particularly significant to grasp an idea of belonging within the community. First, contestants are represented by an organization (which indicates the high factionalism within the "nationalist" community), they should have a «workable

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to the Ukrainian flag recognized and adopted by the Ukrainian national movement, since at the time the Ukrainian SSR flag was different.

[151] HLYNKA I. *The Other Canadians.* Winnipeg: Trident Press, 1981, p. 47.

[152] *Ibidem.*

[153] In the following editions this happened in many cases, such as the "Pearl of the Orient Philippine Pavilion" and "Philippine Pavilion-Nayong Pilipino" and in the "Ireland/Irish Pavilion" and "Isle of the Shamrock-Ireland Pavilion".

[154] "Kiev-Ukraine program of 1974", Petro Danyliuk fonds, A2010-074, Box 0034. UoM Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

[155] "Sylvia Todaschuk fonds", MSS 428 - A2014-004, folders 1-9. UoM Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

knowledge of the Ukrainian language», include a photo «preferably in a Ukrainian costume»[156]. They must also answer the following question, «Do you as an individual, think that the retention of your cultural heritage is important in today's world? »[157]. The evaluation criteria of the jury mentioned in the sources were the following: Appearance, personality, social involvement, general knowledge, knowledge of the Ukrainian language, culture, history, and food, written presentation, and finally the overall impression of the jury. The knowledge of Ukrainian issues was the element with the highest weight on the overall score (25 points). Another interesting paper contained in the Sylvia Todaschuk fond is a proposal of the judges sent on February 20, 1980. Among other suggestions, Orysia Tracz, reminds that the candidates «should have a good knowledge of the definition of culture (dancing, singing, and food do not make Ukrainian culture) » and she stresses that the staff in the pavilion should be aware that the «Proper Ukrainian pronunciation of Kiev is Kyiv - Ky -iv (we don't hear the Lviv pavilion people pronouncing it Lvov!) ». These are just a few examples to note the urgency of the Ukrainian question in this community, but also the sign of the elaboration of a cultural nationalism from afar that was not reduced to food and folklore. Among the questions that the judges – which mainly relate to Canadian history, the Ukrainian Canadian community and Ukraine – asked the candidates, some deserve special attention:

> As Miss Kiev you are invited to participate in an exchange with students from Quebec. Some of the participants from Quebec express the feeling that there are only two official ethnic groups in Canada. How would you respond to this discussion?

> Ukrainian Canadians are isolated politically and physically from Ukraine. As a result, we are developing our forms of cultural expression. Do you think that it is necessary for us to maintain contact with Ukraine to develop our culture? What do you think of the statement that because our culture in Ukraine is becoming Russified, then our exchanges with Ukraine bring us Russified forms of our own culture?[158]

I chose these two specific questions because they exemplify how the issue of being Ukrainian in Canada relates to both the Canadian and Soviet environments and because they are a good example of how to deal with transnational and global issues while using a local perspective. Specifically, the inquires explore issues of bilingualism and multiculturalism, situating the topic within the broader

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[156] *Ibidem.*

[157] These entry forms are very peculiar to analyze the national discourse within young girls of the community and they should certainly be the object of further investigations.

[158] *Ivi,* folder 2.

Canadian context. One question considers the traits of a well-adjusted Ukrainian woman in Canada - one who understands Ukrainian history and language. However, she is also able to situate this cultural tradition within Canada's framework as a conscious participant in the nation's cultural mosaic.

3.3. Representations of Belonging

To examine what belonging meant within the community, beyond the material and performative dimension, another facet of meaning is given by its representational nature. The grounding theoretical framework corresponds to the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu on the role that "representation" has when social actors promote their view and positions in this world[159]. Moreover, as pointed out by Angel Parham in the context of diasporic online communities, "representation" serves as a mean to showcase the national culture reiterating and popularizing narratives and symbols[160]. The material elements in the urban landscape as well as celebrations and festival were concretely taking place on Canadian soil and the aim of appropriating the public space – especially in the years of the heated multicultural debate, was evident. However, when it comes to cultural production, such as books and documentaries, more layers of complexity emerge vigorously, especially concerning the imaginative exercise of nation-building and the diasporic mission related to Ukraine. Canada was «here and now», struggling to become a new «home» and as it has been shown previously, the Ukrainian roots also became a sort of "tool" to bind a specific group together making it more visible to the mainstream society, in a nutshell it was a "longing to be". By contrast, in the imaginative world, the dream of a free Ukraine was «there and then» and the affective dimension of "be *longing* for the homeland" gained the upper hand. These two aspects are the sides of the same coin and even if on an individual level one may weight more than the other in the intimate process of self-definition, they could not exist separately. In the timespan of my analysis in the community, the "Ukrainian" and the "Canadian" facet may have been accepted or refused; the "hyphen" binding them questioned or contested, however, they both kept emerging. For example, this has been highlighted by George Melnyk, a Canadian cultural historian, who published a collection of essays about identity and self-imagine in 2015. The book begins with the author's personal memoir as a Canadian of Ukrainian heritage who arrived in Canada from a DP camp[161] Melnyk recalled his

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[159] BOURDIEU, P. "The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups", *Theory and Society*, 1985, 14.6:723-44, p. 727.

[160] PARHAM, A. "Internet, Place, and Public Sphere in Diaspora Communities", *Communities*, 2005, 14.3: 349-80, p. 353.

[161] MELNYK, G. *First person plural.* Westridge Crescent Okotoks: Frontenact house, 2015, p. 13.

encounter with the artist Natalka Husar, and especially how she inscribed in blue ink her book "Burden of innocence"[162], a play in three acts, before giving it to him:

> First, she drew a hard-sided, old-fashioned suitcase of the kind a refugee may have carried in the past to which she affixed a name tag with my name in English written on it. She then wrote beneath it "to someone who carries the same baggage". Next to the old suitcase, she drew a soft-sided bag also with a name tag with my name in Ukrainian. […] Everything she did twice. This bilingualism put me on edge. It raised the Ukrainian-Canadian identity that I have not been comfortable with for a long time. […] The burden, she remined me, was the anxiety, conflicts, and mythology that she and I shared[163].

This example comes from someone, a cultural historian, who is prone to think and analyze questions around identity constructions, so that, there is a strong bias to take into account. Despite this, or perhaps because of this, this self-awareness of a «shared burden» that comes from displacement and from immigration to Canada, has resonated to introduce this section.

For the examination of the various ways in which the belonging was represented, the first distinction to make is in the object of representation, which might have been the homeland or the Ukrainian Canadian community. The forms were various, they have ranged from paintings and literature to folk art, dances, choirs, and handcraft. In a nutshell, all the different ways in which "culture" was understood. In the same vein, also the public was different: Who did people look to when representing their country? Did they want to reach the Canadian audience, the Ukrainian community in Canada, Ukraine or, again, every Ukrainian scattered across the planet, i.e., the diaspora? For this analysis on how the Ukrainian community in Canada represented its "cultural roots", I have decided to focus on the visual culture, and especially the film industry, and the written words, in the form of memoirs. This selection has been made because, among the sources collected, these case-studies seemed the most significant to tackle the different levels of analysis. Moreover, for the film industry I had the chance to collect first-hand oral sources that may offer valuable insights and enrich the literature on the topic that, until now, has been limited to literature and folklore[164].

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[162] HUSAR, N. *The burden of innocence.* Toronto: Rodovid, 2009.

[163] MELNYK, G. *First person plural.* Westridge Crescent Okotoks: Frontenact house, 2015, p. 13-14.

[164] Among others see GREKUL, L; SUGARS, C. "Re-Placing Ethnicity: New Approaches to Ukrainian-Canadian Literature". *Homework: Postcolonialism, Pedagogy, and Canadian Literature*, 2004, 28: 369; LEDOHOWSKI, L. "Becoming the hyphen: the evolution of English-language Ukrainian Canadian literature". *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 2007, 39.1-2: 107-127; SUCHACKA, W. *"Za Hranetsiu"– "Beyond the Border": Constructions of Identities in Ukrainian-Canadian Literature*. 2010. PhD Thesis; GREKUL, L; LEDOHOWSKI, L. (Ed.). *Unbound: Ukrainian Canadians Writing Home.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016; NAHACHEWSKY, A. "New ethnicity and Ukrainian Canadian social dances". *Journal of American Folklore*, 2002, 115.456: 175-190; NAHACHEWSKY, A., et

3.3.1. The film industry: Ukraine on the screen

Most literature on Ukrainian Canadian films usually reviews individual movies rather than extensive studies of how film has documented the story of Canada's Ukrainians. So that, the starting point for the analysis has been the research report published by the CIUS in 1982, that lists the film productions on Ukrainian topics until the end of the 1970s[165]. This filmography's varied entries combine to form a composite picture of the Ukrainian Canadian experience. Since few Ukrainians had the training, resources, motivation, or know-how to make movies prior to the Second World War, this image was initially a projection of non-Ukrainian viewpoints. It should come as no surprise that the first footage about Ukrainians in Canada promoted the government's land-settlement agenda by highlighting how well the tenacious immigrants were doing, as displayed by the evocative: "Nation-building in Saskatchewan: The Ukrainians" in 1921[166]. Following World War II, among DPs there were also filmmakers who brought with them an appreciation of the aesthetic and communicative-documentary potential of the medium[167]. However, according to Zaporzan and Klymasz, due to a lack of finance and insufficient facilities and equipment, Ukrainian Canadian cinema never reached its full potential situation typical of the Canadian film industry in the fifties except for the government-sponsored National Film Board[168]. Earlier attempts to reach a broad Ukrainian audience worldwide were made by Vasyl Avramenko, who brought a popular series of classic Ukrainian operettas to the screen for the first time with his "Natalka Poltava", billed as the first Ukrainian «talking picture»[169]. This tradition was then continued in Canada by Bohdan Soluk's "*Chornomorsti* - Black Sea People", the first Ukrainian art film in colour to be produced in Canada in 1952, and Walter Wasik's costume pieces "Marichka" (1974)[170]. This predilection for old-country themes was also reflected in several politically oriented films that portrayed episodes from the anti-Soviet "struggle" in Ukraine. They bore such ominous titles as "Catacombs Behind the Iron Curtain" (1954), "Song of Mazepa" (1960),

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al. "Shifting Orientations in Dance Revivals: From National to Spectacular in Ukrainian Canadian Dance. *Narodna umjetnost-Hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku*, 2006, 43.1: 161-178.

[165] ZAPORZAN, S.; KLYMASZ, R.B. *Film and the Ukrainians in Canada (1921-1980). Research report n.1,* Edmonton: CIUS, 1982.

[166] *The Ukrainians.* Directed by Dick Bird, Produced by the Pathescope of Canada for the Saskatchewan Department of Education, 1921.

[167] BESPALY, M. *The plight of the Ukrainian displaced persons of World War II*. Dominguez Hills: California State University, 2012; NAFICY, H. *An accented cinema: Exilic and diasporic filmmaking*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001.

[168] ZAPORZAN, S.; KLYMASZ, R.B. *Film and the Ukrainians in Canada (1921-1980). Research report n.1,* Edmonton: CIUS, 1982, p. vii-viii.

[169] It was the first Ukrainian language film produced in the United States. *Natalka Poltava.* Directed by Vasyl Avramenko, 1936.

[170] *Chornomorsti- Black Sea People,* Directed by Tahiv and produced by Bohdan Soluk, 1952; *Marichka.* Directed by Walter Baezynsky and produced by Walter Wasik, 1974.

"Cruel Dawn" (1965) and "Shall Never Forget" (1969)[171]. The bubble of activity that characterized the fifties and sixties burst when old-country hostilities, art and traditions began to lose their appeal. The Ukrainian Canadian community of the seventies appeared ready for something more directly related to its immediate experience in Canada. Some film makers discovered that there were two pasts to consider—their historical roots in the old country and their heritage in Canada, which extended back to the 1890s and had not been properly documented on the screen. Their response is evident in such works as "*Vid Shchyroho Sertsia* - From the Bottom of My Heart" (1957)[172]. The movie depicted the cultural, religious, political, and economic life of Ukrainians in Canada. Premiered in Winnipeg on 20 September 1957, the film marked a milestone as the longest Ukrainian documentary ever produced outside Ukraine[173]. In the late Sixties and in the Seventies, as an outcome of multicultural policies adopted by the federal and other levels of government, the National Film Board of Canada produced Ukrainian-language versions of several award-winning film shorts on a wide range of topics, such as the geography of Canada's western provinces, the wolf and other animals of the Canadian wilderness, how Inuit drawings are transferred to stone and then printed for sale, and the curling craze on the prairies. "I've never walked the Steppes" (1975)[174] is particularly intriguing because, produced by the National Film Board of Canada for the Government of Canada Multicultural Programme, depicts a compelling portrait of a Ukrainian Canadians at home during the Christmas feast in Winnipeg. Here, the rich traditional customs are most in evidence, from the carols and folk tunes at the gathering, from pictures in the family album. There is also a significant number of Canadian-made films that mythologize and parallel Ukrainian history in the old country and in the Canadian West and are characterized by what might be described borrowing the anthropological concept of «ethnographic nostalgia»[175], such as "Luchak's Easter" (1975), where the folkloric and ethnographic aspects of the Ukrainian cultural heritage emerge[176].

Summarizing the main film trends on Ukrainian topic in Canada on the eve of the 1980s, one can find the Ukrainian experience in Canada depicted as a heroic story of hardship in the *pioneer era*, the *glorification* of old-country events in an mimicked epic and heroic manner, folkloric and

[171] ZAPORZAN, S.; KLYMASZ, R.B. *Film and the Ukrainians in Canada (1921-1980). Research report n.1,* Edmonton: CIUS, 1982, p. viii.
[172] *Vid Shchyroho Sertsia - From the Bottom of My Heart,* Produced and directed by L. T. Orlyhora, 1957.
[173] Promotional leaflet in Oseredok Archive, Winnipeg.
[174] *The Ukrainian Pioneers.* Executive Producer: Don Haig, Toronto: Film Arts, 1974; *I've never walked the Steppes.* Directed by Jerry Krepakevich, Montreal: National Film Board for Government of Canada Multicultural Programme, 1975; *Teach me to dance,* produced by NFB, 1978.
[175] THEODOSSOPOULOS, D. *Exoticisation undressed: Ethnographic nostalgia and authenticity in Emberá clothes.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.
[176] *Luchak's Easter.* Directed by Robert B. Klymasz, Visual Anthropology Unit, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, 1975.

ethnographic aspects of Ukrainian cultural life under the *multicultural ethos*, and the recording organizational events and protest film in favor of Ukrainian dissent in the Soviet Union[177]. The following decade was instead monopolized by the discourses surrounding the *Holodomor*. The fiftieth anniversary was fast approaching, and the Ukrainian Canadian community wanted to commemorate the event in a special but also impactful way. Especially in Toronto, leading representatives of the community's major organizations[178] established a committee to take charge of a commemorative project, and in 1982, the Ukrainian Famine Research Committee was established[179]. The UFRC decided to create a one-hour documentary film on the Holodomor, requiring a significant budget and a professional film crew. Fundraising was handled by Ostap Wynnyckyj and Nicholas Kushpeta. Slavko Nowytski was hired as director, while Yurij Luhovy was named editor. Yurij Luhovy was a Ukrainian displaced child born in Belgium and he arrived in Canada in 1950 when he was 1 year old. Even if his family was supposed to go to Manitoba, where they were sponsored by a farm owner, his father got off the train in Montreal saying «I am not going further»[180]. Having been acquainted with the French language in Belgium, Quebec seemed the perfect fit for them. Luhovy attended French schools and grew up speaking French, English and Ukrainian. However, he still mentions the difficult times he experienced when he entered the film industry: «especially the discrimination from the Quebecois companies»[181]. For this reason, he started working in the "English" environment. When I asked him about the Holodomor project, he recalled the challenges in collecting information, as documents from Soviet archives and Eastern Bloc countries were unavailable. Holodomor survivors remained traumatized and feared for their safety and loved ones: «Even in the West, there were Holodomor survivors who remained traumatized, too afraid to speak about 1932–33»[182]. By the summer of 1984, work on the documentary known as Harvest of Despair had ended, its premiere taking place at the University of Toronto on 21 October 1984. The film's publicizing was crucial, as entertainment companies, theaters, and television networks expected minimal attention for a documentary on an «unknown historical event»[183]. The film's fifty-five-minute length allowed for televised commercials[184]. In 1986, the UFRC was renamed as the Ukrainian Famine Research Centre,

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[177] PORZAN, S.; KLYMASZ, R.B. *Film and the Ukrainians in Canada (1921-1980). Research report n.1,* Edmonton: CIUS, 1982, p. viii.

[178] The Ukrainian Orthodox community, St. Vladimir Institute, the Ukrainian Canadian Congress Toronto Branch, the UCC Ontario Provincial Council, the Ukrainian Canadian Professional Business Association, and the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood of Canada.

[179] STECH, Z. "A Short History of the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre on the Fortieth Anniversary of Its Founding", *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 2023, 10.1: 39-53.

[180] Yurij Luhovy. Interview by me, 5th July 2022, Winnipeg.

[181] *Ibidem.*

[182] *Ibidem.*

[183] Yurij Luhovy. Interview by me, 5th July 2022, Winnipeg

[184] *The Ukrainian Weekly,* 5th May 1985, p.18.

and in 1989, it became the Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Centre (UCRDC). With the conclusion of "Harvest of Despair" and the realization that there was still much work left to be done, a need arose to create a permanent organization with a proper legal structure. There would now be a board of directors consisting of an executive director, an office administrator, and a treasurer[185]. After the "Harvest of Despair"; the UCRDC sponsored other two documentaries: "Freedom had a price" (1994), which was also direct by Luhovy and tells the story of those Ukrainian immigrants, the so-called "enemy aliens", who found themselves subject to discriminatory and repressive measures during WW I in Canada, and "Between Hitler and Stalin. Ukraine in WW II: the untold Story" (2003) that, according to the official description: «chronicles the struggle between the Nazi and Soviet regimes, from a Ukrainian perspective»[186]. Once again, the story of the homeland, the diasporic mission of «telling the truth about Ukraine to the world», intermingled with the Canadian environment and with the Ukrainian experience there. From the 1980s onward, the common thread can be found in the representation of Ukrainians as *victims,* both in their homeland and in Canada. The historian Himka, for example, defined this genre of documentaries as "victim cinema"[187]. On closer inspection, this phenomenon mirrored the *memory boom* and the and the *era of the testimony* that are oftentimes mentioned in relation to the field of holocaust studies that will be dealt with in the following section[188]. Analyzing another documentary of Luhovy, "Genocide Revealed" (2011), Himka argued that while Luhovy did a fantastic job reconstructing historical material and the survivors' testimonials are illuminating, the presentation is one-sided and formulaic, and the 2011 version did not add anything from what we learned with the first one produced in 1983. Notwithstanding, one may note that the audience, and most importantly the political context changed: "Harvest of Despair", for example, came to light during the Cold War and President Reagan's evil empire talk[189]. This was an excellent opportunity to harm the Soviet Union in the eyes of the Western world while also reinvigorating Ukrainian nationalism and supporting dissent. However, as the Soviet

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[185] A special emphasis would be placed on research and documentation of not only the Holodomor, but other research areas of interest to the Ukrainian diaspora, encouraging the creation of an archive. As a researcher with the newly founded MHSO, Iroida Wynnyckyj played a leading role in establishing a UCRDC archive at St. Vladimir Institute in Toronto in: Iroida Wynnyckyj. Interview by me, 8[h] December 2021, Toronto.

[186] UCRDC official website: http://www.ucrdc.org/Films.html. Last Access: 10[h] July 2023.

[187] HIMKA, J. P. (2009). "Victim Cinema: Between Hitler and Stalin: Ukraine in World War II - The Untold Story" in KASIANOV, G., and THER, P. (eds.). *Laboratory of Transnational History: Ukraine and Recent Ukrainian Historiography*. New York: Central European University Press: 211–224.

[188] LEVY, D; SZNAIDER, N. *The Holocaust and memory in the global age*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006; WINTER, J. "The generation of memory: reflections on the "memory boom" in contemporary historical studies". *Canadian Military History*, 2001, 10.3: 5.

[189] ROWLAND, R. C.; JONES, J. M. "Reagan's strategy for the Cold War and the Evil Empire address". *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, 2016, 19.3: 427-464.

Union disintegrated in 1991 and Ukraine won independence, interest in the subject waned, while the necessity to screen a mythscape that may function as state narrative grew pressing.

Finally, John Paskievich's "My Mother's Village"[190] completes the circle. The 2001 documentary, in English with Ukrainian subtitles, explores the experience of exile and its effects on the human soul across two continents and numerous generations. The filmmaker travels to his parents' native Ukraine over fifty years after they left for Canada. In the similar vein of what will be the masterpiece "Everything is illuminated"[191], Ukraine is a place that is both known and unknown and Paskievich examines how children of refugees and immigrants are bound between two worlds, since they must uphold the customs of a far-off land they have never visited as they attempt to establish roots in a new country or even in the country where they were born. This documentary reached the public, beyond the Ukrainian community as demonstrated by its acclamation by local newspaper like the Winnipeg Free Press[192] and the Montreal Gazette[193].

3.3.2. The Ukrainian *memory boom* in exile

The research of Aleida Assmann, Daniel Levy and Nathan Sznaider defined the Holocaust[194], a universal, global, and cosmopolitan memory[195], highlighting how the mediatized memories of the Holocaust, such as the "The diary of Anne Frank" and the TV show "Holocaust", has found the most resonance with the general public. One should be cautious when using adjectives such as "global" and I would argue that it safer to say that from the 1960s onwards the Shoah has been constituted as a phenomenon of western consciousness. In the literature of Jewish Studies, there is growing acceptance on considering the "Holocaust" a western, and especially European, phenomenon. It was something that happened to the European Jewry but there is no inherently Jewish content in it[196].

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[190] *My mother's village,* directed by John Paskievich and produced by NBC, 2001.

[191] FOER, J. S. *Everything is illuminated.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002.

[192] *Winnipeg Free Press,* 25th November 2001, p. 32.

[193] *Montreal Gazette,* 25th August 2001, p. 50.

[194] The English term "Holocaust" and the Hebrew "Shoah" are often used interchangeably but, even if they both have a theological or cosmic dimension, their meaning is not the same. "Holocaust" is derived from the Greek for "burnt offering" and is generally defined as a vast destruction caused by fire or other non-human forces. "Shoah," meanwhile, has its biblical root in the term "shoah u-meshoah" (wasteness and desolation) that appears in both the Book of Zephaniah (1:15) and the Book of Job (30:3). I personally prefer to adopt the term "Shoah", but I sometimes use the term "Holocaust" not as a synonym but when I am citing other sources using it or when referring to the North American and European memory culture of the tragedy.

[195] ASSMANN, A; CONRAD, S (Ed.). *Memory in a global age*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. LEVY, D; SZNAIDER, N. *The Holocaust and memory ...,* cit.

[196] SMITH, M. L. *The Yiddish historians and the struggle for a Jewish history of the Holocaust.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2019; OPPENHEIMER, Y. "The Holocaust: A mizrahi perspective". *Hebrew Studies*, 2010: 303-328; ROSENFELD, G D. "A Flawed Prophecy? Zakhor, the Memory Boom, and the Holocaust". *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 2007, 97.4: 508-520; GERSON, J. M.; WOLF, D. L. (Ed.). *Sociology confronts the Holocaust: Memories and*

What would be the Jewish content anyway? The Shoah became then identity-giving from the late 1950s and 1960s, especially in the state narrative of Israel, more than in the diaspora, where it came to be popularized in later decades[197], albeit sometimes in a fictional way[198]. In the 1980s, autobiographies and memoirs of eyewitnesses, together with children's literature, were the chosen literary genres for narrating the "unspeakable" and "unthinkable", with the risk of blurring the boundary between the "true" and the "plausible". In the same decade, especially in the context of historical studies, there was a significant increase in research about historical memory that was termed "memory boom", which encouraged a more nuanced and multidisciplinary examination of the relationship between memory, history, and society. The study of the Holocaust, especially its impact on survivors and subsequent generations, played a pivotal role in shaping the memory boom, especially in the analysis of long-term effects of trauma and the transmission of memory across generations. Widening the scope of the research, it has been questioned then how the Shoah, considered as a "global memory", influences other and lesser-known traumatic memories. According to Assmann, it turned out to be a sort of model: «The Holocaust has become the paradigm against which other historic traumas are framed»[199].

It would not be surprising though that the memorialization of the Holodomor within the Ukrainian community, and even the sound of the term, strongly recalls "Holocaust"[200]. The man-made famine of the 1932-1933 in the Soviet Union, was covered by contemporary accounts but it has stayed for long a silenced memory. The most popular autobiography openly addressing the topic was the one of Victor Kravchenko, "I Chose Freedom: The Personal and Political Life of a Soviet Official"[201]. The author was a high-ranking Soviet official who arrived in Washington, D.C., in August 1943. On 4 April 1944 the New York Times announced Kravchenko's defection and published his sensational statement denouncing the brutal crimes of the Soviet regime. Kravchenko's memoir, was the most searing indictment of Stalinism of its time. An international bestseller, it contains a chapter, "Harvest in Hell" entirely devoted to the famine. References to the Holodomor have then been made in Ukrainian publications in the DP camps, but they were usually limited to

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identities in Jewish diasporas. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007. See also the novel ENGLANDER, N. *What we talk about when we talk about Anne Frank,* New York: KNOPF, 2012

[197] WEITZ, Y. "Political dimensions of Holocaust memory in Israel during the 1950s". In: WISTRICH, R., OHANA, D. (Ed.), *The Shaping of Israeli Identity*. Routledge, 2014. p. 129-145; KLAR, Y.; SCHORI-EYAL, N.; KLAR, Y. "The "Never Again" state of Israel: The emergence of the Holocaust as a core feature of Israeli identity and its four incongruent voices". *Journal of Social Issues*, 2013, 69.1: 125-143; POPKIN, J. D. "Holocaust memories, historians' memoirs: first-person narrative and the memory of the Holocaust". *History & Memory*, 2003, 15.1: 49-84.

[198] FINKELSTEIN, N. "The Holocaust Industry". *Index on Censorship*, 2000, 29.2: 120-129.

[199] ASSMANN, A; CONRAD, S (Ed.). *Memory in a global age*, cit., pp. 97–117.

[200] See Chapter 1 of this thesis.

[201] KRAVCHENKO, V. *I Chose Freedom: The Personal and Political Life of a Soviet Official.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946.

articles in local newspapers and journals. The educational material compiled by the Holodomor Research and Education Consortium (HREC)[202], contains a list of the eyewitness account and memoirs. A preliminary quantitative analysis demonstrates that after the 1980s the number of publications about the topic skyrocketed[203]. By the time the USSR ceased to exist, the Holodomor became one of the foundational and defining narratives of the diaspora[204], as the "Ukrainian genocide". Not only the memorialization of the Holodomor retraced the footsteps of the one of the Holocaust, but sometimes the two traumatic experiences entered the realm of the "competition of memories"[205]. Sometimes the uniqueness of the Shoah was denied, and at other times, while acknowledged, it was emphasized that Ukrainians were also among the victims of Nazi plans.

The Ukrainian *memory boom*, an expression by which I define the vast number of autobiographies and memoirs written by the Ukrainian community in Canada, is surely part of a broader phenomenon that swept through the public and academic discourse of the 1980s. This context is decisive also to understand the public interest for these topics from publishing companies. Notwithstanding, the *obsession for the past* traceable in this community has its own peculiarities. First of all, these memoirs were mostly written by the DPs who came to Canada in the 1950s and the main themes concerned the tough condition of life in the Soviet Union and the Holodomor, the Second World and the Nazi occupation and then the experience of displacement and resettlement**[206]**. Traumatic memories, at least the "tellable" ones, have had time to be reordered and reinterpreted and in some cases have uncovered their own meaning through the community lens. So that, all the symbols and topics that were part of the "Ukrainian narrative of exile" coalesced into the narration of a life story that is at the same time individual and collective – in the sense that it can be the common

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[202] The leading research center for the study of the Holodomor. It was established in 2013 as a project of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the University of Alberta. The work is now carried out in the two headquarters of the CIUS, Toronto and Edmonton.

[203] KURYLYW, V. *Holodomor in Ukraine, the Genocidal Famine 1932-1933: Learning Materials for Teachers and Students*, Edmonton: CIUS press, 2018.

[204] It is worth mentioning here that the Holodomor has not been – at least until 2014 – central in the memory culture of the Ukrainian state.

[205] KASIANOV, G. "Holodomor and the holocaust in Ukraine as cultural memory: comparison, competition, interaction". *Journal of Genocide Research*, 2022, 24.2: 216-227.

[206] Many have been cited and analyzed in the first chapter. Here I refer to some of them: KUZMOVYCH-HOLOVINSʹKA, M. Chuzhynoyu: Spomyny [A foreigner: a memoir]. Toronto: Dobra Knyzhka, 1977; YASHCHYSHYN, I. et al. *Odyn rik u Chervoniĭ Armiï: spohady [One Year in the Red Army: Memories]*, Toronto: Sribna Surma, 1982; SOFRONIV-LEVYTSKY, L. *Respublika za drotamy: zapysky skytal'tsia [Republic by wire. Notes of a wanderer],* Toronto: Vydavnytstvo "Novyy Shlyakh", 1983; MARUNCHAK, M. *Za gratamy i drotamy natsional-sotsiyalistychnoï Nimechchyny [Behind the wires and bars of German National-Socialism],* privately published, Winnipeg,1985; PELEH, T. Moyi molodi lita u vyri borotʹby 1936-51 [My young summers in the vortex of the struggle 1936-51], Munich: Ukrayinsʹke Vydavnytstvo", 1988; SZOSTACZUK, N. *Vid Temriavy Do Svitla: Spomyny [From darkness to light: a memoir],* privately printed, Winnipeg, 1989; KHELEMENDYK-KOKOT, A. *Kolhospne Dytynstvo I Nimetska Nevolia: Spohady,* privately printed, Toronto, 1989; DEMCZYNA, T. *From East to West*, Belleville, Ont.: Essence Pub., 1996; ANTON, P. *A Life of Hope: Memoirs of Nadia the Survivor*, privately printed Winnipeg, 2004.

experience of anyone in the community. They were usually privately printed and written in Ukrainian, another element that I consider crucial. It may suggest that the narrative was built within the community and not to show victimization to the outside society. It was a personal exercise to, perhaps, cope with one's own past. The meanings that "survivors" attribute to writing, especially in healing from massive trauma, has been researched and it may be one piece of the puzzle[207]. There was also the necessity to be heard, to tell one's own story[208]. But most importantly, the story to be told was the story of Ukraine: «Of course, Ukraine is an invented word. But it was needed, it has been made up by intellectuals to fulfill a mission, like in every other country in Europe»[209]. Putting their own life stories on paper, while at the same time telling the story of Ukraine, served as a nation-building tool, to write the mythscape of Ukrainian national history. However, acknowledging their "Ukrainianness" did not diminish their loyalty to Canada; rather, it was via the definition of the Self as Ukrainian that their "Canadianness" was expressed. The community motto was in fact: «Being a good Ukrainian to be a good Canadian»[210]. From that time on, the answer to the question "What kind of Canadian are you", became "I am a Ukrainian Canadian". On a last note, I consider it interesting to pose the issue of the impact of all this on the Canadian memory culture at large. Recently scholars have recognized a «struggle in Holocaust memorialization»[211], starting from the case study of the Canadian Museum of Human Rights in Winnipeg. In this thesis, I have analyzed how the Ukrainian community used improperly the word as a sign of competing victimhood ("the Holodomor as the Ukrainian Holocaust"). While this work focuses primarily on the specific case examined, it is important to note this does not exist in isolation. For example, records found during the fieldwork refer to similar events in Scandinavian communities[212]. Moreover, an article published for the *Edmonton Journal* on 9 March 1985 exemplified the general issue, referring to Soviet atrocities as a «Communist Holocaust»[213]. Of course, to answer this question, which is another case study, more research should

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[207] Some research of psychology had tried to investigate this topic. See for example DUCHIN, A., & WISEMAN, H. "Memoirs of child survivors of the Holocaust: Processing and healing of trauma through writing". *Qualitative Psychology, 2019, 6*(3): 280–296.

[208] It may be no coincidence that just twice throughout my fieldwork was I asked to turn off the recorder and the interviewee seemed alarmed rather than eager to tell their story. Both times, these were women who had lived in the Soviet Union, even if for different reasons. The former was born and raised in the USSR and came to Canada during the Cold War in the late 80s, while the latter was a Canadian-born who went to Moscow to study, whose father was one of the AUUC leading figures. Halyna Kravtchouk. Interview by me, 23rd July 2022, Winnipeg; Larissa Krawchuk. Interview by me, 28th September 2022, Toronto.

[209] Roman Petryshyn. Interview by me, 12th September 2022, Edmonton.

[210] FROLICK, S. W. *Heroes of that day. The reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk,* Toronto: MHSO, 1983, p. 60.

[211] CHATTERLEY, C. D. "Canada's struggle with Holocaust memorialization: The war museum controversy, ethnic identity politics, and the Canadian Museum for Human Rights". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 2015, 29.2: 189-211.

[212] As an example, I have found in the archive: "The Scandinavian Holocaust", *General correspondence,* Jaroslav Rudnyckyj fonds, R5366-5-X-E. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[213] "Newspaper Clippings", Ivan Lahola fonds, CA BMUFA 0269, Box 1, file 3 and 4. BMUFA, Edmonton, Alberta.

be done, however, the fact that each tile of the mosaic developed its own memory culture, strongly problematizes the issue of integrating all of them in one big picture.

3.4. Networks of Belonging

The last element selected to detangle the complex issue of belonging in the Ukrainian community in Canada relates to the concept of "networks", which are the intricate and multifaceted transnational connections that individuals and communities in the diaspora maintain with their homelands, resettlement countries, and other diasporic communities and vice versa[214]. For the scope of this thesis, I am focusing only on the relationships to the homeland, Ukraine, while not investigating the other side of the coin, namely the propaganda activities put in place by the Soviet Union with respect to the diasporic communities worldwide – both the communist and the anti-communist ones[215]. The bond of the Ukrainian community with the land of their forefathers is challenged and problematic. On the one hand, there is the emotional nostalgia for "what it was". Thus, as mentioned above, Ukraine has been mostly memorialized from afar as a utopic place, kept alive through a diasporic longing in the hearts and minds of all Ukrainians scattered worldwide. This is a space of imagination that is no more, because «in Moscow captivity»[216] but that serves notwithstanding the need of building a specific group identity in Canada. On the other, however, it was impossible to not come to terms with the actual land, Soviet Ukraine, and the Soviet Union. Once in the late 1950s the purpose of liberating the country through a "Third World War" faded as a tangible and practical outcome – especially after Stalin's death – remaining confined in the ultranationalist niche of the ABN, the energy of the wider community was directed in the long run to maintain alive the cause of a free and independent Ukraine on the international stage. However, in the immediate term, the main actions were aimed at advocating for Ukrainians living behind the Iron Curtain. It cannot be underestimated that Soviet Ukraine was an existing political entity of the Federation, also holding a seat in the United Nations and that Canada was maintaining diplomatic relations with it. The Canadian government, both at the local and federal level, had to juggle all these sides, the ideologically split Ukrainian community from within, but also foreign relations with the

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[214] For a theoretical introduction see: MEHTA, S. R.; SAHA, J. "Diasporas reimagined: spaces, practices and belonging". *Diaspora studies*, 2018, 11. Recently, the concept of "network" is mainly used in the examination of the role of social networks in maintaining the transnational link between the communities and the homeland: KOK, S., et al. "Rethinking migration in the digital age: Transglocalization and the Somali diaspora". *Global Networks*, 2017, 17.1: 23-46; COHEN, R.; FISCHER, C. (Ed.). *Routledge handbook of diaspora studies*. Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2018.

[215] The issue emerged peripherally at some points, for example regarding monuments gifted by the Soviet Union to Canada and activities aimed at targeting Ukrainian nationalists by accusing them of collaborationism.

[216] *ABN Correspondence,* September-October 1969, 20.5: p. 20.

USSR, in the context of the Atlantic alliance. These networks were also visible at a local level. On 23 November 1973, for example, the mayor of Winnipeg Stephen Juba and Roman Musiyevsky, mayor of Lviv, signed an agreement twinning the two cities[217]. This lead in the next decade to the visit of the mayor of Lviv, Volodymyr Pikhota, in 1983 and the establishment of the first telebridge between Canada and Ukraine in April 1988, when Winnipeg and Lviv were linked by satellite communication[218]. To understand the unfolding of events, it is also worth introducing another pivotal development of the 1970s concerning the Cold War, namely the Helsinki accords. They were the result of a diplomatic conference held in Helsinki, Finland, from July 30 to August 1, 1975. Representatives from 35 countries, including the United States, Canada, most European nations (both Western and Eastern bloc countries), and the Soviet Union, came together to discuss various issues related to security, cooperation, and human rights[219]. They were considered groundbreaking specially in the realm of human rights, since they affirmed the commitment of the signatory states to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion, and movement. This stage was vital for the human rights activists and dissidents in Eastern Europe, as it provided a platform to raise concerns about the treatment of individuals in communist countries. In various Eastern countries were then organized the so-called "Helsinki groups", to monitor and promote human rights as part of the implementation of the Helsinki Accords. These groups played a crucial role in raising awareness about human rights violations and advocating for greater freedoms and democratic reforms in their respective countries[220.] Inspired by the broader Helsinki Movement in the 1970s, the Ukrainian Helsinki Group was formed in November 1976, but the group was not officially recognized by the Soviet government and operated underground due to the regime's repression of dissenting voices. It monitored and reported on human rights abuses in Ukraine and played a crucial role in raising awareness internationally about Soviet human rights violations. Prominent Ukrainian dissidents included writers such as Ivan Dziuba, Mykola Rudenko, and Vasyl Stus. However, it's vital to recognize that Ukrainian dissent in the Soviet Union was diverse and multifaceted, with various individuals and groups advocating for different goals and ideals, and many were communist, for this reason, the support for one or another dissident by the diaspora is sometimes

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[217] "A significant historic date", Petro Danyliuk fonds, CA UMASC MSS 338, A2010-074, Box 0007 File 0010. UoM Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

[218] *Ibidem.*

[219] NEIER, Aryeh. *The international human rights movement: a history*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2012.MORGAN, M. C. *The Final Act: The Helsinki Accords and the Transformation of the Cold War*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2018.

[220] TYSZKIEWICZ, J. (Ed.). *Human Rights and Political Dissent in Central Europe: Between the Helsinki Accords and the Fall of the Berlin Wall*. London: Routledge, 2021.

incoherent[221]. Without underestimating this complexity, I have made the choice to deal with specific cases where the question of belonging to the homeland, but not belonging to Soviet Ukraine, appears more clearly. Firstly, it is analyzed the call for a «destalinization of Canada». Then, the investigation explores the intimate theme of the «inevitable relationship» with Soviet Ukraine, focusing on family ties and the trips that were planned to the USSR.

3.4.1. "The destalinization of Canada"

The major event that shocked the Ukrainian community in Canada during the 1980s was the search for war criminals in Canada, which was initiated by the establishment of the Deschênes Commission, a public inquiry whose primary purpose was to investigate and identify individuals who may have been involved in war crimes or crimes against humanity during World War II and were residing in Canada. The commission was named after its chairman, Justice Jules Deschênes, and it operated for about four years, from 1985 to 1988[222]. During this time, the commission conducted extensive research, collected evidence, and interviewed numerous witnesses and survivors of the Holocaust. One of the main objectives of the Deschênes Commission was to assess whether Canada's laws and policies were adequate to address the issue of war criminals residing in the country. The commission made recommendations to strengthen Canada's ability to prosecute or take legal actions against suspected war criminals and individuals involved in human rights abuses. This work led to the creation of the Canadian War Crimes Program, which aimed to investigate and prosecute individuals suspected of war crimes or crimes against humanity and to ensure that Canada did not become a safe haven for war criminals[223]. During the decade, many Ukrainians in Canada felt that their previously immaculate record was being threatened, and especially community leaders were under the impression that Ukrainians were singled out during the investigation. For example, in the

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[221] For the Ukrainian dissent see: BILOCERKOWYCZ, J. *Soviet Ukrainian dissent: A study of political alienation.* London: Routledge, 2019; BELLEZZA, S. A. "Making Soviet Ukraine Ukrainian: The Debate on Ukrainian Statehood in the Journal Suchasnist (1961–1971)". *Nationalities Papers*, 2019, 47.3: 379-393; BELLEZZA, S. A. "The Transnationalization of Ukrainian Dissent: New York City Ukrainian Students and the Defense of Human Rights, 1968–80". *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 2019, 20.1: 99-120.

[222] For a selected bibliography on war criminals and the discussion during the 1980s, see: MORRIS I. "Still Coming to Terms: Ukrainians, Jews, and the Dêschenes Commission," in LUCIUK, L. Y. (Ed.) *Canada's Ukrainians*, cit., 377-390; MARGOLIAN, H. *Unauthorized Entry,* cit., MATAS, D*.; Justice Delayed: Nazi War Criminals in Canada*, Toronto: Summerhill Press, 1987). Matas accuses the Canadian government of having harbored war criminals in their midst, whereas Margolian concludes that the majority of war criminals (and the number was not so large to begin with) had been admitted inadvertently, either as a result of the absence of information on their wartime activities or its inaccessibility. See also the two volumes of newspaper clippings and other related documents (such as press releases, minutes of meetings, official letters) "Alleged War Criminals in North America", Michael S. Kucher collection, CA BMUFA 0274. BMUFA, Edmonton, Alberta.

[223] The Deschênes commission report, 1987, R2958-114-5-E, Volume number: 6. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

Edmonton Journal, some students interviewed stated that the «war-crimes inquiry has hurt the reputation of Canada's Ukrainian community»[224]. Over the next two years, the discussion about war criminals in general and allegations against Ukrainians in particular sparked a series of activities within the organized community, all to save the good name of Ukrainians in the country. Moreover, representatives criticized the use of Soviet archival material to investigate the issue of war criminals[225]. Among the responses of the community, there was a campaign for the «destalinization» of Canada of which I found evidence in two archival fonds[226]. Jaroslav Rudnyckyi, who also founded the Canadian Institute of Onomastic Sciences, which then became the Canadian Society for the Study of Names, on a recommendation titled «And the elephant was left out unnoticed» wrote to the government on 10 December 1985:

> The discussion on the assumed presence of war criminals in Canada left out an important issue – the presence of the Stalin-named toponyms in this country, namely Stalin Mount in B.C. and Stalin township in Ontario. […] Millions of innocent people (Ukrainians, Jews, Poles, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Belorussians ...) were liquidated under his regime in the Soviet Union. Moreover, he was also the first prewar criminal, having on his account 7 millions of Ukrainians, executed by the infamous genocidal famine in 1932-1933. As Adolf Hitler's ally in 1939-41, he was responsible for the Katyn murder of Polish officers during WW II[227].

These sentences highlight the main themes around which the defense of the Ukrainian community in Canada has been built regarding the issue of war criminals: the equation and alliance between Hitler and Stalin, the victimization of Ukrainians, and their leveling with other nationalities, especially the Poles and the Jews. No mention is made of the possible involvement of any Ukrainian in the Shoah or the killing of Poles, who instead were victims of Stalin and Hitler. In the 1980s, the narrative of the Eastern nationalities who fell victim to both totalitarian regimes, with Stalin's only lasting longer, and the Ukrainians endured a genocide in the 1930s was already widespread, not only within the community. For example, I found rather unusual the newspaper clipping from the *Jewish Post,* 23 December 1986, titled «Ukrainian people also suffered a Holocaust»[228]. In another document in the same archival fond, Rudnyckyi considered astonishing that «Nobody ever questioned the presence of Stalin-geographical feature in this country, even when in the Soviet Union such names as Stalingrad

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[224] "Inquiry Slurs Ukrainian Canadian groups", *Edmonton Journal,* 30th May 1986.

[225] "Alleged War Criminals in North America", BMUFA, Edmonton, Michael S. Kucher collection, CA BMUFA 0274.

[226] Ivan Demianiuk collection, CA BMUFA 0264. BMUFA, Edmonton, Alberta; Jaroslav Rudnyckyi fonds, R5366-21-8-E. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[227] Jaroslav Rudnyckyi fonds*, R5366-21-8-E. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[228] *Ibidem*

and similar were changed»[229]. Rudnyckyi, with the support of preeminent members and associations of the Ukrainian community[230] and politicians such as Alex Kindy, a Member of the Parliament for Calgary East, try to get in touch with the prime ministers of British Columbia (Fig. 11) and Ontario. On 12 September 1986, David Peterson, BC premier, replied to Kindy that he received the request, however, he noted that the mount is named after Stalin because the «marshal»[231] was prominent figure of WW II, together with other townships like Churchill, Roosevelt, De Gaulle, Truman, and Curtin [Australian Prime Minister]. This did not imply any support of the province to his political ideas or actions[232]. The PM recognised though the sensitivity that the topic might have for certain communities in Canada. On 8 October 1986, as bewilderment and tension over the Chernobyl disaster were growing, the UCC passed a motion to start a process of destalinization of Canadian atlas[233].
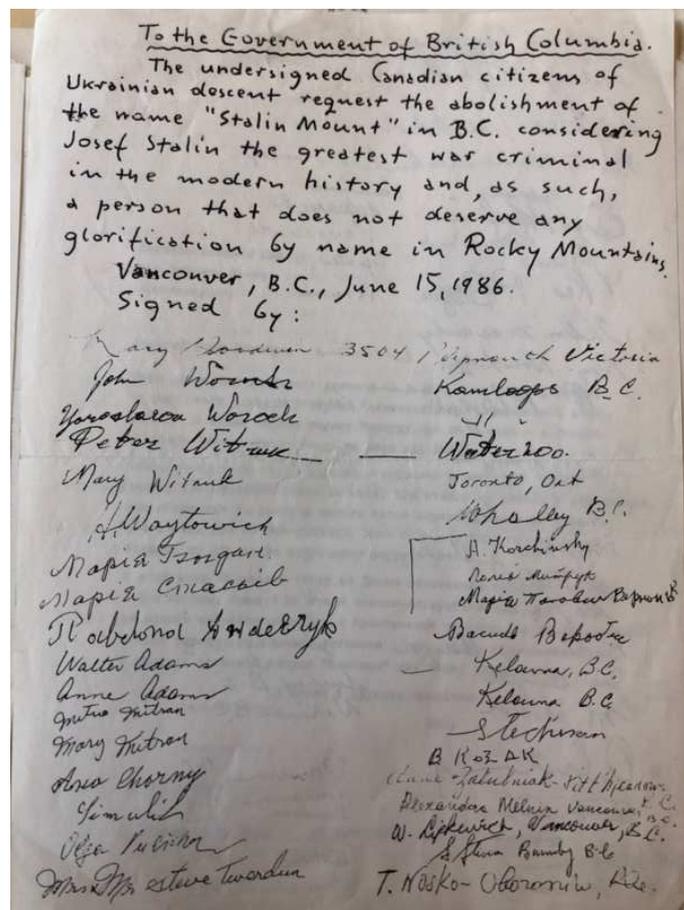
Fig. 11: Recommendation sent to the BC province. Signatures.

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[229] *Ibidem.*

[230] Especially Bohdan Kordan, Lubomyr Luciuk and the Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

[231] *Ibidem.*

[232] *Ibidem.*

[233] **"Erase Stalin name from maps. Ukrainian group urges Canada", *The Globe and Mail,* 25th October 1986.

In the end, in November 1986 the Stalin township in Ontario has been renamed "Hansen"[234], in honor of the athlete Rick Hansen[235], who was in the middle of his "Man in Motion World Tour". They had to wait until 24th April 1987 to rename Mount Stalin, Mount Peck[236].

3.4.2. The (Iron) Curtain opens

After Stalin's death, East European state tourist agencies and Western travel companies made a combined effort to turn Eastern Europe into a destination for Western tourism. Every year since the early 1960s, millions of Westerners went on holiday in Eastern Europe[237]. The process started at the highest political level during the thaw, when the East European governments eased their visa regimes and introduced advantageous tourist exchange rates. Removing the fundamental barriers to inter-bloc mobility, however, was insufficient to secure an influx of Western tourists, since also transport connectivity and tour packages were required. During the fieldwork in Canada, I have found several travel agencies and airlines advertisements in the publications related to the AUUC. This comes with no surprise since this "half" of the community fully recognize Soviet Ukraine as their "homeland"[238]. For example, the Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Souvenir Book, distributed in 1967, includes three advertisements for visiting Soviet Ukraine [Fig. 12], one for Moscow and one for sending parcels under the slogan «If you can be close, feel close! »[239].

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[234] "Stalin Township renamed Hansen", *The Globe and Mail,* 7th November 1986.

[235] Rick Hansen is a Canadian athlete, activist, and philanthropist. He was born on August 26, 1957, in British Columbia, Canada. After a spinal cord injury at the age of 15 in a car accident, Rick Hansen became a paraplegic, and he then became an accomplished wheelchair athlete. In 1985, he embarked on a remarkable journey called the "Man in Motion World Tour" to raise awareness about spinal cord injuries and raise funds for spinal cord research and accessibility projects. During the tour, Hansen wheeled through 34 countries and covered over 40,000 kilometers (25,000 miles) in his wheelchair. The journey captured the attention of people worldwide and brought significant awareness to the challenges faced by individuals with disabilities. It also raised millions of dollars for spinal cord injury research and initiatives. HANSEN, R; TAYLOR, J. *Rick Hansen: Man in Motion*. Vancouver: D&M Publishers, 2011.

[236] Jaroslav Rudnyckyi fonds*,* R5366-21-8-E. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario. Don Peck was a trapper, guide, and outfitter from the area.

[237] See: PEDERSEN, S. B. "Eastbound tourism in the Cold War: the history of the Swedish communist travel agency Folkturist", *Journal of Tourism History*, 2018, 10.2: 130-145.

[238] Ties between Canada and the USSR are for example deeply presented in the Resolution written in the occasion of the 34th Congress AUUC 1978. *AUUC fonds,* Box 18. PPA, Edmonton, Alberta.

[239] AUUC, *Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Souvenir Book,* Winnipeg, 1967, p. 16.

Fig. 12: Advertisement in the AUUC Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Souvenir book[240]

However, the connection to Ukraine was "inevitable" also for the other half of the community. Although the anti-communist Ukrainian community did not formally recognize Ukraine as a Soviet socialist republic, reducing it to a Russian occupied land, as the years passed, it became increasingly difficult to pretend that their motherland was only a place for their heart and mind and not an existing place on the map. To this one must also add that few expected an imminent end of the Soviet Union in the first half of the 1980s. For this reason, the "ethnic" and "nostalgic" tours[241] were not only limited to members of the leftist community who wanted to experience the "workers' paradise".

The first example was a personal narrative. During our interview, Peter shared his meaningful experiences reconnecting with his roots through visits to Ukraine. He explained that his parents had traveled to Ukraine earlier during the Cold War era as part of an organized tour. Peter subsequently visited twice, in 1992 and again a few years later. He described the trips as being «supercharged» emotionally. Peter relayed a lighthearted anecdote from one of his visits. A cousin who worked at a local hotel was able to access vehicles and, wanting to see his paternal grandmother's grave before traveling to Lviv, the only available vehicle was an ambulance. Locals expressed concern upon seeing it, asking about any medical emergencies or incidents. Peter recalled sobbing in the ambulance on the return trip from visiting the grave site, reflecting on the significance of reconnecting with the «human» aspects of his heritage, despite the challenges of the politically divided Cold War era. During that time, when the country was separated, the family had stayed in touch through letter writing to maintain their personal ties across international borders[242]. Furthermore, as Roman

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[240] AUUC, *Ukrainian Canadian Centennial Souvenir Book,* Winnipeg, 1967, p. 7.
[241] RADCHENKO, O. Ethnic Tourism from Canada, and the United States to Ukraine in the Context of the Cold War, 1950s–1980s, Russian Studies in History, 2020, 59.3: 226-247.
[242] Peter Melnycky. Interview by me, 13th September 2022, Edmonton.

suggested, writing letters or traveling to Ukraine could indeed represent a pragmatic approach. Taking direct action to communicate or assist those in need may prove a sensible path at this challenging time. While the situation remains complex with no easy answers, options aimed at constructive engagement rather than mere reaction hold hope of making a positive difference however small:

> The truly hardliners would say "no you can't [maintain ties] because you would recognize the evil empire, but we had to deal with the country that was there. You maybe want to change it, and that's why we want to help people who are risking their health and safety by being dissidents, but you don't get there by just repeating the same old hyper patriotic nostrums[243].

Moving to communal experiences, another example strictly related to the cultural activities of the diaspora was the European tour of the Koshetz choir. The Olexander Koshetz choir of Winnipeg traces its origins to the annual summer Higher Education Courses sponsored in Winnipeg from 1941 through 1962 by the Ukrainian National Federation. In addition to Ukrainian language, literature, culture and history classes, the courses offered instruction in the art of choral singing and conducting. Initially the music program was directed by the renowned New York-based Ukrainian choir conductor and arranger Olexander Koshetz (Oleksander Koshyts'; 1875-1944), who had served as conductor and choirmaster of the Kyiv Opera during the Great War and led the Ukrainian Republican Capella (Ukrainian National Choir), on very successful tours of Europe and the Americas between 1919 and 1926. After his death in Winnipeg, in September 1944, Koshetz was succeeded by his widow Tetiana Koshetz. In 1946, several Higher Education Courses' participants and alumni, led by Halia Cham and encouraged by Tetiana Koshetz and Dr. Macenko, established the Winnipeg Ukrainian National Youth Federation [UNYF] Choir, renamed Koshetz Choir in 1967[244]. In 1978 the choir embarked on its first tour of Soviet Ukraine (Kyiv, Lviv, Ternopil) which brought the works of Koshetz to the attention of the Soviet Ukrainian elite at a time when they were officially ignored by the regime. The fonds containing archival information of the tour is preserved in the University of Manitoba Archives and Special Collection, which contains the itinerary, a detailed program of daily activities, the list of the participant (sixty-five) and the USSR custom regulation. According to the account on the *Winnipeg Tribune*, the trip was organized thanks to the invitation of the "Soviet Ukraina Society", after sixteen months of communication between the Winnipeg Choir and Anatoly Avdiesky, conductor of the Kiev's Veriovska Folk Ensemble. The Choir director also mentioned the possibility for those who would travel to Ukraine to meet their relatives there[245]. The tour has been mentioned

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[243] Roman Waschuk. Interview by me, 22nd December 2021, Toronto.

[244] Olexander Koshetz (choir) fonds, CA UMASC MSS 438. UoM Archive, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

[245] "Koshetz Choir off to the Ukraine", *Winnipeg Tribune,* 20th March 1978, p. 49.

also in the community's newspapers such as the Ukrainian-language *Ukrayins'ki Visti:* «This is perhaps the first time that an artistic ensemble composed of descendants of our pioneers (not progressives) in the diaspora will bring their native song and word from across the ocean to their native land»[246]. Reactions seemed enthusiastic and while stressing the twinning agreement linking Winnipeg and Lviv, they were all also asking for increasing cultural exchanges between Canada and Soviet Ukraine. The conductor William Solomon, interviewed for *News from Ukraine,* recalled how «we dreamed of this for a very long time»[247]. Even if more research should be done to better understand that tour, for the scope of this analysis it might trigger fundamental questions: Was it a return to the homeland? Was that Ukraine on the map their homeland again? The cultural relations in which so much was hoped for froze the following year with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan but afterwards, other two tours of the Choir would have been organized in 1982 and 1990, while a Lviv Choir, the Vatra Esemble, appeared in concert in Winnipeg on 20th September 1989[248], less than two months before the opening of the Iron Curtain.

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[246] *Ukrayins'ki Visti,* n.7-8, 1978.
[247] *News from Ukraine,* n. 14, 1978.
[248] *Ukrainian voice/Canadian Voice,* 20th August 1989.

CHAPTER 4
«WRITING THE NATION»[1] (1960s-1980s)

Leave them alone and pretty soon the Ukrainians

will think that they won the Battle of Trafalgar[2].

4.1. Multiculturalism and Education: An introductory framework

The immediate postwar years – the heyday of Canadian nationalism[3] – set the stage for new nation-building strategies aimed to spur economic and social uplift due to a shift in age and ethnic demographics, and labor markets. Accordingly, the federal government claimed higher involvement in areas that are deemed to be in the national interest, above all the field of education[4]. To understand later developments, one should note that Canada has no federal office of education and no federal educational policy. The education system is the responsibility of the provinces and territories, each having its own ministry or department responsible for setting structures, programs, and curricula[5]. In general, it is divided into three main levels - elementary, secondary, and post-secondary. Elementary education, which usually starts at the age of five or six, typically covers grades 1 to 8 or grades 1 to 6, depending on the province. Secondary education, also known as high school, covers grades 9 to 12. Students usually complete it by the age of eighteen. Since Canada is a country with a peculiar history of intertwining settler colonialism and high rates of immigration, addressing cultural diversity in the field of education has always been considered a key mechanism for fostering social cohesion, promoting a feeling of national identity, and ensuring the integration of newcomers into the broader society as "citizens"[6].

Historiography agrees on roughly identifying three phases of educational approaches in relation to the management of cultural diversity in the country[7], assimilation (1867-1945), higher

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[1] YEKELCHYK, S. *Writing the Nation: The Ukrainian Historical Profession in Independent Ukraine and the Diaspora.* Hannover: Ibidem Press, 2023.

[2] Quote of the English Canadian humorist Stephen Leacock (1868-1944) cited in: PRYMAK, T.M. *Gathering a heritage. Ukrainian, Slavonic and Ethnic Canada and the USA.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015, p. 6.

[3] DAVIES, S. and AURINI, J., "The evolving prism: the role of nationalism in Canadian higher education", *European Journal of Higher Education*, 2021, 11.3:239-254, p. 240.

[4] JOSHEE, R. "Citizenship and multicultural education in Canada. From assimilation to social cohesion", BANKS, J. A. (Ed.). *Diversity and citizenship education: Global perspectives.* London: John Wiley & Sons, 2006, p. 127.

[5] Only Aboriginal education is in control of the federal government.

[6] JOSHEE, R. "Citizenship and multicultural education in Canada, cit., pp. 127-130.

[7] The analysis is limited to the post-Confederation years.

recognition of cultural differences (1945-1960s), and official multiculturalism (from 1971)[8]. The patterns of education set by British and French settlers in the mid-19th century were formalized in 1867 by the *British North America Act*, which made education a provincial responsibility[9]. In this first phase, schooling was considered a central factor in the assimilation of Indigenous communities and non-Anglophones and non-Francophones coming from Europe. All aspects of education in English-speaking Canada, from textbooks to policy and curriculum, were thus rooted in the principles of assimilation and Anglo conformity. The Indian Residential Schools (IRS), established with the purpose of assimilating Indigenous children into Euro-Canadian culture, were a significant part of this policy. The IRS issue now occupies a prominent position at the forefront of both political and academic discourse as these institutions, conceived with the aim of assimilating Indigenous children into Euro-Canadian culture, are now recognized as emblematic of broader colonial practices. Their historical legacy has ignited intense scrutiny and debate, prompting profound reflections on Canada's colonial past and its ongoing implications for Indigenous communities. In academic circles, scholars delve deeply into the complex intersections of settler colonialism, genocide, and Indigenous experiences, shedding critical light on the systemic injustices embedded within the IRS system. This scholarly engagement underscores the urgency of grappling with the multifaceted legacies of colonial violence and advocating for meaningful reconciliation efforts grounded in truth, justice, and Indigenous sovereignty[10]. With religious institutions playing a significant role in education since the arrival of European settlers, the *British North America Act of 1867* confirmed educational divisions based on Roman Catholic and Protestant school boards, and in most provinces, schools by both Roman Catholic and Protestant churches were publicly funded. Moreover, language assimilation has been considered the key to the Canadianization of various groups, English in English-speaking provinces and French in Quebec, and areas of New Brunswick and Manitoba[11].

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[8] Periodization is more complex, but I find this simplification useful in order to understand the major developments in the time span of the investigation. The analysis is based on the following literature: FLEMING, T. "Canadian school policy in liberal and post-liberal eras: historical perspectives on the changing social context of schooling, 1846-1990". *Journal of Education Policy* 1991, 6.2: 183–199; BURKE, S. Z.; MILEWSKI, P. (Ed.). *Schooling in transition: readings in Canadian history of education*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011; CLARK, P. (Ed.). *New possibilities for the past: Shaping history education in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011; BRUNO-JOFRÉ, R. "History of education in Canada: Historiographic turns and widening horizons". *Paedagogica Historica*, 2014, 50.6: 774-785; GHOSH, R. "Public education and multicultural policy in Canada: The special case of Quebec". *International review of education*, 2004, 50.5-6: 543-566. Moreover, it should be noted that from 2021, the field focused research on the residential school system issue and Aboriginal education, after the discovery of unmarked graves of children found on site.

[9] This was reiterated in the Constitution Act of 1982.

[10] MACDONALD, D. B. "Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Assessing context, process, and critiques". *Griffith Law Review*, 2020, 29.1: 150-174.

[11] ANDERSON, J. *The education of the new-Canadian: A treatise on Canada's greatest educational problem*. London: JM Dent & Sons, 1918. Anderson then Inspector of Schools in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, who later became Minister of Education and then Premier of Saskatchewan, emphasized the urgent need to assimilate newcomers to the Anglo-Canadian culture.

It would be necessary to wait until after World War II for the development of an educational policy that accepted the kaleidoscope of diversity without demanding assimilation. As has been shown, multiculturalism was gradually elaborated and declared in response to major social and political issues taking place in the 1960s and 1970s. French Canadians demanded more appropriate recognition of the cultural and linguistic presence, and Aboriginals insisted on the settlement of land claims. In addition, increased numbers of "ethnic" minority groups, who had been in Canada for generations or just landed in the country, required similar recognition as the French Canadians. The Quiet Revolution in Quebec brought significant changes to the education system of the province when schools were secularized, shifting away from religious-based education. In 1963, the Quebec government formed the Ministry of Education instead of using the «narrow-minded education system otherwise available»[12]. Moreover, the seismic societal changes were not limited to Quebec alone. Similar transformations were taking place in other provinces as well. By the late 1960s, it became apparent that the second and third-generation German, Ukrainian, and Jewish immigrants in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba were experiencing assimilation. Consequently, these communities began to express apprehension about the potential loss of their language and culture, while also remaining concerned about the ongoing discrimination they faced.[13] Finally in provinces such as Ontario and British Columbia, the "other quiet revolution" took place. This movement embraced a civic approach to multiculturalism, focusing on addressing issues of segregation and racist policies specifically on Asian and African communities[14].

In light of these developments, in 1967, an intergovernmental body called the "Council of Ministers of Education" was established to address education policy issues at the federal level. This council represented the interests of the provinces and territories and aimed to coordinate provincial educational policies while engaging in activities, projects, and initiatives of mutual interest. Its establishment reflected a growing commitment to nation-building. Within this context, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism recommended an increased focus on bilingual education and support for minority language rights. Afterwards, the policy of multiculturalism was implemented, establishing a framework that, over the years, has informed the ways in which

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[12] Education in Quebec was then separated from the church formally, by the establishment of the "Secular Ministry of Education" the following year. Separate Catholic and Protestant school systems insisted on maintaining their existence, but in 1988 school boards were separated linguistically, as English or French. In: BRETON-CARBONNEAU, G.L., "What's Language Got to do with it? An Exploration into the Learning Environment of Quebec's Classes d'Accueil", *Canadian and International Education*, 2010, 39.3: 101-121.

[13] AUGIE, F. *Multiculturalism in Canada: the challenge of diversity.* Scarborough, Ont.: Nelson Canada, 1992

[14] MCLAREN, K. "We had no desire to be set apart": Forced Segregation of Black Students in Canada West Public Schools and Myths of British Egalitarianism". *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 2004. STANLEY, T. J. *Contesting white supremacy: School segregation, anti-racism, and the making of Chinese Canadians.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.

educational institutions have come to acknowledge the cultural diversity of the Canadian population, and «to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve equality in the economic, social, cultural and political life»[15]. Multiculturalism is an intricate and often disparate set of institutional programs and guidelines instead of a unified systematic policy. The result has been an uneven distribution of policies in the various provinces with different local aims and contingencies. Multicultural education was first endorsed by the English-speaking provincial governments, starting with Saskatchewan in 1975 and followed by Ontario in 1977. In those early years, respective provincial ministries of education established multicultural education programs that were related to the demographics of their population. For example, the Western provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba offered educational instruction in Cree, French, Ukrainian, Russian, German, and Hebrew[16]. Also, Nova Scotia developed programs to serve the educational needs of its long-established black population. Quebec, instead, rejected the federal policy of multiculturalism because, according to the scholar Ghosh, «equal status for all cultures implied that French culture was equal to other cultures»[17], and this was seen as likely to undermine their struggle for cultural survival in a predominantly English-speaking North American continent. Considering this, in 1974 the Quebec government introduced language legislation making French the official language of the province. The Aboriginal population also took the position that the multicultural policy, which made no reference to their language, culture, and political status, did not apply to them. Indeed, under the *Indian Act*[18], as Aboriginals assert, they would not be part of the «foreign» constructed ethnic, racial, or language groups of Canada. Contributing to this struggle is the fact that the *Indian Act* places services for Aboriginals as the responsibility of the federal government. Hence, provincial governments and local boards of education have provided less than adequate support for education that would address the needs and concerns of Aboriginal peoples[19].

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[15] SHERIDAN, W. et al. *Bill C-93: The Canadian Multiculturalism Act (as Passed by the House of Commons, 12 July 1988)*. Rev. 21 July 1988 Ed., Library of Parliament, Research Branch, 1988.

[16] GHOSH, R. "Public Education and Multicultural Policy in Canada: The Special Case of Quebec". *International Review of Education,* 2004, 50.5/6: 543–566, p. 555.

[17] *Ibidem*.

[18] The Indian Act is the principal law through which the federal government administers Indian status, local First Nations governments, and the management of reserve land and communal monies. The Indian Act does not include Métis or Inuit peoples. It came into power on 12 April 1876 and consolidated a number of earlier colonial laws that sought to control and assimilate Indigenous peoples into Euro-Canadian culture. For its history and significance see: LESLIE, J. "The Indian Act: an historical perspective". *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, 2002; STEVENSON, A. D. "Thinking Historically through an Indigenous Lens: Kelm and Smith's Talking Back to the Indian Act". *Canadian Journal of History*, 2019, 54.3: 376-380.

[19] On aboriginal education see, among others: KIRKNESS, V. J. "Aboriginal Education in Canada: A Retrospective and a Prospective". *Journal of American Indian Education*, 1999, 39.1: 14-30; KUMAR, M. P. "Aboriginal education in Canada: A postcolonial analysis". *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 2009, 5.1: 42-57.

Although some educators and writers claim that multicultural education as implemented in schools has been responsive to the needs, interests, and aspirations of the diverse population of students[20], critics have argued that this approach articulates a discourse of difference that signifies that culture is primarily carried in and exhibited by «foreign bodies» — people from somewhere else, who are «linguistically different» and do not «look and sound Canadian». This led to a proliferation of definitions for "othering" these communities (visible minorities, multicultural and ethnic communities, …)[21]. The consequence was the enhancement of a discourse of exclusion and what seems a paradox of simultaneously belonging and not belonging pervading Canadian society.

Building on this framework of growing recognition of cultural diversity through multiculturalism and considering its perils, this section deals with the experience that members of the Ukrainian community had in the Canadian school system after the Second World War. Did they experience discrimination? Did they have contact with children of other groups? The analysis, using interviews and archival sources collected during the fieldwork, focuses on the provinces of Ontario, Alberta, and Manitoba. However, I have complemented these sources with memories of Ukrainians in Quebec[22] given the specificity of their trilingual context, and British Columbia. During the research, another peculiar element emerged, which is how the institutions of the Ukrainian community themselves organized educational activities for children to raise them as "Ukrainian", through Ukrainian schools. In this regard, they seemed socialized as "Ukrainian nationals" at home, with home being the community, and "Canadian citizens" at school. Among the sources, the words of a teacher interviewed by Zoriana Kilyk are quite evocative:

> You know, I consider myself…I can say that I consider myself Ukrainian Canadian. For some
> reason, for me, this Ukrainian somehow is in my soul, and it cannot be any other way. But I
> am Canadian, because I think this is an amazing country that gave us the opportunity to be
> Ukrainians[23].

The aim of this part of the analysis is thus to explore the role that education had in the elaboration of this feeling of "Canadianness" that manifests itself not "in spite of" the attachment to

[20] MANSFIELD, E. and KEHOE, J. "A critical examination of anti-racist education". *Canadian Journal of Education/Revue canadienne de l'éducation*, 1994, 418-430.

[21] JAMES, C. E. and SHADD, A. L. (Ed.). *Talking about difference: Encounters in culture, language, and identity.* Toronto: Between the lines, 1994; BANNERJI, H. "Geography lessons …", cit.

[22] A local case study on Quebec worth mentioning is: MOMRYK, M. *The Cold War in Val-d'Or: A History of the Ukrainian Community in Val-d'Or, Quebec*. Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press, 2021.

[23] Irene Pawliw. Interview by Zoriana Kilyk, 1st June 2016, Toronto.

Ukraine, but precisely because of this. What are their memories of this double education? Do they consider, in retrospection, that one had a stronger impact than the other?

4.1.1. «History of Ukraine? There's no such thing!»[24]

The historian and community leader Lupul noted that if one wants to analyze the education of Ukrainians in Canada's public system, the crucial elements to consider are schooling in the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian as a subject in the curricula[25]. The fundamental role of the language is traceable by looking at the census collecting mother tongue data. For example, in 1931 and 1941 Ukrainian was the fourth most common mother tongue language in Canada, behind English, French, and German. In 1951 and 1961, Ukrainian became the largest mother tongue after English and French[26]. To the language question, I would also add a third component, namely "Ukraine" as a subject in geography and history programs.

Starting from the issue of the Ukrainian language, Canada recognizes both English and French as official languages, and as such, bilingual education is widely available in many provinces and territories, particularly in areas with significant French-speaking populations. Moreover, the Canadian Constitution guarantees the right to education in either English or French, depending on the linguistic minority population in the region. This protection is enshrined in the Official Languages Act (1969) and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982). In addition to bilingual education for Canada's official languages (English and French), many Canadian provinces and territories offer programs to support the so-called "heritage languages"[27]. In his article, Lupul gives an overview of the evolution of bilingual programs in Ukrainian in major provinces, with a focus on Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan[28]. Bilingual education already emerged in the late nineteenth century. At that time there were no official federal policies promoting bilingual education and it generally occurred in provinces where there was a high immigrant population. For example, Lupul mentioned the first language legislation in Manitoba dated 1897: «When ten of the pupils speak

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[24] Roman Petryshyn. Interview by me, 12th September 2022, Edmonton.

[25] LUPUL, M.R. "Ukrainian-Language Education in Canada's Public Schools". LUPUL, M. R. (Ed.) A heritage in transition: Essays in the history of Ukrainians in Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart,1982, pp. 215-43.

[26] "The evolution of language populations in Canada, by mother tongue, from 1901 to 2016", Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2018.

[27] Heritage languages in Canada refer to the languages spoken by communities whose ancestors originated from countries or regions outside of Canada. These languages are typically passed down from generation to generation and play a significant role in maintaining cultural identity and connections to ancestral roots. I am referring to: CUMMINS, J. *Heritage language education: A literature review.* Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1983.

[28] LUPUL, M.R. "Ukrainian-Language Education in Canada's Public Schools …", cit.

French or any language other than English the teaching should be conducted in French or such other language» and the first Ruthenian[29] Training School for teachers opened in Winnipeg 1905. In July 1907, a group of graduates from this school, which was Canada's first professional Ukrainian school for teachers, organized their inaugural convention in Winnipeg. These graduates were considered the most educated and accomplished individuals among the Ukrainian immigrants who came to pioneer the country. During the convention, they extended an invitation to several prominent Ukrainians in the homeland to become honorary members of their newly formed organization. Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866–1934), a renowned historian and public figure, was offered the esteemed position of honorary president. Hrushevsky accepted the role and emphasized in his response that he viewed the organization of national schools as a crucial defense against the loss of Ukrainian identity within the American Ukrainian communities[30].

Around the time of the First World War, when certain ethnic groups and immigrants were viewed suspiciously, Canada took measures to halt bilingual education[31], which reemerged then in the late 1960s to promote heritage languages and cultures in line with the multicultural debate of the time[32]. In 1967, the Canadian Ukrainian Parents' Committee presented a compelling document to the board of education of the City of Toronto[33]. This document proposes the inclusion of Ukrainian as an elective accredited subject in both primary and secondary schools within the city and contains several noteworthy passages on the Ukrainian language in Canada. For example, it stated that: «We must recognize that the Ukrainian language is not a foreign tongue; indeed, it is the mother tongue of a large number of Canadians who pioneered the Western prairies»[34].

The history of bilingual education in Alberta and Ontario illustrates the variety of programs that have been enacted in Canada since the 1970s. In Alberta, inspired by the federal policy of

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[29] At first Ukrainians and Poles attended the same schools. However, it did not last long, since already in 1907 Ukrainians were transferred to Brandon, Manitoba to avoid difficulties with Poles. In *ibidem*.

[30] PRYMAK, T.M. *Gathering a heritage. Ukrainian, Slavonic and Ethnic Canada and the USA.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015, p. 134.

[31] On the debate on bilingual education after WW I see: SISSONS, C.B. *Bi-lingual schools in Canada.* London: Deft, 1917, pp. 156, 184, 213-14. See also comparative studies on bilingual education in Canada and the US: KOSTASH, M. "Baba Was a Bohunk and So Am I-a Stranger, Despite Three Generations in Canada". *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 1977, 2.1: 69; LUPUL, M. R. (Ed.). *Osvita: Ukrainian bilingual education.* Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1985; OVANDO, C. J. "Bilingual education in the United States: Historical development and current issues". *Bilingual research journal*, 2003, 27.1: 1-24; RICENTO, T. (Ed.), *Language Politics and Policies: Perspectives from Canada and the United States* (pp. 213-231). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

[32] "Book IV of the Royal Commission, recommendations suggested that heritage languages be instituted in elementary schools where there is demand from the community. Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism. Final Report"*,* 1969, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism fonds, R1161-0-6-E. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[33] "Teaching Ukrainian in Ontario Schools: brief", Joseph Boyko fonds, 1967, MG 3 K 23, vol. 9, file 16. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[34] *Ibidem,* p. 3.

multiculturalism, the Alberta Teachers' Association and the Ukrainian Professional and Businessman's Club [UPBC] lobbied to change the School Act in the province to allow for the Ukrainian language to be introduced in the curriculum. With the political connections of the UPBC in the Alberta provincial government, the School Act was successfully changed. In the fall of 1974, after working with the provincial government and the school boards to create a program, one was introduced that allowed for instruction in both English and Ukrainian. Since 1974, other bilingual programs have been established around the province, such as German, Italian, Chinese, Spanish, and Japanese[35]. Other provinces, like Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Ontario have instituted similar programs. For example, it was just in 1973 that the Toronto Board of Education gave initial approval to the establishment of Chinese, and soon after Greek, bicultural programs in several elementary schools. This initial development has been considerably expanded under the Ontario Heritage Language Program wherein, as of January 1978, more than eight thousand students were involved directly under the program[36].

In this framework, coming to personal experiences of third waves Ukrainians in Canadian public schools, I have analyzed narratives and discourses about schooling mainly from oral sources. As soon as "DP children" – who were mainly of high school age – came to Canada in the immediate postwar period, bilingual programs were still not widespread. For this reason, many recall the struggle with the language. For example, Helen remembers: «I went to register by myself, and I registered to grade 9 high school. And so, we continued. It was very difficult to me, the English language to start with. But I was learning by myself through reading books»[37]. If the struggle with the language was a common experience for these children and young people, the way they dealt with adversity is often linked to the memory of their teachers. Marta, who attended the Kitchener-Waterloo Collegiate, recalls how her English teacher had her listen to lectures in other classes to familiarize her with the language: «Miss Williams, I remember her she was very good, and she took me with her with every study period that I have, and she took to the other classes so I could listen to the English language. It wasn't easy but somehow, I passed»[38]. Iroida, who resettled in Montreal, had to deal also with the Quebec system, but she had a good experience there and since she knew German and Latin, she could use those languages instead of French:

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[35] AUNGER, E. A. "Legislating Language Use in Alberta: A Century of Incidental Provisions for a Fundamental Matter", *Alberta Law Review*, 2004, 463, 42.2.

[36] BALE, J. "Heritage Language Education Policies and the Regulation of Racial and Linguistic Difference in Ontario". In RICENTO, T. (Ed.), *Language Politics and Policies: Perspectives from Canada and the United States*, pp. 213-231. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

[37] Helen Junyk. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto.

[38] Marta Waschuk. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto.

> Because in Quebec you must know French. Well, English was bad enough, never mind French […]. The teacher said, "Ok, you write German because that's another language and we will give you a Latin test because it's not taught in our school but there is a Latin test available, and it will be instead of French[39].

In addition, Iroida's encounter with English is linked to the vivid image of "Heidi":

> I knew a little bit of English because we had English in DP camps, not much but "hello, goodbye, and so on". Don't ask me how I spoke and what I said. But I got to the principal office, I must have said something right because she sent me to the classroom. I was put in grade 9. It was already the end of February, so the school was half the year. And how was it there? My English was poor, but I must say I had very good teachers. My English teacher gave me "Heidi" the book, children's book, to read. I thought it was wonderful! Because everyone was doing English, and I was reading Heidi. And I could understand Heidi. Then she gave me another book. But I remember Heidi, I have it at home because it was the first English book that I've read[40].

Similarly, Mary Szkambara – teacher, and community leader in Canada[41] –, remembers the image of one book, but her memories, compared to Iroida's are bitterer: «I remember being put in the corner of the room, given a book with the alphabet on it and Sister Mary Rachel told me, I'll never forget it, "All right honey, you copy the letters of the alphabet and you learn them"»[42].

Another element frequently mentioned[43], concerns the issue of discrimination for their ethnic background, a topic common not only to DPs but to Canadians with Ukrainian background too[44]:

> Interviewer: Did you ever feel discriminated against, due to your ethnic background?
> Daniel Huzyk: Oh yes. I grew up in BRITISH Columbia [laughs][45].

Limiting to the DPs, some instances, for better or worse, arose to varied degrees in each source. Some described feelings of mistrust from their peers, while others recalled genuine discriminatory practices

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[39] Iroida Wynnyckyj. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto.

[40] *Ibidem.*

[41] Mary Szkambara, born in 1941 in Pukiv, Ukraine, has played notable roles in the organized community, including the presidency of the UCC – Toronto branch (1993-2002) and the presidency of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organization (2002-2012).

[42] Mary Szkambara. Interview by Zoriana Kilyk, 30th November 2016, Toronto.

[43] It should be noted that the question has been asked directly, which might have influenced the narration.

[44] I am specifying it because there were interviews where there was also the issue of gender discrimination, such as: Iroida Wynnyckyj. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto, and Zorianna Hyworon. Interview by me, 22nd June 2022, Winnipeg.

[45] Daniel Huzyk. Interview by Sophia Isajiw, 5th June 2017, Toronto. He was born in1946 in Vancouver, British Columbia.

by their teacher that they had been victims of or witnessed. Marta's experience of it revolved around «two nuns that were just absolutely horrific»[46]:

> There was a Japanese girl, and she cried every English class. That's why I didn't like the teacher […]. And there was another who taught Latin and German that took away some of our German marks because she wouldn't believe us why we had high marks in German. Compare to others that had lower marks[47].

Then, the consequences of this feeling of exclusion could take different routes which for some overlap, as in the will of becoming a teacher themselves, like in the experience of both Iroida and Mary. The latter directly linked her passion to the discrimination she felt:

> And so, when I became a teacher that was one of the first things, I decided what I was going to do if I had immigrants in my class. I was going to make them feel welcome; I was going to make them feel proud to be a Canadian. And I wanted so much to be part of this country, these people. I also remember a time when the bus driver picked us all up and drove us to the different farms. And he finished, there was nobody on the bus except me and he said: "Well kid, where are you supposed to get off?" "I don't know, I don't know." And he said, "Well I'm going home, so goodbye." And he put me off the bus, and left me standing there and, when I became a teacher I thought, "Boy, it sure has changed!". The whole process, nobody cared about immigrants, we were here today and gone tomorrow type of thing[48].

It should be noted that those children and young people who were in DP camps and then moved to Canada, did not receive bilingual schooling in the public system but it is not by chance perhaps that, as in the case of Mary Szkambara, they took a strong interest in the question of bilingual education and multiculturalism once they grew up and became involved in the community[49]. Yet, even after bilingual programs were implemented, the main themes taught were strongly related to the local context. For example, the curriculum "Ukrainian cultural heritage in Manitoba" dated 1983, has, among the topics, the theme "Ukrainians in North End Winnipeg" in grade three and the "Ukrainians in the Prairies" in grade five[50].

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[46] Marta Waschuk. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto.

[47] *Ibidem.* In hindsight, it is worth stressing this juxtaposition of Ukrainians and Japanese that might harken back to the common experience of enemy alien and internment camps, nowadays a hot topic politically for the two communities in Canada. FUJIWARA, A. *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity: Japanese, Ukrainians, and Scots, 1919-1971*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012.

[48] Mary Szkambara. Interview by Zoriana Kilyk, 30th November 2016, Toronto.

[49] She had an active role in the Ontario Advisory Council on Multiculturalism and Citizenship.

[50] "Survey of Current Curriculum and Programs Related to Ukrainian Cultural Heritage 1983", Oleh Gerus fonds, Room 18A (Blue): WW-4. UoM, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

The experience of Roman Waschuk[51], Marta's son, instead, provides us with an example of the generation who was born and raised in Canada from "DP" parents, mainly socialized in English or French, and who were taught to be Ukrainian at home:

> My childhood was a highly DP Ukrainian-Canadian third-wave childhood. I grew up speaking Ukrainian, I learned English and French by exposure to school really and I think my mother told me that when I showed up at Nurse St. Monica, a nursery school in Montreal, they had concerns about me because there was this three years old child born in Canada who spoke neither of Canada official languages[52].

Lastly, the other recurrent topic that seemed fundamental to the analysis concerns the «ignorance» about Ukraine in the Canadian public education system. Roman, for example, shared his experience during a history class:

> I asked my history teacher if we would have studied Ukraine. She replied: History of Ukraine? There's no such thing![53].

These words resonate also in the interview of Andrew Gregorovich, a Canadian with Ukrainian heritage born in 1935 in Saskatoon, who describes a geography class and remembers the confusion that anyone demonstrated about Slavic countries:

> The schoolteacher was talking about countries, and he asked us to give him names of countries, and I said Ukraine. And he said, "There is no such place as Ukraine" and he showed the blackboard – and there was no Ukraine on the blackboard. It wasn't really bad, it wasn't anything you really couldn't deal with it, but very often if they asked you something and you said: "Ukrainian", it was very common [they would say] "You know, that's Russian isn't it!" or whatever, so you would have to be prepared for that discourse[54].

These feelings merged in two recurrent catchphrases: «There's no such place as Ukraine»[55] and «Ukraine is not Russia»[56], which signifies the struggle to gain recognition and be publicly

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[51] Roman Waschuk. Interview by me, 22nd December 2021, Toronto.
[52] *Ibidem.* See also his mom's interview: «my children went to English schools and Ukrainian schools for 12 years». Marta Waschuk. Interview by me, 8th December 2021.
[53] Roman Petryshyn. Interview by me, 12th September 2022, Edmonton.
[54] Andrew Gregorovich. Interview by Sophia Isajiw, 26th April 2018, Toronto.
[55] Roman Petryshyn. Interview by me, 12th September 2022; Edmonton; Yurij Luhovy. Interview by me, 5th July 2023, Winnipeg; Sophia Kachor. Interview by me, 24th June 2022, Winnipeg.
[56] Andrew Gregorovich. Interview by Sophia Isajiw, 26th April 2018, Toronto.

acknowledged. In this sense, one might venture to find a common thread in these narratives about their two motherlands, Ukraine, and Canada, which seem to overlap: the need to define themselves as non-Americans outside Canada on the one hand, and the desire to be recognized as Ukrainians, not Russians, on the other. And it is perhaps this common thread that makes the contradictions of national identities so explicit in this case study, where the lack of recognition increases the need to "own" a national belonging, but the changing and migrating boundaries of what a nation is make it impossible to define this belonging unambiguously.

From this starting point, testimonies usually took the chance to underline that there was a distinction between public and community education. Roman, for example, told me:

> We were an invisible nation, of course, it was not invisible to me. I had my dad's stories,
> pictures, and letters from Ukraine. There was a flag, an anthem. Ukraine was here. But the
> public system in schools taught us and all other Canadians that we did not exist[57].

In retrospection, I would argue the significance of this passage of the interview, where Roman underlined that despite what has been told in school, Ukraine not only existed but also «Ukraine was here»[58]. This element is crucial to understand the experience of this community, which cannot be dealt with if one doesn't question what it means for Ukraine to be there: where, in Canada, could they find it?

4.1.2. Ukrainian-Canadian education in Canada: Children of the community

The answer to the question about where one could find Ukraine in Canada is straightforward. When I asked during interviews if she felt accepted by Canadian society, Iroida recalled:

> We didn't feel the need for it. We had such a good Ukrainian community. We were self-
> satisfied. I didn't feel the need. Like friends? I had my Ukrainian friends. In high school, yes,
> I had friends, and I was invited to the weddings of my high school friends but there was a
> sort of in-and-out[59].

The community became the Ukraine that Roman was talking about, and if in Iroida's words, the focus was mainly on the inevitability of it, as in her «we didn't feel the need», Marta associated it with the

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[57] Roman Petryshyn. Interview by me, 12th September 2022, Edmonton.
[58] *Ibidem;* Iroida Wynnyckyj. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto.
[59] Iroida Wynnyckyj. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto.

feeling of exclusion from the Canadian society. Remembering how on the streetcar «high-class ladies were very disturbed by Italians who speak loudly»[60], she also significantly added: «We knew we were sort of second class too. […] They thought we were like wild»[61]. In retrospect, community life is remembered on the one hand as a replacement for the homeland, as highlighted by Peter: «The nurturing community life substituted the fact of not having contacts with the homeland […]. In Winnipeg, we did not have any biological family. But there were people who went through our same experience who became our own family»[62]. On the other hand, it was also a safe place to navigate life in Canada. For example, Marta Trofimenko, interviewed by the UCRDC based in Toronto, talked about the streetcar, a place already mentioned by Marta Waschuk, but in a different vein:

> Discrimination, yes. Both here [in Canada], and in America. But it is hard for me to say because we were in PLAST and we were so happy, strong, proud, and when we would sit in the streetcar, there were about 10 of us in our group, we would ask the driver if we could sing a Ukrainian song. We sang all kinds of PLAST songs. And people would walk by, look, we would be in our uniforms, and there was no discrimination then; we did not feel it, it was quite the opposite. People would say "That's nice, that's nice" [63].

The various Ukrainian churches, political groups, and cultural associations in Canada had a crucial role in influencing the upbringing of young people since they were instrumental in setting up and managing Ukrainian Saturday schools, also known as Ukrainian heritage schools. These schools provided additional instruction on Ukrainian language, culture, and history, operating separately from the mainstream public education system. The curriculum of those schools often includes language classes, cultural events, and celebrations to help maintain and pass down Ukrainian heritage to younger generations. Limited to my sources, the youth organization that was more frequently mentioned among third-wave Ukrainian Canadians is PLAST, the scouting organization founded in Lviv in 1911 and re-established in German DP camps, that then became widespread in both North and South American Ukrainian communities in the postwar years[64]. The reason for the pivotal position that is given to PLAST by its members might come from the transnational character of the organization that transcended specific localities but also by contingencies related to this wave. This is well-explained by Roman Waschuk:

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[60] Marta Waschuk. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto.

[61] *Ibidem.*

[62] Peter Melnycky. Interview by me, 13th September 2022, Edmonton.

[63] Marta Trofimenko. Interview by Zoriana Kilyk, 26th August 2022, Toronto.

[64] The history of PLAST has been recently researched in: SUBTELNY, O. et al. *Plast: Ukrainian Scouting, a Unique Story*. Plast Publishing Inc., 2016.

> My parents were in the Ukrainian Scouting organization PLAST, which was a bit … I think you can describe it as a Peter-pan organization. What I mean by that is people of my parent's generation who were teens when they came to Canada were invited to join the political side of the postwar community and many of them decided that they didn't want it. It was too ugly, too bitter, too fractious. So, they ended up staying in a youth organization and sort of making it their kind of home[65].

The individuals who experienced the hardships of war during their childhood, and later grew up as DP children and Ukrainian Canadian youth, appeared to have discovered a sense of belonging within youth organizations like PLAST. These organizations provided a shared space for them to connect, as they had all experienced displacement and resettlement, which created a bond that was both familiar and challenging to let go of. Peter emphasized the significance of these youth organizations in Canada, highlighting how they served as a sanctuary from the political divisions that plagued the adult members of the community:

> Any organization and church had their own Saturday schools. I consider myself lucky because in Winnipeg I went to Prosvita, which was independent. It educated me to be Ukrainian in a narrower sense, beyond the politics of each group[66].

This is not to say the youth organizations were all a unifying place for all the different souls of the community. Every organization had a "youth" and a "women" branch, so there were also members of highly politicized and divisive organizations, such as the Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine. The Ukrainian Youth Complex[67] in Edmonton, which was opened by League members, that I visited during my fieldwork is a good example of it. Roman Fedoriw, who accompanied me to the interview location wearing a Ukrainian hockey jersey, reminisced about his parents' endeavors to establish various organizations shortly after their arrival in Canada: «There were several Ukrainian halls, but they [his family and other DPs] felt to have their own»[68]. Roman grew up in this environment and remembered rallies and demonstrations against the Soviet Union where he was «there trying fighting»[69], a vocabulary close to the one of ABN. For instance, he also proudly recalled the Soviet flags burnt as a sign of protest during the Montreal Olympics in 1976[70].

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[65] Roman Waschuk. Interview by me, 22nd December 2021, Toronto.
[66] Peter Melnycky. Interview by me, 13th September 2022, Edmonton.
[67] The Ukrainian Youth Complex in Edmonton is the place where the bust of Roman Shukhevych was erected.
[68] Roman Fedoriw. Interview by me, 15th September 2022, Edmonton.
[69] *Ibidem.*
[70] *Ibidem*; Ludwig, J. *Five Ring Circus: The Montreal Olympics.* Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1976.

In general, the framework that developed involved children and youth being educated in Canadian public schools during the week, where they were taught in English or French, and occasionally offered Ukrainian bilingual programs. On weekends, they were further influenced by the Ukrainian community, which varied in its level of political engagement:

> We were busy, there was no time for us: five days at school, Saturday Ukrainian school, and Sunday had to go to the Church. So, you can't go out, anywhere else. Saturday was also PLAST day for the younger ones. School and PLAST[71].

Accordingly, it is not surprising that the outcome was what Olya Grod, a UCC community leader born in Toronto in 1951, defined as a «split personality»[72].

> You know, you were sort of one person at school and you wanted so to fit in, and yet, the minute you came home, you spoke Ukrainian to your parents and your activities were very much within the Ukrainian family. I probably did some volleyball and tournaments with my school groups, etc., but my Saturdays were spent at, you know, if not Ukrainian school, then CYM[73], and a dance class, or a choir or something. So, everything was pretty well related around the Ukrainian community and that really was a huge part of who you were and who you became. I recall later going to high school and thinking, wow, you know you want to be like the kids that have a school uniform and aren't always part of sort of something Ukrainian. And I think a lot of kids pulled away. I can't say that…for me, my sort of entrenchment within the Ukrainian community was very firm, though, you know, there was always this feeling of this Canadian side that you don't really fit into 100% just yet[74].

It is noteworthy to observe the contextual enactment of this complex and multifaceted process of identity formation, as exemplified by Irene Solomon. Irene, the daughter of a UPA member who experienced displacement in Italy and subsequently resettled in Canada, provides a compelling illustration of how this phenomenon manifests itself. Born in Toronto in 1961 to parents of German and Ukrainian descent, Irene succinctly encapsulates this sentiment stating how: «When I'm with Germans I feel German when I'm with Ukrainians I feel Ukrainian. The rest of the time I am Canadian»[75].

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[71] Marta Waschuk. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto.
[72] Olya Grod. Interview by Kassandra Luciuk, 15th July 2016, Toronto.
[73] CYM [Ukrainian Youth Association of *Canada*] was the youth organization of the UNF.
[74] Olya Grod. Interview by Kassandra Luciuk, 15th July 2016, Toronto.
[75] Irene Solomon. Interview by Ariadna Ochrymovych, 20th February 2020, Toronto.

Having tackled the fundamental role that the family and the community had in the "Ukrainian" upbringing of children, another element to mention deals with the content of this education. The most accurate source that I have found during my research is a survey of curricula and programs related to Ukrainian cultural heritage in Canada contained in the "Oleh Gerus fonds" at the University of Manitoba Archive[76]. The survey encompasses various programs centered around the Ukrainian language, history, and culture, tailored to the age groups within PLAST. For instance, children aged six to eleven were required to demonstrate their ability to identify the Ukrainian flag, coat of arms, and anthem. Additionally, they were expected to be familiar with at least three Ukrainian folksongs and proficient in creating Easter and Christmas decorations following traditional Ukrainian customs.[77]. Additional subjects covered topics in geography and history, including the task of sketching the map of Ukraine[78]. For students aged eleven to eighteen, the subjects remained similar but demanded more advanced abilities, such as embroidery and woodcarving, as well as comprehensive knowledge about Ukraine and the Ukrainian Canadian community. Examples of questions included «Name Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian artists» and «Demonstrate knowledge of the Ukrainian community in your city or town»[79]. Overall, the subjects primarily emphasize the preservation of Ukrainian "heritage" within the Canadian context, rather than focusing extensively on the anti-Soviet efforts to liberate Ukraine. The recurring themes include the Ukrainian Canadian community, a general understanding of Ukrainian geography and symbols, the experiences of Ukrainian immigrants, the contributions of Ukrainian Canadians to Canadian society, as well as topics such as embroidery and literature.[80]. In summary, the issue of education can serve as an indicator of the evolving community and the influence of the multicultural discourse on shaping their Canadian identity, specifically within the context of considering themselves as part of the Ukrainian ethnic component in a larger mosaic. It is worth noting that public and community education for children and teenagers aimed to foster a sense of loyalty towards Canada, despite the conflicting nature of this objective. Consequently, individuals experienced both inclusion and exclusion from society based on their personal experiences and local circumstances. However, if the community appears to have replaced the beloved homeland, at least in terms of daily life, what remains of the original diasporic mission that was developed in the refugee camps? Has this enthusiasm dwindled over time? Is the Ukrainian community the sole domain where Ukraine can be found in Canada? To address these

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[76] "Survey of Current Curriculum and Programs Related to Ukrainian Cultural Heritage 1983", Oleh Gerus fonds, Room 18A (Blue): WW-4. UoM, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
[77] *Ivi,* p. 15.
[78] *Ivi,* p. 25-27.
[79] *Ivi,* p. 28.
[80] *Ivi,* p. 35.

inquiries, it is essential to shift the focus towards the academic sphere, where the intellectual nation-building of Ukraine can thrive.

4.2. Higher Education in the postwar era: «To know Ourselves»[81]

Before discussing the development of Ukrainian studies programs in Canadian universities, it is important to recognize that these initiatives were not solely the result of advocacy by the community. To fully comprehend this progress, it is necessary to contextualize the higher education system in Canada at the time and examine concurrent changes occurring within Canadian universities. The system has a multifaceted structure with both provincial and federal elements. Each province maintains authority over education within its borders while the federal government provides support for research and scholarships. Postsecondary institutions include both public and private organizations. Provincially, each province possesses its own ministry of education that governs higher learning. Consequently, policies and funding exhibit some variation across provinces. Federally, the primary role of the Canadian government is to furnish funding for research and scholarships[82].

During the period spanning from the late 1940s to the 1960s, higher education underwent a series of noteworthy changes in the country[83]. One of the significant transformations was the substantial growth in enrollment. The reintegration of veterans after the war, followed by a baby boom and an increase in immigration rates, led to a rise in the number of individuals pursuing higher education. Consequently, universities witnessed a swift expansion in student populations, necessitating the establishment of new campuses, recruitment of additional faculty members, and construction of larger facilities. Recognizing the significance of investing in higher education, both federal and provincial governments acknowledged the need to accommodate this influx of students[84]. They gave significant funding to construct new infrastructure, improve current facilities, and establish new academic programs. This injection of resources allowed universities to enhance their ability to educate and perform research. In response to the changing demands of the postwar economy, universities broadened their academic offerings. In addition to traditional arts and sciences programs,

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[81] SYMONS, T. H. B. *To Know Ourselves. The Report of the Commission on Canadian Studies*. Volumes I and II. 1975.

[82] JONES, G. A. (Ed.). *Higher education in Canada: Different systems, different perspectives*. Milton Park, Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, England, UK: Routledge, 2012, preface.

[83] JONES, G. A. "An introduction to higher education in Canada". *Higher education across nations*, 2014, 1: 1-38; LEMIEUX, T.; CARD, D. "Education, earnings, and the Canadian GI Bill". *Canadian Journal of Economics/Revue canadienne d'économique*, 2001, 34.2: 313-344.

[84] DAVIES, S. AURINI, J. "The evolving prism: the role of nationalism in Canadian higher education", *European Journal of Higher Education*, 2021, 11.3: 239-254, pp. 242-245.

institutions introduced vocational programs that aligned with the evolving market. Moreover, the postwar era saw a shift towards prioritizing research within the university setting. Governments and institutions acknowledged the importance of academic research in advancing knowledge and contributing to economic and social development. Substantial funding was allocated to support research projects across various disciplines, resulting in advancements in areas such as science, technology, medicine, and social sciences. As enrollment grew and faculty numbers increased, universities became hubs of intellectual and cultural activity. The 1960s saw a rise in student activism and engagement with societal issues[85]. Universities became platforms for discussions on civil rights, anti-war protests, feminism, and environmental concerns. These campuses became epicenters of social change and political dialogue, and provincial governments played a significant role in this expansion, creating new universities, and community colleges, and transforming small religious colleges into mass public institutions[86]. The complex and contentious connection with the United States became progressively evident, while on the one hand, American models provided inspiration, various forms of nationalism and anti-American sentiments added cultural incentives for expansion, with the intention to foster distinctly Canadian content[87].

The historian Cormier researched how Canadian universities underwent a process of "Canadianization"[88], that is implemented courses on "Canadian studies"[89] that explored culture, and history of the country. Evidently, the searching for a Canadian nationalism had a significant influence on academia too[90]. It affected language policies, curriculum content, research priorities, and the overall educational experience. While various perspectives on "nationalism" exist, the underlying objective remains consistent: to enhance Canada's cultural identity, linguistic diversity, and national unity within the realm of higher education. A significant result of the growing desire to establish a distinct Canadian identity was the promotion of bilingualism and biculturalism, which aimed to accommodate both English and French languages and cultures in higher education. Additionally, there was an increased recognition of Indigenous perspectives. In alignment with broader discussions

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[85] AXELROD, P.; REID, J. G. (Ed.). *Youth, University, and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 1989.

[86] CAMPBELL, L. A.; CLÉMENT, D.; KEALEY, G. S. *Debating Dissent: Canada and the 1960s*, … cit.; PALMER, B. D. *Canada's 1960s: The ironies of identity in a rebellious era*, cit.; CLEVELAND, J. W. "New Left, not new liberal: 1960s movements in English Canada and Quebec". *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 2004, 41.1: 67-84.

[87] DAVIES, S. AURINI, J. "The evolving prism: the role of nationalism …", cit.

[88] He primarily dealt with the so-called "Canadianization movement", a campaign launched at Carleton University in Ottawa in 1968. CORMIER, J. J. The Canadianization movement: Emergence, survival, and success. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2004.

[89] SYMONS, T. H. B. *To Know Ourselves …*, cit.

[90] DAVIES, S. AURINI, J.. "The evolving prism: the role of nationalism in Canadian higher education", *European Journal of Higher Education*, 11.3: 239-254.

on national identity, universities began incorporating Indigenous knowledge, history, and culture into their curricula. Furthermore, the recognition of local identities within the context of Canadian nationalism spurred universities to create initiatives aimed at exploring the distinct histories and cultures of various provinces and regions. This acknowledgment of regionalism sought to cultivate a more thorough comprehension of the intricacies encompassing the country.

In this framework, there was a growing interest in the study of Canadian history. The field shifted from a marginal activity to a central feature of all history departments across the country[91]. Historians and university students were increasingly focused on Canada's past, mainly following the need to «define themselves» as Canadians. Thus, the field incorporated the complexity, contradictions, and changing faces of the second half of the twentieth century: it revised the Eurocentric approach that treated Canada as a marginal colony, boosted the category of national thinking in postcolonial studies, but in a global context that called to overcome methodological nationalism and made some scholars and journalists claimed the killing of Canadian history[92] and the end of history itself[93]. Moreover, the emergence of Area Studies programs has been another significant response to the increasing need for in-depth knowledge and understanding of specific regions and peoples of the world. These programs aimed to provide students with a comprehensive interdisciplinary education that covered language, culture, history, politics, and economics of different geographic areas[94]. As in the case of historiography, Area Studies on Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and the Soviet Union has repeatedly challenged the institutional and intellectual hegemony of the US and Euro-centric social science and humanities disciplines[95]. The establishment of these programs can be attributed to the same international factors: the Cold War, processes of globalization and decolonization, but also domestic ones, such as the recognition of the country's multiculturalism and the subsequent need to "know Canadians", that is to delve into cultural aspects, including literature, art, and music of each "mosaic's tile", through the establishment of specific "Chairs" devoted to the culture of ethnic groups in Canada[96].

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[91] GAFFIELD, C. "The Blossoming of Canadian Historical Research: Implications for Educational Policy and Content". In SANDWELL, R. W. (Ed.). *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory, and Citizenship in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006: 88-102.

[92] GRANATSTEIN, J. L. *Who Killed Canadian History?* cit.

[93] FUKUYAMA, F. "The end of history?", *The national interest*, 1989, 16: 3-18.

[94] From a general framework and literature review see: MIYOSHI, M.; HAROOTUNIAN, H. (Ed.). *Learning places: The afterlives of area studies*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

[95] SZANTON, D. L. (Ed.). *The politics of knowledge: Area studies and the disciplines*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2004.

[96] RODRÍGUEZ, L. A. "Immigration, Ethnic Groups, and Area Studies". In: *International Education in the New Global Era: Proceedings of a National Policy Conference on the Higher Education Act, Title VI, and Fulbright-Hays Programs*, 1998; BOND, S.; LEMASSON, J. P. (Ed.). *A new world of knowledge: Canadian universities and globalization*. Ottawa: International Development Research Center, 1999.

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The emerging landscape is characterized by conflicting influences. On one hand, multiculturalism is deeply ingrained in progressive ideals associated with cosmopolitanism and the so-called global shift. On the other hand, the official policy of multiculturalism serves the purpose of nation-building, while also providing a platform for ethnic minorities to achieve recognition. As a result, community leaders of these groups have played a crucial role in the establishment and involvement of their "own" Chairs. These programs have served as platforms for acknowledging and representing their cultures, histories, and contributions within specific regions of the country. One significant finding from the literature that greatly influenced my research is the observation that Canadian scholars involved in area studies not only possessed a personal connection to the regions they studied, which allowed them to explore their own cultural heritage, language, and traditions while engaging with academic perspectives, but they also actively participated in the political affairs of their communities[97]. Those chairs were aimed at preserving and celebrating their "roots" and sharing this knowledge to promote a more accurate and nuanced understanding of these communities within the Canadian context. Thus, if in the families, public events, and celebrations, each ethnic community preserved customs and traditions of distant homelands to navigate their everyday life of insiders – outsiders, in the safe place of universities, professor offices, and lecture halls, intellectuals of these communities, were given the chance to discuss – and write – the history of their "nations"[98].

In this context, the Ukrainian community has been presented with a valuable opportunity to persist in its mission of nation-building as a diaspora. This involves generating and disseminating knowledge pertaining to Ukraine that goes beyond the confines of the Russian Empire or the textbooks of the Soviet Union. As Alan Tansman notes in relation to Area Studies, these fields are a form of translation: «To know, analyze, and interpret another culture is inevitably an act of translation»[99]. So, through oral history interviews and archival sources, the present section deals with the question of how the study of Ukraine has been "translated" into Canadian universities and research institutions.

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[97] ALTFEST, K. C. "Ethnic Studies in Canada". *Trends in History*, 1983, 2.4: 71-92; FRIDERES, J. et al. "Mapping racial and ethnic studies in Canada: Retrospective and prospective views of Canadian ethnic studies chairs". *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 2019, 51.2: 1-18.

[98] The Ukrainian community was not an isolate case. To my knowledge, a comprehensive study of the history of ethnic and area studies in Canada has not been published yet. However, several research tackled singular case studies. See: PARMING, T. "Baltic studies: The emergence, development, and problematics of an area studies specialization". *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 1987, 18.2: 133-166; WILSON, D.; KURIKKA, J. M., "Finnish Canadian Intellectual". *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly*, 1973, 20: 50-65; MOULTON, E. C. "South Asian Studies in Canada, and the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute". *Pacific Affairs*, 1978, 51.2: 245-264; SKINNER, E. P. "African Studies, 1955–1975: An Afro-American Perspective". *African Issues*, 1976, 6.2-3: 57-67; HELGASON, J. K. "The Mystery of Vínarterta: In Search of an Icelandic Ethnic Identity". *Scandinavian-Canadian studies*, 2007, 17: 36-52; KARAM, J. T. "I, Too, Am the Americas: Arabs in the Redrawing of Area and Ethnic Studies". *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 2018, 37.3: 93-101.

[99] TANSMAN, A. "*Japanese Studies: the intangible act of translation*". In: SZANTON, D.L. (Ed.). *The politics of knowledge,* cit., p. 42.

The following sections aim to examine the establishment and growth of Ukrainian Studies in the country, specifically exploring when and where it gained recognition as a field of historical and cultural research. It emphasizes the significance of considering not only the knowledge produced, but also the individuals involved and the intended audience. Additionally, the investigation will focus on the content of scholarly production and its influence on the community, particularly in relation to the evolving "mission" of the self-defined "diasporic" community.

4.2.1. Ukrainian Studies in Canada: «An Émigré ghetto»?

In the early pioneer and interwar era, Ukrainian history, along with other Slavic histories, did not garner significant attention within Canadian universities. However, educators with a Ukrainian heritage had been advocating for the incorporation of Ukrainian history into academic curricula also before the onset of World War II[100]. In the 1930s and 1940s, there were commendable efforts, led by individuals such as the Canadian historian George Simpson, to incorporate Ukrainian, or at least Slavic, history into the university curriculum of several western Canadian institutions[101]. Although these efforts achieved some success, only a few courses on Ukrainian history were implemented. Notwithstanding, one of the higher outcomes of these endeavours was the release of an English translation of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's renowned "Illustrated History of Ukraine" [102], which quickly became a crucial resource for students who wished to study Ukrainian history. In the post-war era Slavic Studies departments began to emerge in various Canadian universities[103], but, as highlighted by the historian Prymak, Ukrainian historians still faced limited opportunities within the mainstream academia at the time[104]. As a result, students interested in Ukrainian history had to often settle for studying Russian history or engage with "émigré-style" institutions and their publications. The significance of the third wave in preserving and advancing Ukrainian scholarly customs becomes apparent when considering these specific institutions. Commonly referred to as "émigré" or "in-exile" academia, they served as crucial hubs where Ukrainian scholars gathered, facilitating the transmission

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[100] For example, already in July 1914, an article published in the Winnipeg newspaper *Ukrainskyi holos* by Mihaichuk, a schoolteacher and secretary of the Organization of Ukrainian School Teachers in Canada, suggested that the Ukrainian language should be included in the curriculum of the University of Manitoba, alongside German and Icelandic: MIHAICHUK, V. "Uchytelskyi zhurnal i vyshcha osvita" *Ukrainskyi holos,* Winnipeg, 30, July 29, 1914.

[101] COLEMAN, H. J. "Watson Kirkconnell on "The place of Slavic studies in Canada": a 1957 speech to the Canadian Association of Slavists". *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 2016, 58.4: 386-397; BUYNIAK, V. O. "Ukrainian Imprints of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: A Preliminary Check List". *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 1973, 5.1: 341.

[102] HRUSHEVSKY, M. *Illustrated History of Ukraine,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

[103] BUYNIAK, V. O. "Slavic Studies in Canada: An Historical Survey". *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 1967, 9.1:3-23.

[104] PRYMAK, T.M. *Gathering a heritage. Ukrainian, Slavonic and Ethnic Canada and the USA.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015, p. 138.

of scholarly traditions from Europe[105]. So that, organizations of this type, such as the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences [*Ukrainska Vilna Akademiia Nauk,* UVAN] and the Shevchenko Scientific Society of Canada [NTSh-K][106], emerged as notable institutions that accompanied the "DPs" during their migration to the New World. These organizations held significant importance within the scholarly community in Canada and they also played a pivotal role in introducing a new geographical dimension to the field. In fact, the UVAN, founded in Augsburg in 1945, was then moved to Winnipeg in 1949, which held a prominent status as the de facto cultural hub for Ukrainian Canadians until that time[107]. The individuals involved in this endeavor were Dmytro Doroshenko, a historian, Leonid Bileckyj, a literary critic, and Jaroslav Rudnyckyj[108]. The NTSh-K found instead its foothold in Toronto, the primary political and intellectual center for post-war Ukrainian émigrés, in the same year, 1949. Interestingly, the evolving cultural geography of the Ukrainian community coincided with the regional division of Canada between its predominantly rural western regions and its more industrialized eastern areas[109]. The "émigré" feature of this organization is well described by its objectives, among all: «To assist in the integration of exiled Ukrainian scholars and scientists, educators and writers into Canadian society»[110]. Although the émigré institutions played a notable role within the diaspora, they were unable to completely replace the standard credit courses offered by established Canadian and American educational institutions and, according to the historian Yuzuk's research, they have not been successful in attracting many scholars who were born in Canada[111]. As a result, the aforementioned circumstances led to scholars predominantly facing limitations in terms of their network and community within the academic realm, thereby hindering their integration into the wider community. This issue was exemplified during the interviews

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[105] See Chapter 1.

[106] Following the significant migration of Ukrainian refugees from Germany and Austria to countries in the New World between 1947 and 1949, chapters of the NTSh were officially established in the United States in 1947, Canada in 1949, and Australia in 1950. See: HORAK, S. M. "The Shevchenko Scientific Society (1873-1973) Contributor to the Birth of a Nation". *East European Quarterly*, 1973, 7.3: 249.

[107] HOLIAT, R. S. *Short History of the Ukrainian Free University*. New York: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1964; "Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN). Correspondence". J.B. Rudnyckyi fonds, MSS 198, MF 25, PC 187, TC 110, box 4, folders 5-10. UoM, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

[108] "Ukrainian Free Academy of Science. Correspondence 1947-1976", J.B. Rudnyckyi fonds, MSS 198, MF 25, PC 187, TC 110, box 4, folders. UoM, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

[109] KRAVCHENKO, V. V., et al. "The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies: Foundations". *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies (EWJUS)*, 2019, 6.1: 9-49.

[110] Shevchenko Scientific Society of Western Canada fonds, CA BMUFA 0290, file 13, BMUFA, Edmonton, Alberta.

[111] One of the main limitations being the only use of Ukrainian for the publications. YUZYK, P. *Ukrainian Canadians: their place and role in Canadian life; on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada and the 100th anniversary of Canadian Confederation*. Ukrainian Canadian Business & Professional Federation, 1967, p. 58.

conducted with Peter and Roman, both of whom referred to the term «émigré ghetto» to express the stark gap experienced between the Ukrainian community and the academic sphere[112].

Finally, the advent of the 1960s ushered in a notable increase in the field of Ukrainian studies also within the larger Canadian landscape. This change was influenced not only by that group of Ukrainians who were born in displacement camps and later attended Canadian high schools after resettlement, but also by a new generation of Canadians with Ukrainian heritage who became interested in exploring their cultural origins due to the societal shifts that occurred internationally and domestically during the Cold War. Additionally, it is worth considering that the educational experiences of many of them in the United States likely had a substantial impact on shaping their perspectives, potentially surpassing the influence of their immigrant backgrounds. In fact, a significant number of post-World War II immigrants or Canadians with Ukrainian heritage, pursued studies in the US before assuming teaching positions within Canadian universities[113]. The intricate and multifaceted relationship between Canada and the United States, as neighboring nations, becomes even more complex. Canada's endeavor to establish its unique identity as a distinct entity was influenced by the model it learned from its southern "cousin". Moreover, the framework was even more complicated by the transnational dialogues within the diaspora. The most relevant one happened when, Omeljan Pritsak[114], a renowned historian, emphasized that the persistent tensions existing among different emigrant factions acted as impediments to the modernization of academic agendas and the institutional evolution of Ukrainian studies in the West[115]. In 1964, Pritsak assumed the role of professor at Harvard University and argued that there was a prevalence of amateurism in the field of Ukrainian Studies. He advocated for significant changes in both the structure and approach of the institutions involved. Specifically, he emphasized the importance of liberating the field from the limitations of the "émigré ghetto"[116] and promoting its integration into the academic environment of the Western world. Furthermore, he emphasized the need for a critical examination and modernization of the field. In essence, his message was clear: Ukrainian studies needed a new framework, a fresh institution, and a new generation of scholars to achieve internationally recognized standards in

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[112] Peter Melnycky. Interview by me, 13th September 2022, Edmonton, and Roman Petryshyn. Interview by me, 12th September 2022, Edmonton.

[113] KRAVCHENKO, V. V., et al. "The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies: Foundations". *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies (EWJUS)*, 2019, 6.1: 9-49. This trend is also expounded upon in Potichnyj's memoir: Potichnyj, P. J. *My journey*, cit., pp. 181-183.

[114] Born in 1919 in Luka (now Ozerne), he later relocated to Germany. In 1961, he migrated to the United States. HAJDA, L. A. "Omeljan Pritsak: A Biographical Sketch". *Eucharisterion: Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students (1979-1980)*. Harvard Ukrainian Studies. 1979, 3.4, pp. 1–6.

[115] It has been analyzed by the historian Alla Atamenko in: Atamanenko, A. *Ukrains'ke istorychne tovarystvo: idei, postati, diial'nist' (1965-1991)*. Natsional'nyi universytet "Ostroz'ka Akademiia" 2010, pp. 112 – 133.

[116] See also the case study on the Ukrainian diaspora in Australia: BELLEZZA, S. A. "Getting Out of the «Ghetto». How Australian Ukrainians Negotiated a Diasporic Identity". *Contemporanea*, 2021, 24.1: 51-78.

research and education[117]. In 1967, Pritsak advocated for the establishment of a Ukrainian research institute at Harvard University and spearheaded a successful fundraising campaign within the Ukrainian American community to provide the necessary financial support. As a result, the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute [HURI] was officially established in 1973.

Considering this development, the amalgamation of Canadian, American, and Ukrainian diaspora dynamics established a wide-reaching transnational structure that facilitated the growth of Ukrainian studies within the country. In 1971, the University of Alberta took the lead by introducing regular university instruction in the history of Ukraine, followed by the University of Manitoba in 1973[118]. Eventually, the breakthrough came in 1975 with the establishment of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta [CIUS]. Based on the HURI's model, the process of establishing the CIUS spanned approximately five years, from the conception of the idea in April 1971 to the institute's official opening in June 1976. This journey was far from straightforward or predetermined, characterized by a multitude of ideas, projects, uncertainties, and coincidences. Even its location has been object of debate, since many doubted that Edmonton would be the optimal city for its establishment, advocating for Winnipeg or Toronto, the two main centers of the diaspora[119]. It is not secondary to note that those cities were the epicenter of publishing activities [Appendix B].

To explain the main reasons behind this decision, Peter recalled that:

> There was a rich and active Ukrainian community here, of course. But more importantly there was money. Alberta is the center of the oil industry, there was then a strong lobby, and political contacts. It was a powerful province, and the government was closed to Ukrainian issues[120].

Manoly Lupul, a community leader in the multicultural movement and appointed as the first CIUS director, in his memoir recalls for example that the Ontario government was prepared to offer only

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[117] PRITSAK, O. "The Present State of Ukrainian studies", *Canadian Slavonic Papers/Revue canadienne des Slavistes,* 1972, 4.2: 139-52, pp. 147-50); PRITSAK, O. *Chomu katedry ukraïnoznavstva v Harvardi?* Harvard: Fond katedr Ukrainoznavstva, 1973, pp. 12-25.

[118] Here, a Ukrainian historian, Oleksander Baran, began teaching a general course on Eastern European history. This course had been previously started by Paul Yuzyk, who later became a Senator in Canada, and he had incorporated a significant amount of Ukrainian content into it. In: PRYMAK, T.M. *Gathering a heritage. Ukrainian, Slavonic and Ethnic Canada and the USA.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015, p. 139-141.

[119] It is noteworthy that a CIUS office in Toronto has been active since the inception. For a more detailed history of the Institute's foundation see: KRAVCHENKO, V. V., et al. "The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies: Foundations". *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies (EWJUS)*, 2019, 6.1: 9-49; LUPUL, M. R. "The establishment of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta: A Personal memoir". *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 1994, 26.2: 88-111.

[120] Peter Melnycky. Interview by me, 13th September 2022, Edmonton.

limited financial assistance[121]. The selection of Edmonton was thus influenced by concurrent economic and political factors. For example, in a later speech on the occasion of the forty years of CIUS activity in 2016, Lupul recalled the fundamental role that the political help on a provincial level had on the establishment of the CIUS in Alberta:

> With Peter Savaryn's political help, the provincially funded institute came into being. Peter, who was part of our federation executive, had been a member of the university's board of governors since 1972. He was prominent in the community and in the Progressive Conservative Party then in power. His phone calls were returned by those in the corridors of power, and he was a very good man to know[122].

The inaugural report of the CIUS has highlighted the political inclinations of the Institution. It was imperative for the CIUS to establish itself as a distinctly "Canadian" initiative, given its reliance on government funding and its alignment with public policy objectives. So, the primary objective of the CIUS was to effectively implement multiculturalism policies that catered specifically to the Ukrainian Canadian community. Not surprisingly, the second objective of the Institute, right after the «development of Ukrainian Canadian and Ukrainian Studies»[123], was to «serve as a resource center for English-Ukrainian education»[124]. Interestingly, in his memoir, Lupul, regarded the CIUS as a means to honor the contributions made by the early Ukrainian settlers, who played a pivotal role in the development of the Prairies[125]. However, the CIUS also functioned as a diaspora institution, aiming to combat the process of Russification in Soviet Ukraine. A key advocate of this perspective was Petro Savaryn, an émigré who came to Canada after World War II. The report, in fact, also stated: « [There is] a great need for the Institute to succeed, since Ukrainian studies in the western Europe are in the twilight stage and the shadow of the Communist Party, Leninist orthodoxy and Russification hangs as heavy as ever over academic studies in Soviet Ukraine»[126]. All in all, the members of the CIUS strived to merge an academic profile with a political one, the latter developed within both pan-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian contexts, also mirroring the divisions within the Ukrainian Canadian community. Through a productive dialogue between Ukrainian Canadians and postwar Ukrainian émigrés, a compromise was reached that attempted to ensure the inclusion of both

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[121] LUPUL, M. R. "The establishment of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta: A Personal memoir", cit.

[122] LUPUL, M. R. "About the foundation of the CIUS", CIUS Archive, Edmonton. *CIUS: 40 years of experience, 2016.* Conference proceedings and video recordings available online: https://cius40.artsrn.ualberta.ca/. Last accessed on 12 August 2023.

[123] "CIUS Annual report 1977", Manoly R. Lupul fonds*, PR2009.0195, box 35, p. 6. PPA, Edmonton, Alberta.

[124] *Ivi,* p. 8-9.

[125] LUPUL, M. R. *The Politics of Multiculturalism,* cit., p. 256.

[126] "CIUS Annual report 1977", PPA, Edmonton, *Manoly R. Lupul fonds,* PR2009.0195, box 35, p. 26.

Ukrainian-Canadian and pan-Ukrainian subjects in the research agenda. This is exemplified in the two first conferences organized by the CIUS, respectively on multiculturalism, «Ukrainian Canadians, multiculturalism, and separatism. An Assessment», and Ukrainian history, «Poland and Ukraine. Past and present»[127]. Following the lead of the CIUS, the 1980s witnessed an expansion in the teaching of Ukrainian history at the university level in Canada, especially with the establishment of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto in 1980[128]. As a result, on the eve of the centenary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, the teaching and research of Ukrainian history was recognized as a specialized discipline in its own right. Despite this, the understanding of Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian Studies, as well as the objectives of the field, has differed. These interpretations have consistently oscillated between the potential drawback of being confined within that academic «ghetto», as in the case of UVAN and NTSh-K, where knowledge is safeguarded and sustained to ensure the community's survival in a "multicultural" landscape, and the necessity to let this knowledge engage with other domains of academia and society[129]. This is an element worth underlying, since it concerns the challenges of "ethnic" studies in Canada. This element merits focus as it addresses the difficulties surrounding ethnic studies programs in Canada and the political motivations and context behind them. As Ukrainian studies in Canada continue their important work, examining their purpose and goals remains relevant in fully comprehending the context and objectives of their efforts. Specifically, who engages with these programs? Are they focused solely on serving the Ukrainian Canadian community, or do their outcomes have wider consequences and opportunities to impact the landscape in Canada and globally?

The newly established lens of Ukrainian studies chair in Canada takes on an interesting, layered meaning when contextualized within the broader landscape of knowledge production in multicultural societies[130]. At first glance, the creation of ethnic-focused academic positions may seem to serve as a remedy to the dominance of traditional Eurocentric frameworks that have historically guided scholarly inquiry. However, upon deeper examination, the multicultural education model risks essentializing cultural identities in a way that demands strict adherence to narrow understandings of authenticity, particularly for those communities labeled as "racialized" or ethnic minorities. While celebrating and promoting the scholarly exploration of underrepresented cultural histories is a well-intentioned goal, assigning rigid parameters of what does or does not constitute genuine expression

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[127] "CIUS Annual report 1977", PPA, Edmonton, *Manoly R. Lupul fonds,* PR2009.0195, box 35, p. 26.

[128] SENKUS, R. et al. "Ukrainian Studies in Canada Since the 1950s: An Introduction". *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 2018, 5.1: 3-7.

[129] SAVARYN, P. "Spohady uchasnyka …, cit.

[130] For instance, this risk has been underlined in relation to UK, US and Canada in: ELABOR-IDEMUDIA, P. CHAPTER NINE: Identity, Representation, and Knowledge Production. *Counterpoints*, 2011, 379: 142–156.

of a group's identity risks undermining the complex internal diversity that has always existed within societies. Cultural identities are fluid, permeable constructs that naturally blend and integrate external influences over generations in diaspora. To politically define the boundaries of authentic Ukrainian-ness runs counter to the lived experiences of hybridity within immigrant communities. Although elevating the status and visibility of Ukrainian contributions to Canadian society through dedicated academic leadership is worthwhile, framing such representations within a strictly defined multicultural education model risks unintentionally othering groups and overlooking the dynamic intermingling that characterizes cultural evolution. A more nuanced approach would utilize the lens of Ukrainian studies to openly explore both the continuities and transformations within the community over time and across borders. Rather than demanding adherence to a narrow definition of authenticity, such a framework could celebrate the rich internal pluralism that arises from the blending of traditions in diaspora.

4.2.2. A redefinition of the diasporic mission

The «mission» elaborated in European DP camps appeared increasingly anachronistic as the 1960s approached. The unfolding of the Cold War, the realization that the USSR could not be defeated through a Third World war, and the challenges of adapting to a new country, all contributed to a transformation within the Ukrainian community, still poised in that space suspended between the homeland and the routines of everyday existence. The participation of the UCC in the establishment of the "World Congress of Free Ukrainians" in New York in 1967 (later relocated to Toronto)[131] indicated that the interest in the homeland remained on the forefront of their political agenda. So, it may be argued that these developments had a greater impact on reconfiguring that «mission» rather than eradicating its objective. To analyze this matter in the context of academia, I have decided to look at how this «mission», has been elaborated looking at both scholarly production[132] and the students' perspectives, taking into account both students' journals, such as *Student,* a "national, trilingual, monthly newspaper for Ukrainian Canadian Students"[133], and interviews.

The detangled narrative seems construct from three components, each corresponding to a unique aspect of the triangular diasporic relationship: the "homeland", Soviet Ukraine, the

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[131] "Historic World Conclave opens session in New York", *The Ukrainian Weekly,* 208, 11 November 1967, p.1.

[132] I have specifically chosen to focus on the publications of the UVAN and the CIUS due to their significant abundance in comparison to other sources gathered. These publications offer valuable insights from the perspectives of both a Canadian institution that receives public funding and a "university-in-exile.

[133] *Student,* Edmonton, 11(50), November 1977, p.1. The monthly newspaper was published by the Ukrainian Canadian Student's Union [SUSK] since 1968.

transnational space where "their" Ukraine could exist and, finally the "hostland", Canada. The former was straightforward since the activities were focused on the advocacy against the politics of the Soviet Union through the up-to-date vocabulary of «human rights» and «freedom». Scholars have extensively examined the russification policies implemented by the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, as well as the atrocities perpetrated against the "Ukrainian nation". Moreover, a strong emphasis is given to the dissent movement. Among the relevant activities, I cite for example some of the research projects financed by the CIUS between 1976 and 1980: «Contemporary Ukraine. Religion, human rights and intellectual dissent»[134], «The Soviet Ukraine 1953 – 1977»[135], «The Russian communist party and the sovietization of Ukraine»[136], «Profile study of Ukrainian dissent»[137], «Daily life in Soviet Ukraine»[138]. Unsurprisingly, after 1985 several of the articles and monographs published by CIUS members regarded ecological policies sparked by the Chernobyl disaster [139] and research on the meaning and consequences of *perestroika*[140]. The UVAN publications[141] have a lesser emphasis on the political and economic analysis of Soviet policies. Instead, they demonstrate a greater interest in exploring the modern history of Ukraine and publishing biographies of notable personalities in Ukrainian. Much more developed is the students' interest in current affairs of Soviet Ukraine, as evidenced by the numerous articles in favor of the dissent movement. In 1978, for example, they passionately advocated for the release of the political prisoner Danylo Shumuk, a former UPA member which was imprisoned for political reasons and fully impersonated the victimization narrative having been imprisoned by Poles, Nazi, and Soviet authorities for forty-two years[142]. In November of the subsequent year, notable attention was directed towards the protest rally held in support of Ukrainian dissidents in Toronto, where two women, Ukrainian dissidents, and human rights activists, Nadiya Oleksiyivna Svitlychna and Raissa Moroz, addressed the audience[143]. Their speech called for action to defeat indifference against the human rights violation in Ukraine and Svitlychna's closing words, especially resonate for that diasporic

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[134] "CIUS Annual report 1977", Manoly R. Lupul fonds, PR2009.0195, box 35, App. D. PPA, Edmonton, Alberta.

[135] *Ibidem.*

[136] *Ibidem.*

[137] *Ibidem.*

[138] "CIUS Annual report 1979-1980", Manoly R. Lupul fonds, PR2009.0195, box 35, App. A. PPA, Edmonton, Alberta.

[139] See for example Marples' articles listed in: "CIUS Annual report 1987-1988", Manoly R. Lupul fonds, PR2009.0195, box 35, p. 20-23. PPA, Edmonton, Alberta.

[140] See for example Krawchenko's articles listed in *Ibidem.*

[141] A full list of publications from 197 is in Oleh Gerus fonds, MSS 367-A2011-074. UoM Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

[142] "Appeal to release dying Shumuk", *Student,* Edmonton, 11(51), November 1978, p.3. Shumuk was released in 1987, he then emigrated to Canada, where he stayed until his death in 2004. The CIUS published his memoir in 1984: SHUMUK, D. *Life sentence: memoirs of a Ukrainian political prisoner.* Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1984.

[143] *Student,* Edmonton, 12(58), November 1979, p.5 and 9-10.

mission: «If we do nothing, then what kind of Ukrainians can we be? »[144]. Within the *Joseph Boyko fonds*, there are handwritten notes, likely drafts of slogans intended for usage at demonstrations and rallies. Beyond the usual narrative of "human rights" [Fig. 13], it's interesting to note the convergence of anti-Soviet and anti-American narratives, as «Poland, Estonia, Latvia, and Ukraine. Afghanistan, Vietnam live in chains» [Fig 14][145].
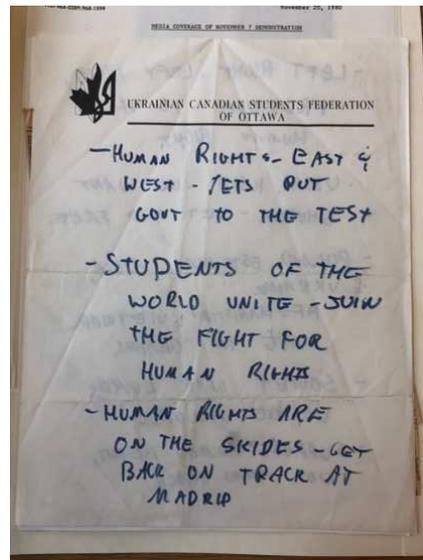

Fig. 13: "Handwritten notes. Ukrainian Canadian Students Federation of Ottawa"
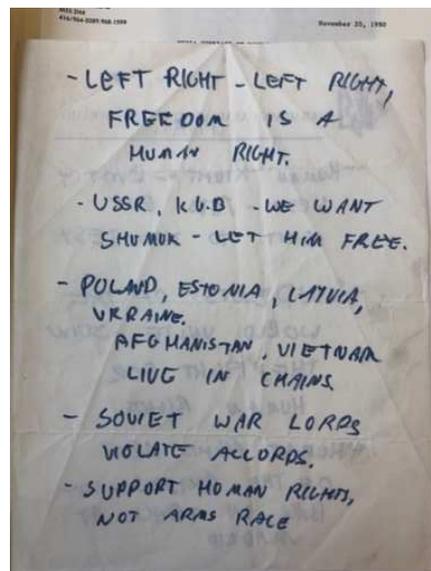

Fig. 14: "Handwritten notes. Ukrainian Canadian Students Federation of Ottawa"

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[144] *Ibidem.*
[145] Joseph Boyko fonds, MG 31, K 23, vol 2, file 51-53. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

Therefore, this initial component focuses on the objective of increasing awareness about the living conditions of individuals residing in Ukraine. This will be achieved through political lobbying efforts as well as conducting scientific research on the economic policies implemented by the USSR.

The second component of this narrative is surely the one that most fits into the concept of "long-distance nationalism" of diasporic and exile subjects referred to by Benedict Anderson[146]. Ukrainian Canadians, embarked on history projects that sought to document the rich and complex history of Ukraine. These projects played a crucial role in developing a "national history" for the country. They were not only significant for scholarly research, but more importantly, they contributed to establishing a national narrative within academic institutions. By examining the events and individuals that received the most focus, a national "chronology" was solidified. This chronology helped shape the perception of the nation, which was especially important as the country was truly – and not only metaphorically, being imagined beyond its geographical borders. Special attention has been paid, for example, to the modern history of Ukraine, its Cossack past, the Holodomor, and the years 1917-1921, termed not as the Russian or Bolshevik revolution but of the Ukrainian revolution, or war of national liberation. The UVAN, for example, published several monographs on those topics, such as a collection of sources to study the Ukrainian revolution edited by Taras Hunchak[147] or a "national" history of Ukrainian folklore[148]. CIUS projects directed to the elaboration of a national history of Ukraine were even more numerous, since it was one of the main objectives of the Institute. Many of the research projects dealt with the national question, such as: «Ukrainian Question in Poland 1919-1939»[149] and «The Ukrainian National Movement in Galicia»[150]. Of utmost importance was then the massive project of drafting a Ukrainian encyclopedia, which would encapsulate the entire national idea on paper and that will be the object of a separate section in this chapter. As concern how students embarked on this «mission» of nation-building, particularly noteworthy are some of the testimonies collected during the interview. Iroida's memories of her university engagement in SUSK, is strictly connected to explain the difference between Ukraine and Russia:

> At that time, our aim was to tell about Ukraine. Because there was a Russian club, and we
> were told several times "Why don't you join the Russian club?" No, we are Ukrainians! "But
> it's the same", they said! No, it's not the same! Our aim was to show that Ukrainians are
> different. We had a Ukrainian week at Mc Gill University and our main project was to get

[146] ANDERSON, B. "Long-distance nationalism". *The spectre of comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the world*, 1998, 58: 74-88.

[147] HUNCHAK, T. *Ukrayins'ka revolyutsiya. Dokumenty 1919-1921*, New York: UVAN, 1984.

[148] LYS′KO, Z. (Ed.). *Ukrayins'ki narodni melodiyi,* Toronto, 1986.

[149] "CIUS Annual report 1979-1980", Manoly R. Lupul fonds, PR2009.0195, box 35, Appendix A. PPA, Edmonton, Alberta.

[150] *Ibidem.*

> money from the community and to buy English books on Ukraine and donate them to the library. The library did not have books on Ukraine in English. So, we donate them, which sounds ridiculous when you think of it today. Students buy book and present them to the library![151]

Even more significant, is Roman's statement: «We did what Soviet would not have done in Ukraine»[152], a phrase that represents the nation-building effort that couldn't be accomplished in the Soviet Union: namely writing and disseminating books about Ukraine in Ukrainian, as well as the interpretation of folklore and traditions from various regions of the republic to establish a sense of national identity. However, it is still crucial to highlight the political limitations of this intellectual pursuit, which involves the selection of specific events and characters, and subsequently arranges them teleologically within a grand narrative "from afar".

Finally, the third aspect pertains to highlighting the Ukrainian contribution to Canada. This facet has been significantly influenced by the years spent in the new land by displaced persons but also by the new societal environment in which the subsequent generations of Canadians with Ukrainian heritage from previous waves were raised. In addition, analyzing this feature can be quite challenging, as it involves the intersection of two nation-buildings - the Ukrainian and the Ukrainian Canadian. In fact, to establish one's identity as a Ukrainian in Canada and be acknowledged as such, it is necessary to envision what it means to be a Ukrainian or a Ukrainian Canadian in the first place. This happened from the 1960s onward, when the community became more active in Canadian politics, advocating for policies that aligned with their interests. To do so, they highlighted the significant roles that Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants have played in shaping Canada, ranging from the pioneer era to the internment experience. Scholarly production about the place of Ukrainians in Canadian history mushroomed, both in the "exile" institutions and in the CIUS activities, some remaining the building bloc of the Canadian literature on the topic until nowadays[153]. In regard to student activities, more than delving into the past contribution of Ukrainians to Canada,

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[151] Iroida Wynnyckyj. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto.

[152] Roman Petryshyn. Interview by me, 12th September 2022, Edmonton.

[153] SWYRIPA, F. *Ukrainian Canadians: A Survey of Their Portrayal in English Language Works*. Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1978; PETRYSHYN, R. (Ed.). *Changing realities: social trends among Ukrainian Canadians*. Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1980; THOMPSON, J. H. and SWYRIPA, F. (Ed.). *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada during the Great War*. Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1983; LUPUL, M. R. (Ed.). *Visible symbols: cultural expression among Canada's Ukrainians*. Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1984; KLYNOVYI, I. *Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada since the Second World War*. Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1987; MARTYNOWYCH, O. T. *Ukrainians in Canada: The formative period, 1891-1924*. Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1991; ISAJIW, W. W.; BOSHYK, Y; SENKUS, R. (Ed.). *The refugee experience: Ukrainian displaced persons after World War II*. Edmonton: CIUS Press, 1992; ROZUMNYI, I. *Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow: The Ukrainian Community in Canada: Proceedings*. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada, 2004.

they were highly engaged in the contemporary multicultural discussion. If they demonstrated to back the understanding of multiculturalism as cultural pluralism, they also oftentimes highlighted the perils when it comes to the policy, especially its «nebulous»[154] meaning. In its entirety, these factors contribute to a convergence of various levels of analysis, characterized by intricacy and contradiction. The narratives of victimization, which intertwine the past and present, encapsulate the suffering experienced by ancestors in Ukrainian lands and the ongoing struggles of individuals in Soviet Ukraine. Furthermore, these narratives intersect with the stories of different ancestors, those who migrated to Canada. While avoiding far-fetched interpretations, it becomes apparent that a discernible pattern emerges when considering this picture. The common thread among these narratives is their purpose of making sense of the enduring condition of "otherness" within society. Consequently, this shared condition was prevalent in the community, whether as a displaced person finding refuge in a foreign land or as an individual born foreign in their own country. An attribute to their "Canadianness" was essential to establish a sense of belonging. It is within this context that a narrative encompassing both "Ukrainian" migration experiences should have emerged.

The declaration «Mission of Ukrainian Canadians»[155] written in the Yuzuk's book published in 1967, in occasion of the centennial of Canadian Confederation and on the 75th anniversary of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, can serve as a sort of manifesto, since contains all of these elements. He underlined the national history of Ukraine and how the land has not experienced freedom and democracy for over two centuries «except for the brief interval of the Ukrainian state 1917-1921»[156], and that the missions of Ukrainians in Canada consists in both to unveil «the false propaganda of the Russian Communist dictatorship»[157] and to perpetuate the consciousness of «cultural values in the development of the Canadian nation»[158], following the mosaic model that maintains the dignity of the individual and the ethnic groups instead of the «melting-pot theory with its colourless uniformity»[159].

In conclusion, the Ukrainian Canadian diaspora's mission from the 1960s was a powerful expression of their dual commitment to their cultural heritage and their new home, Canada. Through advocacy, historical projects, and efforts to underline the existence and condition of Ukraine but also their contribution to the fabric of Canadian society. Naturally, not all members of the community viewed this mission in the same manner. The significance of certain elements varied based on

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[154] "Multiculturalism: a bargain basement guy?", *Student,* Edmonton, 11(51), December 1978, p. 3.
[155] YUZUK, P. *Ukrainian Canadians. Their place and role in Canadian life.* Toronto: Ukrainian Canadian Business & Professional Federation, 1967, pp. 91-92.
[156] *Ivi,* p. 91.
[157] *Ibidem.*
[158] *Ibidem.*
[159] *Ibidem.*

individuals' life experiences and political beliefs. This is for example the case of George Melnyk, who in the columns of the *Student* wrote a moving piece on the meaning of "ethnicity" in the Canadian society, unveiling the dynamics of exclusion that inevitably are activated by it: «The ethnic either flees ethnicity to hide in the dominant society or he embraces ethnicity as a final refuge»[160]. As a side note it is also intriguing to observe how the landscape was evolving and how new priorities and discussions were emerging within Canadian society. The model he suggested offers the chance to introduce one of these transformations. According the Melnyk, Ukrainian Canadians should have drawn inspiration from the "new society" envisioned by the indigenous experience of Métis «to end hyphenation and provide completeness»[161]. If until that time the Ukrainian community focused on developing and negotiating relations with other Eastern European communities, particularly the Polish and Jewish ones, from the 1980s, there also emerged a need for dialogue with the indigenous peoples of the country, opening the can of worms of Ukrainians' interaction with them in the Prairies[162]. All in all, the concept of this mission outlined involves the community's narrative, which anyone can choose to embrace or dismiss. However, each person's sense of identity and their role within both the community and society is ultimately a personal matter.

4.3. Ukrainian studies between sacred and profane

In the concluding section of this chapter, two case studies have been chosen from the gathered sources which hold significant value in revealing two distinct emerging trends, along with a division based on generational differences within the realm of Ukrainian studies.

First of all, I explore the grand project of writing a "Encyclopedia" of Ukraine. The first compilation of a Ukraine's thematic encyclopedia took place in Petrograd, now Saint Petersburg, between 1914 and 1916 under the title *Ukrainskii narod v ego proshlom i nastoiashchem* [The Ukrainian People: Its Past and Present][163]. This significant undertaking was led by editors including Fedir Volkov, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Fedor Korsh, Ahatanhel Krymsky, Mykhailo Tuhan-Baranovsky, and Aleksei Shakhmatov. Due to the outbreak of the First World War, only two volumes were published, which notwithstanding provided with a general overview of Ukrainian studies. Notable entries within these volumes included Hrushevsky's historical overview of Ukraine, Vovk's examination of Ukraine's anthropology and ethnography, Stepan Rudnytsky's treatise on the geography of Ukraine, and

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[160] MELNYK, G. "The politics of Otherness", *Student,* Edmonton, 11(50), November 1977, p. 10.

[161] *Ibidem.*

[162] KLYMASZ, R. B. "Cossacks and Indians? Métissage in Action". *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 2015, 47.4: 359-361; LEDOHOWSKI, L. "White settler guilt: contemporary Ukrainian Canadian Prairie literature". *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 2015, 47.4: 67-83.

[163] VOLKOV, Fedor, et al. *Ukrainskii narod v ego proshlom i nastoiashchem.* Petrograd: M.A. Slavinskago, 1916.

demographic statistics presented by Oleksander Rusov, Volodymyr Okhrymovych, and Stepan Tomashivsky. This endeavour was carried out in the Russian language while the first reference work on Ukraine in Ukrainian was a three volumes collection published between 1930 – 1935 in Polish Lwow[164]. After the Second World War, in displacement, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, then revived in Munich, published a three-volumes *Entsyklopediia ukraïnoznavstva* [Encyclopedia of Ukraine] edited by the leading Ukrainian geographer Volodymyr Kubijovych between 1949 and 1952[165]. This thematic encyclopedia, presented in the Bavarian city on 10 March 1954, was the first covering all the areas of Ukrainian studies[166]. Over a hundred Ukrainian scholars from all parts of the noncommunist world contributed to its production with the consequences of being an indispensable source for researchers. Nevertheless, its inclusion in the main narrative of Ukraine's national history inherently introduces a degree of bias to it[167]. Consequently, the tasks undertaken align with the responsibilities assigned to encyclopedias, which serve not only as a means for stateless nations to articulate their political narratives and validate their status, but also as educational resources, since they offer an approachable source of information, thereby nurturing a sense of group identity and unity[168]. It goes without saying that the Ukrainian Canadian community embarked on this "sacred" nation-building responsibility too, with the intention of constructing a Ukrainian narrative that was intended to serve as a "surrogate" for the geographical land during a time when Ukrainianness were considered at risk there.

Next, I'll redirect my attention to daily life at the CIUS institute, by delving into an analysis of the monthly humor-based journal, *Beztaktnist* [tactlessness][169], self-published by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian. *Beztaktnist* started in Athabasca Hall, where the CIUS was originally located. David Marples, a PhD candidate at the time and now a professor at the Department of History and Classics at the University of Alberta, had his office adjacent to Manoly Lupul, the director of the CIUS. Whenever Marples overheard humorous exchanges or verbal gaffes from the neighboring office, he would later write them down. The Journal published a wide range of uncensored topics related to life in the CIUS during the 1980s[170].

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[164] *Ukrains'ka zahal'na entsykl'opediia*. L'viv: Ridna shkola, 1935.

[165] Kubijovych, who after the war resettled to France, in addition edited a ten-volume alphabetical encyclopedia between 1955-1983 at the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Sarcelles, France.

[166] "The Encyclopedia of Ukraine", *ABN Correspondence*, vol. 4, n. 3-4, 1954, p. 11.

[167] ZHELEZNIAK, M. "The Encyclopedia of Ukraine as an object and a source in scientific researches". *The Encyclopedia Herald of Ukraine*, 2017, 8: 40-54.

[168] The role of encyclopedias as both literary works and markers of national identity has been explored in the Danish context: SIMONSEN, M. Encyclopedias and Nationalism in Denmark: A Study of the Reception of Three Encyclopedias, from Print to Digital. *Mémoires du livre*, 2022, 13.1: 1-31.

[169] The collection is available in: Manoly R. Lupul fonds, PR2009.0195, box 36 PPA, Edmonton and CIUS folklore collection, CA BMFUA 0119. BMUFA, Edmonton,

[170] *CIUS annual review 1976-2001,* Edmonton: CIUS, 2001, p. 39.

4.3.1. «The eternal truth of the Ukrainian people»

After the release of Kubijovych's Encyclopedia, there truly was a "fever" of publication in relation to encyclopedias focused on Ukraine. Even before the foundation of CIUS, the University of Toronto Press published a short English version of the general section of the "*Entsyklopediia ukraïnoznavstva*". However, the "Ukraine: A concise Encyclopedia" was financed by the Ukrainian National Association in the United States. Reacting to this, the 17th volume of the "*Ukrains'ka radians'ka entsyklopediia*" [The Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia] was released in Kiev in 1965, then separately in Russian in 1967, and in English in 1969. Lastly, a Polish handbook of Ukrainian Studies titled "*Ukraina, teraźniejszość i przeszłość*" [Ukraine: Its Present and Past] was issued in 1970[171].

It was on 4 December 1976, that then CIUS, together with the Shevchenko Scientific Society based in Europe [NTSh][172], signed an agreement to jointly publish the full English version of what would become the five-volume "*Encyclopedia of Ukraine*", a biblical endeavor composed by almost 4,000 pages and some 12,500 alphabetical entries that should have update the Ukrainian entries and translate them into English. The annual reports of the CIUS described the project as the «major project of the institute and the most comprehensive work in English language on Ukraine»[173]. Manoly Lupul, who served as the CIUS director, remembers his role in the publication process and emphasizes the collaborative effort between Canadians with Ukrainian heritage and the emigre-led NTSh, based in Europe[174]. In doing so, he highlighted the two distinct identities within the Ukrainian communities– the "ethnic Canadian" and the "diasporic" – with the CIUS, according to him, falling under the former category. «Without the Institutional means of an independent nation-state (Ukraine), the project was a very ambitious undertaking for an ethnic group that relied primarily on Canadian financial resources»[175], recalled Lupul, and he then explained in details several of the initial difficulties of the project, among all some misunderstanding with the "NTSh team", which he later found out was composed only by Kubijovyc himself and Arkadii Zhukovsky, who did not have adequate means at their disposal to properly work at the project[176]. According to Lupul, one of the most complicated things was to manage the big ego of the geographer, Kubijovyc, in fact, had to be taken in high regard, since he was «practically a legend among émigré Ukrainians and his Encyclopedia symbolized the

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[171] MANOLY, R. L. "The Encyclopedia of Ukraine Project: A Personal Memoir (1976-1986)", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 38 (2): 137-160, pp. 137-138.

[172] Specifically, the French branch in Sarcelles were Kubijovych carried his activities.

[173] *CIUS annual review 1976-2001,* Edmonton: CIUS, 2001, p. 30.

[174] MANOLY, R. L. "The Encyclopedia of Ukraine Project: A Personal Memoir (1976-1986)."*Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 38 (2): 137-160.

[175] *Ibidem.*

[176] The CIUS provided for the research expenses of the "French team" as highlighted in the budget of the Annual Reports.

eternal truth of the Ukrainian people's struggle for an independent nation and freedom»[177]. Another critical point mentioned by Lupul was also the work division between the two teams. For example, he was surprised that the English entries were not supervised by the CIUS, and the first drafts ended up with excessive number of unnecessary details on Canada insert by the European team:

> An encyclopedia of Ukraine in English should be an Encyclopedia of Ukraine. […] Now I find myself having to do battle … about excluding the temperature, industry, flora and fauna of Alberta (even Edmonton) from an encyclopedia of Ukraine![178]

Despite numerous challenges and without digging into too many details, the University of Toronto Press successfully released the text between 1984 and 1993, edited by Kubijovyc (vols. 1-2) and Danylo Husar Struk (vols. 3-5)[179]. The publication was warmly embraced both by the Canadian academic community, as evidenced by the multitude of positive reviews it garnered[180], and by the Ukrainian community[181]:

> Now it is up to our people to do the rest to make the widest possible use of this unique and signal volume: to help in disseminating the encyclopedia in every corner of the world. […] We must see that every Ukrainian family in the United States and Canada has a volume in its library; furthermore, we must see that every major public library, high school library, college and university library is equipped with this volume. Our youth organizations, women's clubs and veterans' organizations should undertake as their special projects the distribution of the Ukrainian encyclopedia[182].

The Encyclopedia thus became a tangible object containing the *imagined community* that Ukrainians strive to keep alive, or, as put by the literary critic and writer Marko Stech, «the cultural space that we share and that I am comfortable living in»[183]. Stech, who currently is the executive director of the CIUS Press in Toronto, is also the project manager of the *Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine,* an expanded and updated version on an ongoing basis of the "paper" version. Currently, the website contains the following sections: history, land, people, culture, art, and literature. According to Stech:

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[177] *Ibidem.*

[178] MANOLY, R. L. "The Encyclopedia of Ukraine Project: A Personal Memoir (1976-1986)."*Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 38 (2): 137-160.

[179] Kubijovyc died in 1984.

[180] A list of them is in: *CIUS annual review 1976-2001,* Edmonton: CIUS, 2001, p. 29.

[181] *The Ukrainian Weekly,* vol. 52, n. 21, 20 May 1984, p. 6.

[182] *Ibidem.*

[183] Marko R. Stech, interview by me, Toronto, 22nd September 2022.

Once completed, the Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine will be the most comprehensive source of information in English on Ukraine, its history, people, geography, society, economy, and cultural heritage[184].

Once again, there's a delicate balance between academic pursuits and extensive research efforts, and the ultimate diasporic aim, which can be summarized with the final words of the inaugural lecture of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies in Toronto, when Magocsi stated:

Finally, having wisely established endowed positions at American and Canadian universities the Ukrainian community has assured the future survival of its historical memory. Just as ancient Greek civilization and the Roman Empire continue to exist in the curricula of universities and thus in the mind of the modern man, so to paraphrase the first line of the national anthem – Ukrainian civilization will live on[185].

How can this diasporic political mission coexist within the multicultural education of Canada? In a nutshell, it is pivotal to note that as the academy and historiography were undergoing a transnational and global turn, moving away from the limiting lens of methodological nationalism, new national histories were simultaneously taking hold in the same classrooms. The experience of Ukrainian immigrants in Canada provides an intriguing lens through which we might further examine and problematize this issue. Communities that previously had «no history» or better «national histories» to call their own seized this opportunity as the once hegemonic Western-centered discourse gave way to new spaces emerging from outside the traditional canon and decolonization processes.

However, it is necessary to read between the lines of these developments to fully comprehend both their potential opportunities as well as inherent contradictions. On one hand, the very abandonment of methodological nationalism as the dominant framework is indeed a privilege afforded only to those who already have a legitimized and widely recognized national history. For communities without such a history, casting off the shackles of nationalism may be a more difficult transition. On the other hand, making room for the inclusion of new national histories in multicultural societies poses the question - does this serve to empower and give recognition to marginalized groups, or does it instead risk fueling deeper feelings of isolation and loneliness among communities still searching for a sense of identity and belonging? While opening the door to new perspectives was a step in the right direction, the realities of power imbalances and ingrained hierarchies could not be

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[184] *Ibidem*

[185] MAGOCSI, P. R. *National Cultures and University Chairs: An Inaugural Lecture, October 22, 1980*. Chair of Ukrainian Studies University of Toronto, 1980.

ignored. A more nuanced consideration of context and consequences was needed to maximize the benefits of pluralism while minimizing potential downsides.

4.3.2. Bitter and Hearty Laughter on Ukrainian Studies

Lastly, I would like to provide a brief overview of a publication I came across in the archives of Edmonton that offers a fascinating lens into the daily operations of CIUS as well as an outsider's perspective on Ukrainian studies in Canada. *Beztaknist* is a journal that was published contemporaneously with CIUS's work and contains accounts of the institute's activities, events, and scholarly publications. Providing a glimpse into Beztaknist serves to further contextualize the work of CIUS through the lens of those outside the institution who were still deeply engaged with the topic of Ukrainian studies. This viewpoint is distinctive as it comes from someone who wasn't part of the Ukrainian community or of Ukrainian descent. As shared in his memoirs, David Marples was born in Chesterfield, Derbyshire, and his interest in Eastern Europe and Ukraine was sparked during his educational journey in the UK and US. Looking back at his tenure in Edmonton at CIUS, Marples fondly remembers a friendly environment. However, the daunting task of editing and translating manuscripts from non-native English speakers posed a significant challenge. It was this sense of frustration that inspired him to kick-start a satirical monthly publication:

> Out of frustration, I started up a satirical monthly journal called Beztaktnist', which focused on the Ukrainian academic community in Canada, ably assisted by two other CIUS employees, Andrij Hornjatkevyc, who served as the Ukrainian-language interpreter for Lupul and was a professor in the Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies and Myroslav Yurkevich, a new Research Associate. It was intended to be good humored, and no one was spared. I think it survived because of the support of Lupul, who would read it in his office, door closed, with loud guffaws emanating from within. It was genuinely popular and distributed widely among the Ukrainian academic community[186].

The first number of the journal was published in December 1980, and it presented itself with the drophead «A strictly libelous look at life in the Institute»[187]. The layout was constructed from an array of engaging headlines and concise statements, all gathered from interviews, lectures, casual office conversations, and so on. The fact that the journal should have not «spared» anyone is well described for example by the description of the vacancy for an editor to collaborate with the journal:

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[186] MARPLES, DAVID R. *Understanding Ukraine and Belarus. A Memoir.* Bristol, UK: E-International, 2020, p. 16.
[187] *Beztaknist,* vol. 1, n. 1, December 1980, p.1.

POSITION VACANCY

Underground magazine requires an EDITOR.

Qualifications: must have perverted sense of humour; some knowledge of the Ukrainian community; no tact whatsoever[188].

Adopting a resemblance to a kind of *samizdat*, the content varied from inside jokes inside the Institute, to sharp attacks on current events, both in the Soviet Union and in Canada. For example, a eulogy following Yuri Andropov's death was written in verse: «For a brief fleeting moment; You were indeed number one, but you had rotten kidneys, so now you're gone»[189]. Certainly, no less stinging were the attacks on that naive Canadian sentiment:

Regan looks like a winner in the States, and antisemitism is on the march in France. In Italy, they've arrested an entire generation of autonomously minded intellectuals, and in Ukraine, repression intensified on the eve of the Madrid conference with a massive crackdown on Helsinki group members. Meanwhile, in Canada, Trudeau is truncheoning human rights into his constitution, and U of T students are playing with frisbees on the lawn[190].

Disagreement emerged between the two North American Ukrainian studies' centers. The journal highlights the consideration of the HURI's director, Omeljan Pritsak, on the Canadian Ukrainian community, a somewhat "second-class" community, which only serves the need of funding events and publications thanks to Canadian multicultural policies:

The fact that Alberta now has oil, and the head of the party now in government is a Ukrainian (sic), enabled the creation of this Institute […]. We have connections with it […] for example we prepare manuscripts, and they publish them since they have the money; or in organizing conferences – they provide with the finances, because they have the funds, and we supply the delegates because we have intellect[191].

In addition, there is also an irreverent portrait of Pritsak among the "candidates" that were running as Lupul's successors as the CIUS director:

Although now 93 years of age, OP is known to have a healthy disregard for the intelligence of anyone who lives west of New York. Although he doesn't speak any of Canada's major languages and has no idea where Edmonton is, there is little doubt that His Eminence is

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[188] "Position Vacancy", *Beztaknist,* vol. 4, n. 9, September 1984, p.5.

[189] *Beztaknist,* vol. 4, n. 3, March 1984, p.7.

[190] *Beztaknist,* vol. 1, n. 2, January 1981, p.1.

[191] *Beztaknist,* vol. 1, n. 3, February 1981, p.1.

interested in the post […]. Evidently, OP needs somewhere to retire and well-wishers at Harvard have informed him that Edmonton is a coastal resort in the vicinity of the Bahamas[192].

The same profane portraits were reserved for scholars of Ukrainian studies in Canada, especially the director of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies in Toronto, who was an American historian, Paul Robert Magocsi. Marples in his book recalls that Magocsi had taken the issue too seriously, and the reason was due to animosities between Magocsi and Lupul: «He thought that it was part of a coordinated campaign against him led by Lupul»[193]. Indeed, the appointment of Magocsi as the director of the chair in Toronto wasn't warmly received by the Ukrainian community. It's challenging to discern whether this was primarily due to his non-Ukrainian heritage, given his Hungarian descent, or because of his American nationality. Moreover, a simmering controversy also arose around his nomination because allegedly there were irregularities during the selection process[194].

It is thus possible to detangle, at least in part, the division that emerges between the two poles of the CIUS, Edmonton and Toronto, due to personal rifts that nevertheless also reflect the two souls of Ukrainian Studies in Canada: on the one hand including "Ukraine" in the field of Ukrainian Studies, while on the other, developing it in the context of ethnic studies in Canada. Another personality who oftentimes appears in the Journal is the historian John-Paul Himka, who was overheard saying at the office: «Spell it like the pope»[195]. Himka's ability to play along emerges for example in his appearance in the «Beztaknist Interview with CIUS staff». Pressed by questions, Himka ironically retraces some passages of his biography, such as exaggerating his mixed ethnic background: «I am part Italian, part Czech, part Serbo-Croatian, part Irish, part Vietnamese, part Iranian, part Ukrainian, but mostly American»[196]. Initially, he wanted to become a Greek Catholic priest, however, due to the radicalization of his political views to the left by the end of the 1960s he did not pursue that vocation, and this emerges when calling back the other party:

> JPH: Reverend Himka! […]
> BT: Really? Now, Reverend Himka …
> JPH: Comrade Himka! [197].

[192] *Beztaknist,* vol. 5, n. 1, January – February 1986, p.8.
[193] MARPLES, DAVID R. *Understanding Ukraine and Belarus. A Memoir.* Bristol, UK: E-International, 2020, p. 17.
[194] *The Ukrainian Weekly,* vol. 87, n. 1, 1st June 1980, p. 1.
[195] *Beztaknist,* vol. 1, n. 5, April 1981, p.1.
[196] *Beztaknist,* vol. 2, n. 8, November 1982, p.2-3.
[197] *Ibidem.*

Then, several jokes are about the daily tasks to perform in the office, such the hilarious: «How to get your book published by CIUS: a few tips for beginners»[198.]. Here, the Journal makes fun of the topics selected for publication:

> The importance of your topic cannot be overemphasized. Ethereal subjects such as Ukrainian history are not recommended. Choose something with backbone and substance, such as Ukrainian Folklore in 19th Century New Brunswick or the econometrics of psychoanalysis on the Right Bank of the Dniepr[199.].

The piece then moves forward with the publication process, which can take several years, until «finally your book is out, and you should receive a complimentary copy if you are still living at the time. Interesting as your book may be, the only people who will see it are the warehouseman at the U of T press, who are now believed to be fluent in Ukrainian»[200.]. Or again, some inside jokes of what happened in national conferences: «Beztaktnist presents THE ONLY place where to eat in Winnipeg. Those who attended the annual conference of the Canadian Association of Slavists will know only too well how true that is»[201].

Alternating sketches of daily life, with political current affairs and, all in all, the journal presents a different perspective on the Institute, moving away from the self-celebratory tones that may be retraced when looking at the official reports and publications. It also discloses the different standpoints of the scholars and the complex personal and intellectual relationships. Notwithstanding, between bitter and hearty laughter, there is also room for a short passage in which Marples talks about himself with an open heart:

> Six years ago, an Englishman left his native land and went to the United States. Oddly enough he went to study Ukrainians, or at least Soviet Ukraine. Naturally enough, this Englishman was a little apprehensive about Ukrainians. He expected to meet a lot of […] fierce nationalists who were now become Americanized. […] Imagine his surprise then, in downtown Washington D.C., when he entered a stately hall and found them dancing […]. Later this Englishman came to Canada. This time he found the milieu so interesting he decided to commit to it […]. Eventually the Englishman stopped being an Englishman and became Canadian. He is not sure even today when exactly this happened, but it did take place. But he is a Canadian who believes that Canada is what its culture makes it, not an Anglo-

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[198] *Beztaknist,* vol. 2, n. 6, July-August 1982, p.2-3.
[199] *Ibidem.*
[200] *Ibidem.*
[201] *Beztaknist,* Special Issue, n. 1, 1986, p.8.

Celtic-French hierarchy lording it over the rest. Who knows, maybe he became a little bit of Ukrainian himself? [202.]

This passage offers insightful perspectives on the complex identification processes that the Canadian context has enacted within the Ukrainian community in Canada. With his words, Marples introduces an alternative definition of being Ukrainian which consists in a sense of affinity with Ukrainians. It encapsulates the common experience of the "outsider". If Ukrainian Canadians had any influence on Canadian society, it was likely by contributing a narrative that allowed for the – at least potential – envisioning of a new interpretation of an alternative way to *feel* Canadian in the first place.

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[202] *Beztaknist,* vol. 4, n. 9, September 1984, p.5.

<div align="center">**PART THREE**</div>

<div align="center">**(NON) RETURN: THE BE-LONGING JOURNEY AFTER 1991**</div>

The last part of the work deals with the question of "return", what should be the final aim of a diasporic group[1]. How did the long-lasting national mission of a "free and independent Ukraine" combine with the everyday life in exile, or yet in a new home? These two chapters end the "journey of belonging" of the so-called "DP generation" with an analysis of the narratives through which the "DPs" have reconsidered their feelings and their community role amidst Ukrainian independence. However, the unfolding of history after 1991, with the Orange Revolution, the Revolution of Dignity, the annexation of Crimea by Russia, and – finally – the Russian invasion of February 2022, makes it clear how questions about identity are never-ending, with inevitable intergenerational consequences.

CHAPTER 5
NARRATIVES OF (NON) RETURN

5.1. «There is no happiness in a foreign land»[2]

As highlighted in the introduction of this thesis, the analytical use of the term "diaspora" has facilitated the examination and revelation of underlying dynamics within the specific wave of Ukrainian migration that is the focus of my analysis, and, within the chapters, I have emphasized the inherent diasporic mission of the group, which aimed to achieve a «free and independent Ukraine» from afar, albeit with evolving meanings, instruments, and significance. Indeed, the *longed-for return* could only be realized if the mission was successfully accomplished. To scrutinize the question of "return" in the DP wave during the Cold War and in the immediate aftermath of 1991, the chapter is organized with an initial theoretical introduction discussing the concept of return in diaspora studies. Following that, I will examine two significant events that deeply affected the community: Ukraine's independence and the centennial commemoration of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. I explore the influence of these celebrations on how the community narrated their belonging and self-identification.

Yet, prior to a comprehensive analysis of the subject at hand, it may be instrumental to journey back to the genesis of this thesis - specifically to postwar East Germany. In March 1955, after Stalin's

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[1] SAFRAN, W. "Diasporas in modern societies: myths of homeland and return", *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 1991, 1 (1), 83–99.
[2] Quoted in: ROBERTS, G.; CIPKO, S. *One-way ticket: the soviet return-to-the-homeland campaign, 1955-1960*. Newcastle Ontario: Penumbra Press, 2008, p. 38.

death, it was broadcasted an appeal directed to all Soviet citizens scattered outside the USSR from an office within the German Democratic Republic named *Komitet za Vozvrashchenie na Rodinu* [translated from Russian: "Committee for the Return to the Homeland"]. Six months later, in September, the Soviet government proclaimed an amnesty absolving all Eastern European emigres who were under suspicion for war crimes or collaboration with the Nazis[3], a strategic move attempted to project an image of benevolence towards those citizens who have migrated and resided overseas. The efficacy of this tactic was amplified through various propaganda materials designed to resonate with the personal emotions of the emigres, such as the distribution of newspapers and booklets[4].

While conducting a first examination of the material related to the repatriation of Soviet citizens from the DP camps[5], I chanced upon this appeal and I found interesting to observe the vocabulary associated with "return" that was employed within the context of this text, especially when it addressed those who sought refuge in the West – prior and after the war:

> We know how hard it is for you. Many of you suffer of malnutrition, do not have living quarters fit for man, and don't have the main thing that a man needs – honest work. […] Other may not know, but we know perfectly well that in foreign lands no one is interested in people like you. Is there someone there who will understand all the depth of your suffering, your homesickness? Are they familiar even to some extent to your childhood memories? […] Who needs you there? And if you are wanted then it is only to use you for the most exhausting and most dishonest work. […] We know well that many of you harbour in the depth of your souls the cherished dream of return to the homeland but cannot decide to realize it. […] We also know what hinders your return: You are held back by fear. Yes, fear spread by the propaganda of the overseas lord and their despicable myrmidons[6].

The plea was deftly crafted to resonate with the everyday struggles of the emigrants, highlighting the hardships, poverty, and discrimination they faced. Moreover, another objective was to paint a picture of the Soviet Union as a workers' paradise that would forgive them and accept them back, even those

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[3] Department of external affairs fonds, RG25, vol. 7609, file 11327-40, part 4.3, 1025-1029. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[4] To my knowledge there were studies on Latvian communities in the West: ZALKALNS, L. *Back to the Motherland: Repatriation and Latvian Émigrés 1955-1958*. 2014. PhD Thesis. Department of Baltic Languages, Finnish and German, Stockholm University and in different communities of Soviet citizens in Argentina:
GALVÁN, M. V. "The Impact of the Soviet Repatriation Campaign on the Eastern European Émigré Community in Argentina (1955-1963)". *Littera Scripta,* 2017, 10:1*,* 22-34.

[5] "Return to the homeland campaign of Iron Curtain countries", Department of external affairs fonds, RG25, vol. 5439, file 11327-40. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario. The English version is based on the translation of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada.

[6] *Ibidem.*

who fought against "the motherland". Evidently, it was specifically addressing Ukrainians, Belarussians, and nationals of the Baltic states:

> Some people believed the enemy slander, were frightened of the new life, and threw themselves headlong into the camp of the foe. […] Whatever the reasons every one of you might have had, you must know only one thing: Return, and the homeland will receive you! […]. The homeland will receive even those who joined military organizations, which were hostile to our country, […] and even those who are guilty before the Homeland[7].

Prominently featured amongst the signatories of the appeal is Ihor Leontiovich Muratov, a Soviet poet hailing from Kharkiv. Scholars Glenna Roberts and Serge Cipko, who have delved deeply into this subject, report that Muratov served also as editor for the Ukrainian-language propaganda organ of the Committee[8]. This underscores the pivotal role language plays within these communities and the necessity of a dedicated platform specifically tailored to specific national groups within the soviet republics, and among them there were Ukrainians. Another example is the Russian newspaper published by the Committee, titled *Da vozvrashchenie na Rodinu* [For the return to the homeland] that was translated to different languages. The Ukrainian version, *Za povernennia na Batkivshchynu,* widely circulated in America[9]. In addition, there was an interesting booklet published in Ukrainian, *Batkivshchyna klyche!* [The Fatherland Calls!], that contained a few messages tailored by Soviet citizens and directed to friends and relatives overseas[10].

The campaign took on significant overtones when one considers how much the "return to the motherland" was harbored by the people who chose to seek refuge overseas, particularly throughout the initial three decades of the Cold War. Those who were politically engaged, especially among the DPs, were cognizant of the propagandistic motives driving the campaign and regardless they did not view Soviet Ukraine as a homeland to return to. This sentiment is clearly reflected in the anti-communist perspectives prevalent in diaspora newspapers of the time[11]. However, the question was far more complex if we take into consideration those DPs who were not interested in politics nor aware of ideologies. The historian Cipko's research found at least 300 returnees of different nationalities who left Canada for the USSR in the 1950s and sixty-five of them were postwar DPs. It is not a considerable number, nor it is hardly unexpected that the majority of those swayed by this

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[7] *Ibidem.*

[8] ROBERTS, G.; CIPKO, S. *One-way ticket: the soviet return-to-the-homeland campaign, 1955-1960.* Newcastle Ontario: Penumbra Press, 2008, p. 25.

[9] *Ibidem.*

[10] *Ivi,* pp. 39-40.

[11] "Return to Soviet Homeland. Emigres flee back to free world" *Ukrainian Weekly,* 62.194, 8 October 1955, p.1.

appeal were individuals aligned with pro-Soviet associations who had migrated to the New World during the first half of the twentieth century. Yet, the existence of DPs within this group, who expressed remorse over their decision to leave the USSR, highlights the complex dynamics of this migration wave. It serves as a reminder that sweeping generalizations can often miss the unique experiences of individuals, like the ones who, despite being in Canada, were unable to lay down familial, communal, or professional roots. It breaks down any idealization of migration processes unveiling the challenges endured by those who "do not made it". For these individuals, the call of the USSR convinced them that returning was the right thing to do[12]. Although it is yet to uncover additional sources pertaining to the Ukrainians that were among those DPs who from Canada went back to the Soviet Union, I decided to start this chapter with this specific experience because they were the first ones who indeed have returned[13]. An example of a refugee experience investigated by Cipko involves a situation where an individual migrated to Canada after being forcibly displaced in Germany during World War II. Upon arrival, he faced a confusing period, as he had left his loved ones behind. Additionally, he encountered the challenge of being unable to secure employment in his professional field and felt that he was too old to pursue further education, so that he decided to get back to the Soviet Union[14]. The headline of one of the letters that were published in the *Za povernennia na Batkivshchynu,* is exemplificatory of the dynamics underlining the diasporic return: «There is no happiness in a foreign land»[15]. When individuals make the decision to return, it is often driven by a profound sense of disconnection from their country of residence. Consequently, in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the factors influencing the choice to return – or not – in Ukraine after independence has been proclaimed, it is crucial to consider this initial perspective. By doing so, it becomes possible to reframe the research questions and delve deeper into the motivations behind one's decision: Can a foreign land ever truly shed its foreignness? Or, in a twist of irony, can the place one has always called home transform itself into a foreign land?

5.1.1. The concept of "return" in diaspora studies

An analysis of the concept of return within diaspora studies finds the Jewish experience especially relevant, particularly as the concept experienced a watershed change in definition with the rise of Zionism. The relationship between Zionism and the diaspora is far more intricate than

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[12] Motivations of these returnees are analyzed in ROBERTS, G.; CIPKO, S. *One-way…,* cit., pp. 70-75.

[13] Cipko highlighted that, according to the resettlement information he had, among 26 family groups of postwar DPs, 8 had roots in Ukraine. In *Ibidem.*

[14] *Ivi,* p. 71.

[15] Quoted in *Ivi*, p. 38.

commonly perceived. If the ideology of Zionism does indeed trace its roots back to the diaspora, contrary to held beliefs, it sets itself apart from it by rejecting the idea of depending on the diasporic condition as a requirement for creating a state where Jews can experience a sense of security[16]. The new political belief thus contrasts to the primary religious one, according to which only God can orchestrate the return of the Jews to the Holy Land in the end times. Following the declaration of the State of Israel in 1948, the concept of "return" transitioned into a human action, encapsulated by the *aliyah* [going up, or ascent], namely the migration to Israel. This ushered in a period of discord between the governments of the newly formed state and the diaspora, particularly with those factions, like the American Jewish Committee, who contrasted the *law of retun* promulgated by the *Knesset* on July 5, 1950, with a right to *not* return[17]. Stéphane Dufoix, a French sociologist, has discerned four meanings of the term diaspora within Jewish history, each one pivoting on the concept of return: the diaspora could advocate for return, being either eschatological within Judaic Rabbinism or political within Zionism. Alternatively, it may opt not to return, instead advocating for the establishment of other kind of connections in space, formed by identifying the community as a minority within a state or as a transnational community transcending state border[18].

As research into the concept of diaspora expanded within cultural studies, the meaning of return also grew in scope to mirror that development. The present chapters focusing on "return" built on recent research that have been addressing the links between the imagined homeland and the attachment to an actual "place" where everyday life is performed. Specifically, I consider particularly enlightening Faist's conclusion that scholars should challenge the idea that the diasporic self-consciousness resides in a cultural distinctiveness from the hostland and a necessary troubled relation with it[19]. The issue of return is multifaceted in nature. Rather than solely concerning one's place of origin or homeland, whether conceptualized or tangible, it also relates to the location where one presently resides. The acts of returning and establishing a new home are inextricably linked phenomena two sides of the same coin, as it were. An individual can both leave and subsequently come back to different places, in physical or symbolic senses, that serve as points of origin and points of residence. Return thus involves not just considerations of the place and community one emerged from, but also reflections on the "new" place and community where one currently lives and belongs. The dynamics of return and homemaking encompass a diversity of forms and meanings that extend

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[16] DUFOIX, S. "Deconstructing and Reconstructing "Diaspora": A Study in Socio-Historical Semantics". In: BEN-RAFAEL, E.; STERNBERG, Y. (Ed.) *Transnationalism: Diasporas and the advent of a new (dis) order*. London: Brill, 2009, pp. 47-74.

[17] FELDESTEIN, A. *Ben-Gurion, Zionism and American Jewry: 1948-1963*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

[18] COHEN, R.; FISCHER, C. Routledge Handbook of Diaspora Studies. London: Taylor and Francis 2018, p. 13-21.

[19] FAIST, T. Diaspora and transnationalism: "What kind of dance partners". *Diaspora and transnationalism: Concepts, theories and methods*, 2010, 11.

beyond strictly geographical notions to include emotional and psychological dimensions as well[20]. As a result, individuals or communities within a diaspora may experience on the one hand a "double absence"[21], so to feel alienated in their host societies due to cultural discrepancies, but also detached from their homelands because of time-induced changes and the perhaps idealized perception they retained. On the other hand, they can also perceive a "double presence" – that is the coexistence of both the ancestral homeland and the current place of residence. This dual perspective is a delicate balance between the emotional and the tangible. In fact, there is the deep-seated longing for a "home" - a place where one belongs, a place resonant with familiar sights, sounds, smells, and feelings. This is coupled with the need for a physical place and connection – the need to have a space that one can claim as their own, a spot on the map that one can point to and say, "That's where I'm from".

As a final issue it's important to highlight the unique experience of those we might call the "returnees who never left". These are the subsequent generations born and raised in the diaspora, in a country different from their diasporic roots[22]. Despite never having lived in their ancestral homeland, they too embark on a journey of return, which once again can be physical or metaphorical, a longing driven by a desire to reconnect with their roots, cultural heritage, and identity. The second generation of diasporic communities often grapple with an even more complex sense of identity. They are caught between the culture of their birth country and that of their ancestral lands, which they may have only experienced through their parents' narratives. Particularly important in this context is the concept of "postmemory", a term coined by scholar Marianne Hirsch[23] which refers to the relationship that the "generation after" bears to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before them – to experiences they never lived through directly but that still have profound impacts on their lives. They inherit these memories indirectly through stories, images, behaviors, and the emotional environment in which they grow up. This is not their "memory" in the traditional sense, but a postmemory - a powerful form of memory transmitted across generations. For many in the diaspora, it can fuel the desire to reconnect with their roots and can significantly shape their perception of their ancestral homeland. While the idea of postmemory can account for the lure of second-generation "return", it also underscores the significant gap that exists between past and present. This gap can lead to a series of complexities and challenges. One such risk is projection, where the second or third generation might project their own perceptions, expectations, and desires

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[20] See also: HIRSCH, M; MILLER, N. K. (Ed.). *Rites of return: Diaspora poetics and the politics of memory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011.

[21] BOURDIEU, P; SAYAD, A. "Colonial rule and cultural sabir". *Ethnography*, 2004, 5.4: 445-486.

[22] SILBEREISEN, R. K.; TITZMANN, P. F. *The challenges of diaspora migration: Interdisciplinary perspectives on Israel and Germany*. New York: Routledge, 2016. pp. 25-41.

[23] HIRSCH, M. "The generation of postmemory". *Poetics today*, 2008, 29.1: 103-128.

onto the past, distorting it in the process. Another risk is appropriation, where they may inadvertently appropriate a history and culture they did not directly experience, potentially oversimplifying, romanticizing, or misrepresenting it. Lastly, there is the risk of overidentification, where the second or third generations may over-identify with their ancestral culture to the point where they neglect or reject their own cultural context[24]. It is vital to understand these nuances and dynamics when one approaches the topic of diasporic return. As it has been showed, the type of return could range from a physical relocation to the ancestral homeland, to a metaphorical return through engagement with cultural heritage and history, to a psychological return in the form of postmemory. The factors prompting this return could include longing for a sense of belonging, a desire to reclaim cultural identity, or the influence of familial or collective narratives. Moreover, the narratives of return, or non-return, significantly shape the process of homemaking. These narratives, whether they involve actual journeys back or symbolic engagements with the past, can deeply impact how individuals and communities construct their sense of home and belonging. This multidimensional approach allows for a more comprehensive exploration of this important aspect of diasporic experience.

So that, the first step in this analysis involves reassessing the nostalgic yearning for a return that arose during the Cold War, as revealed in various collected sources. Following this, I will delve into the critical turning point of 1991, when Ukraine was put back on the map of Europe. Ukrainian independence represented a watershed event that transformed the narratives of return and homemaking for the Ukrainian diaspora, opening new possibilities and challenges. What form does this return take? How do stories of returning, or choosing not to return, shape the way people create a sense of an old – or a new – home?

5.1.2. «Sitting on a Suitcase»[25]

When examining the concept of return in the third wave, a crucial aspect to consider was the feeling of "exile" that individuals experienced. This group of migrants was deeply impacted by a sense of loss, not only because they were forcibly removed from their homeland as usually studied, but also because they grappled with the realization that their longing for a homeland was based solely

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[24] The main literature I am referring to is the following: CHRISTOU, A. *Narratives of place, culture and identity: second-generation Greek Americans return "home"*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006; KING, R.; CHRISTOU, A. "Cultural geographies of counter-diasporic migration: The second generation returns 'home'". *University of Sussex, Brighton, Sussex Migration Working Paper*, 2008, 45. SARDINHA, J. "'Returning Second-Generation Portuguese Canadians and Portuguese French: Motivations and Senses of Belonging". *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 2011, 20.2: 231-254; GÓRNY, A; OSIPOVIÉC, D. *Return migration of second-generation British Poles*. CMR Working Papers, 2006.

[25] Zorianna Hyworon. Interview by me, 22nd June 2022, Winnipeg.

on imagination. The notion of duplicity plays a significant role when discussing Ukraine in this context. On one hand, there was the physical Ukraine that did exist but was part of the Soviet Union. Although it was technically possible to return there, it was not desired as it was depicted as a place to escape from. On the other hand, there is the idea of Ukraine as the homeland often mentioned in nostalgic memories of a bygone era. However, the desire to return to this imagined homeland was inherently unfulfilled. How can one go back to a place that never truly existed? To be clear, memories are not bogus. They often revolve around Ukrainian cultural practices that were carried out within households. However, these customs developed within political entities that were not the independent state of Ukraine. In contemporary accounts of the immediate postwar era, especially those aimed at showing the condition of Ukrainians as political refugees, a potential return is indeed described as «worse than death»[26]. If the exploration of this theme has already been addressed in the first chapter of the thesis, the subsequent focus will be on the narratives revolving around the unattainable return to the homeland. For example, the article "The uprooted population" published in the *Ukrainian Weekly* in 1946, outlines the different feelings animating "western" and "eastern" DPs:

> We are witnesses in Western Europe of a curious phenomenon (which to western Europeans makes an appeal to curiosity if not to conscience) of American citizens rioting because they "wanna go home" (westward) while in the same street Soviet citizens and others claimed by them as such, killed themselves in amazing numbers. […] They are prepared to work anywhere in any capacity rather than return[27].

The use of the phrase "wanna go home" effectively emphasizes the longing for the familiar comforts and freedoms of one's own country. Conversely, the stark description of Soviet citizens committing suicide rather than returning home illustrates the profound fear and desperation they feel towards the oppressive regimes in their countries. Evidently, the juxtaposition between the East and the West follows the Cold War narrative. Similarly, feelings of despair and solitude emerged in "Why I can't Return", a pamphlet published by the philosopher Wolhodymyr Shayan. In his writing, he captures the essence of being coerced into exile from one's own birthplace but also the indifference experienced: «You cannot hear the cry of millions of suffering hearts that roars in my soul: we can't return»[28]. When leaving the camp, the decision of "where" resettling, tells something about "return". Canada, for the majority who decided to migrate, entails the realization that returning to their country of origin may not be feasible. For example, Mikola Kocijowsky, a former DP who openly

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[26] "The uprooted population", *The Ukrainian Weekly,* 64.58, 23 March 1946, p. 2.
[27] *Ibidem.*
[28] SHAYAN, W. "I can't return", *New Epoch,* 1950.

acknowledged his affiliation with the OUN-B, radically motivated to fight against the Soviet Union, initially opted to remain in the United Kingdom due to its geographic proximity to Ukraine. However, subsequently, when in 1952 he made the decision to immigrate to Canada, he admitted: «I did so when I gave up hope of returning to Ukraine»[29].

Once established in Canada, the persistent narrative of "being unable to return" to evade forced repatriation gradually lost its centrality. Ukraine's plight continued to feature prominently in community's discussions. However, the theme of return it was not approached as part of a potential or explicit plan for a "return to the homeland", rather it was reframed as the "return" of Ukraine to democracy. In the publications of both the UCC and the CLLU, the most radical DP organization in Canada, countless are the references to «the family of the freedom-loving people», «democracy», «human rights» and «independence»[30]. Alongside this perspective, there was a significant shift towards emphasizing the symbolic significance of the "homeland" in relation to the nation-building process of Ukraine. This involved incorporating the concept of "invented tradition" proposed by Hobsbawm and Anderson's idea of an "imagined community" into the cultural output of the diaspora. The yearn to return to this homeland and the complex feeling of longing have been especially intense when expressed through literature and poetry. This is evident if one considers the substantial body of writing produced by emigre writers in the decade after the Second World War. As noted by scholars of Ukrainian Canadian literature, writers who emigrated during the third wave, such as Volodymyr Skorupsky, Ulas Samchuk, Ivan Bondarchuk, Svitlana Kuzmenko, Borys Oleksandriv, and Yar Slavutych, utilized the Ukrainian language to explore themes centered around their longing for their homeland and the unfulfilled desire to return. This narrative, however, is intertwined with their immigrant experience in Canada[31]. Exemplificatory is the poem "Original sin" written by Volodymyr

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[29] Mykola Kocijowsky. Interview by Lubomyr Luciuk, 14th May 1982, Sudbury. In MHSO, Toronto, *Oral history collection.* UKR-13329-KOC.

[30] As concern the UCC, I am here referring mainly to the All-Canadian Congresses of Ukrainians in Canada, which are exemplificatory of the umbrella organization's political line. Especially: VI Congress of Ukrainian Canadians, 1959; VIII Congress of Ukrainian Canadians, 1965 and IX Congress of Ukrainian Canadians, 1968. In the conference proceedings discussions revolved around the faith of the Ukrainian state, but as concern the Ukrainian community, focal attention was posed on the multicultural discussion. The published proceedings are available for consultation at the Library of the National Archives of Canada. Addresses of the IX Congress are also in LAC, Ottawa, *Jaroslav Rudnyckyi,* MG31-D58, Vol. 89. For the position of the CLLU, instead I refer to CLLU, *Truth on March,* Toronto: Homin Ukrainy, 1953 and articles that were published on the ABN Correspondence – of which the CLLU was part of. See especially: "The mission of the emigrants", *ABN Correspondence,* vol. 5, n. 5 – 9, 1954; "Second Conference of the ABN in Canada", *ABN Correspondence,* vol. 10, n. 7 – 8, 1959; "Diefenbaker for Ukraine's right to independence"; *ABN Correspondence,* vol. 22, n. 3, 1971; "We must be ready to defend our freedom", *ABN Correspondence,* vol. 33, n. 4-5, 1982.

[31] On Ukrainian Canadian literature and poetry, I refer to the following anthologies: MANDRYKA, M.I. *History of Ukrainian Literature in Canada.* Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1968; MARUNCHAK, M. H. *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History.* Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1982 and BALAN I; KLYNOVY, I.

Skorupsky who gave religious overtones to exile and dispersion: «From Eden into exile we went»[32]. Another example are the verses from the poem "I fled from home", written by Oleska Hay-Holowko: «I fled from my home not to be mute. Not to be silent like a rock in the desert»[33]. Born in Kyiv on 12 August 1910, Hay-Holowko was the son of a Greek Orthodox priest. After his art studies in Leningrad, he worked for various publishing houses. During WW II he fled to the American zone in Austria, then to Germany, England and – finally – moved to Canada in 1951[34]. He also wrote a memoir "Duel with the devil" where the condition of being forced out of his home and being exiled permeates the narration: «[They] expelled us from our homes! I was labelled a traitor to my Fatherland because I dared to defend myself, my family, my countryman, our freedom»[35]. The line between the status of a displaced person, a political refugee and an exile was blurred: How forced was that migration? How voluntary? In a similar manner, Maria-Anna Holod, a writer hailing from Lviv, emphasizes in her poem titled "The Sentimental Feelings" the plight of Ukrainians enduring a state of dispersion: «My heart is shattered; Into the countless thousand; Of separate despairs»[36]. Furthermore, she portrays the state of exile, which appears to leave her devoid of aspirations and hopes for the future. Holod describes a time of stagnation and a perceived absence of prospects, where the future is seemingly nonexistent: the time is described «standstill» and «without future»[37] and the past «forever lost»[38]. From her poetry emerge the temporality that is typical of the diasporic identity, where there is nostalgia for a lost past and hopeless yearning for the future – and – in the in-between – the suspended and provisional condition of exile. Then, another topic emerging is the oneiric description of the vanished homeland which became a recurrent interlocutor for poets, as exemplified by this extract of Bohdan Mazepa's "For Ukraine":

How distant you are, blue-starred beauty,
How distant you are, goddess-stepped!

Whenever I roved over strange roads,
Whenever the sun didn't shine in foreign lands –

(Ed.) *Yarmarok: Ukrainian Writing in Canada Since the Second World War*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1987. *Yarmarok* is a fundamental source since it includes selected works by emigre writers of the third wave as well as more detailed biographical information about these writers.

[32] BALAN, I.; KLYNOVYI, Í. *Yarmarok ...*, cit., p. 249.

[33] Translations from Ukrainian are of the authors of the anthology. In: BALAN, I.; KLYNOVYI, Í. *Yarmarok ...*, cit., p. 60.

[34] Obituary, *Winnipeg Free Press*, 20 September 2006.

[35] HAY-HOLOWKO, O. *Duel with the devil,* Winnipeg, Communigraphics, 1986, p.

[36] *Ivi,* p. 67.

[37] HOLOD, M. "No Wishes" in: *Ivi,* pp. 67-68.

[38] HOLOD, M. "To bad …" in: *Ivi,* p. 68.

You sent a breeze from the vast grainfields,

And sparkled like stars for me.

An intriguing observation lies in the healing effect that the imagined homeland holds for migrants. It serves as a refuge where individuals can confront the challenges of unfamiliar paths and foreign environments, while also gaining a deeper understanding of their own condition. A condition that for some has been cruelly inhospitable: «The sea that eventually rejects all foreign objects»[39]; «If evermore, without a home, I roam»[40], while for others it meant a constant balance between two worlds: «In one – there echoes the call of his homeland. In the other – he hears the cry of his children. Who, now, remains whole when dual worlds already exist within? »[41]. As concern the specific migration to Canada, relevant is the poem "A song about Canada" by Hay-Holowko. When analyzing the tone and the vocabulary employed by the poet, the way Canada is depicted is exemplificatory of the wide trends emerging among the DPs. He loved and appreciated "her"[42] for the refuge she provided and the way of life she allowed. However, the lingering sense of not fully belonging and the absence of a deep connection to is apparent. By contrast, there is a genuine admiration for the act of extending warm hospitality.

An interesting viewpoint emerges from the experiences of a boy who lived through World War II during his teenage years. As a result, he was at an age where he could vividly recall his homeland, yet still lacked the deep roots that come with being older. In his memoir, Serge Radchuk recounts his arrival in Canada at the age of 21. He landed in Halifax without his family that remained in Ukraine and then embarked on an extensive train journey, which saw him reaching Winnipeg on December 24, 1947. Following this, he set out for the final leg of his trip, intended for Saskatchewan. His initial impressions, formed at the Winnipeg train station, were less than favourable:

> I was almost at my destination and, feeling a bit homesick, eagerly boarded my train, bound
> for 'home' in Saskatchewan. I arrived soon after 10:00 p.m. and quickly discovered that I
> was inappropriately dressed for the outside temperature: a shocking 30°C below zero! […]
> All my life I avoided Siberia, and where I have voluntarily ended up?[43]

[39] JENDYK, O. "From the Prairie" in *Ivi,* p. 139.
[40] MAZEPA, B. "My songs" in *Ivi,* p. 141.
[41] KLYNOVY, Y. "The emigrant" in *Ivi,* p. 110.
[42] I am using the "gendered" vocabulary employed by the poet himself.
[43] RADCHUK, S. *I chose Canada. A memoir.* Winnipeg, 2001, pp. 19-25.

It is clear from this initial insight that the author has not yet come to regard Canada as his home. This is evident from the use of quotation marks around the word "home" and the ongoing feeling of homesickness he mentioned. Interestingly, a striking juxtaposition is observed in the climatic conditions of his new home, Canada, with those of Siberia, breaking the narrative norm of the vast prairies being a common ground between Canada and Ukraine. Then, the story goes on with the first night, spent struggling to sleep while his mind teeming with doubts. Specifically, he questioned if he had made the right decision in moving so far away from home, and the absence of his parents was felt more keenly with every passing minute[44]. This element carries with it a great significance, since "home" took on the guise not of an imagined or real country, but the ones of his own family, then he left behind when he fled westwards. His upbringing, with its traditional Christmas celebrations, had not prepared him for the cultural shift of commemorating an English Christmas, ordinarily observed on December 25. This day, usually of no particular significance to him, suddenly took on a new meaning, symbolizing the significant changes in his life[45]. The protagonist found the notion of returning to his homeland increasingly unfavorable. However:

> Although I was happy and doing well, I constantly missed my parents and worried about their well-being. We kept in touch by regular correspondence, but my ultimate goal was to bring them to Canada. When I learned that there was a Ukrainian member of Parliament representing a Social Credit federal riding in Alberta, I decided to write to him. I explained to Anton Hlynka the whole story about my mother's rejection by Canadian medical authorities and asked him to intervene. He was extremely sympathetic and acted quickly to arrange for my parents to be re-examined. This time, my mother passed, and they were allowed to join me in Canada[46].

His efforts pivoted towards family reunification; he was determined to facilitate the emigration of his parents to Canada. This shift in focus underscores the importance of familial ties in the immigrant narrative, illuminating the protagonist's struggle to establish a sense of belonging in his new environment while maintaining strong connections to his past.

Equally fascinating are the narratives that have surfaced from oral sources of individuals who experienced the camp and the subsequent "exile" during their childhood. Generally speaking, the theme of return has not emerged in the interviews that I have conducted, if not in remembering the

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[44] *Ibidem.*
[45] *Ibidem.*
[46] *Ibidem.*

post-independence era[47]. One notable exception was the one with Zorianna. During our conversation, she reflected on her childhood in Canada and the dynamics of her relationship with her parents. Hyworon candidly expressed: «My parents, along with many others of their generation, lived as if they were sitting on a suitcase. It was not a metaphorical statement! My mother never unpacked our belongings. They were always waiting for the call to return home»[48]. And it is perhaps not secondary that Hyworon's connection with Europe was one of the most powerful that emerged, manifested in her frequent visits to Germany, Austria and Ukraine following Ukraine's independence and her relentless efforts to reconstruct the history of the DP camp where she resided. This perspective was further validated by Vicki Karpiak, the daughter of Senator Yuzuk and a third generation first-wave immigrant. She mentioned: «The third wave was obsessed with return»[49]. In this respect, Roman Fedoriw told me that a frequently heard toast during Christmas or Easter festivities was: «Next year in a free Ukraine»[50], which seems rephrasing the iconic Jewish motto «Next year in Jerusalem»[51].

To pull the strings of this first analysis, the theme of returning home is a recurrent motif, predominantly surfacing in camp memoirs and narratives from the early years of settlement in Canada. Since the physical act of return was impossible, cultural works during the Cold War often depict a shift from the inaccessible Soviet Ukraine to the idealization of an imagined homeland. This idealization served as a coping mechanism, offering comfort and a sense of identity amidst the unfamiliarity of life abroad. Yet, as time wore on and the unique Ukrainian experience in Canada began to shape itself within the framework of multicultural politics, the narrative focus evolved, with different outcomes from the Sixties onwards. For many, the emphasis, as shown in the second part of the thesis, shifted towards redefining a Ukrainian Canadian identity, a transition that underscores the complex dynamics of immigrant identities. Notwithstanding, the issue of generational postmemory further complicates the picture.

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[47] One of the specific questions I asked was, "Have you ever considered returning to Ukraine". This question may have influenced the development of the testimonies' narrations.

[48] Zorianna Hyworon. Interview by me, 22nd June 2022, Winnipeg.

[49] Vicki Karpiak. Interview by me, 3rd May 2022, Ottawa.

[50] Roman Fedoriw. Interview by me, 22nd September 2022, Edmonton. Also mentioned in the interviews conducted by Julia Lalande: LALANDE, J. *Building a Home Abroad–A Comparative Study of Ukrainian Migration, Immigration Policy and Diaspora Formation in Canada and Germany after the Second World War*. 2006. PhD Thesis. Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, pp. 196.

[51] GREENSPOON, L. J. (Ed.). *Next Year in Jerusalem: Exile and Return in Jewish History*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2019.

5.2. Facing the Present: The Dawn of a New Era

While the Cold War started to lose steam in the late 1980s, the dissolution of the Soviet Union was not a straightforward process. It was the culmination of a multitude of intertwined economic, political, social, and cultural variables, both within the Soviet Union and beyond its borders. These factors created a complex and intricate tapestry that isn't easily condensed into a simple narrative. The USSR economy was spiraling into a severe crisis, with a multitude of factors exacerbating its condition, such as the expensive and unsuccessful war in Afghanistan, which only concluded in 1988-1989, the massive financial burden of managing the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster in 1986, coupled with the strain of a devastating earthquake that hit Armenia in 1988. Political changes were also pivotal in the dissolution of the federation. The policies of *glasnost* and *perestroika* introduced under Mikhail Gorbachev's leadership had far-reaching social implications. His reforms, designed to modernize the Soviet economy and political system, unintentionally unleashed forces that eventually led to the dissolution of the Soviet Union[52]. Also instrumental was the ideological stagnation and the gradual delegitimization of Marxism-Leninism, particularly Stalinism, due to glasnost and newly revealed "blank spots" in Soviet history. This contributed to a growing sense of disillusionment and loss of faith in existing ideologies. The turbulence within the Soviet Union was further amplified by the rise of nationalist movements both within its own republics and in Eastern Europe. These movements challenged the unity of the Soviet bloc and the USSR itself. The desire for self-determination and independence among various ethnic and national groups grew stronger. Meanwhile, on the other side of the world, other personalities such as the US president Ronald Reagan and the UK prime minister Margaret Thatcher rallied against the «Evil Empire» and media also played a critical role in disseminating information and ideas that challenged the communist ideology[53]. As for Gorbachev, his reputation remains contested. In some circles, especially in the West he is regarded as the peacemaker, the man who ended the Cold War, almost singlehandedly stopped the arms race, and who declined to respond with force when first the East Europeans and second the Soviet republics broke free. In the Russian Federation his popularity remains low. He was after all human and unable

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[52] MILLER, C. *The struggle to save the Soviet economy: Mikhail Gorbachev and the collapse of the USSR*. UNC Press Books, 2016.

[53] For an overview of the state of the art on historiographic research on the topic I refer to: PONS, S; ROMERO, F. (Ed.). *Reinterpreting the end of the Cold War: issues, interpretations, periodization*. London: Routledge, 2014; MARPLES, D. R. *The collapse of the Soviet Union, 1985-1991*. London: Routledge, 2016; MIRONOV, B. N. Disintegration of the USSR in Historiography: Collapse or Dissolution. *Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. History*, 2021, 66.1: 132–147; PLOKHY, S. *The last empire: the final days of the Soviet Union*. London: Hachette UK, 2015; BROWN, A. *The human factor: Gorbachev, Reagan, and Thatcher, and the end of the Cold War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020; KRAMER, M. The Dissolution of the Soviet Union: A Case Study of Discontinuous Change. *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 2022, 24.1: 188-218.

to control forces that he had helped to set in motion. There is no indication at any point in his career that he sought the end of the Soviet Union, or that he understood fully why it had happened. But by dismantling the authority of the party he played his role in the empowerment of the constituent republics and the rekindling of nationalist sentiments that had been fostered in part by the very structure of the USSR as formed in 1922 but lain dormant for several decades[54].

As these intricate dynamics were unfurling, it's compelling to observe that, according to the oral histories and sources collected, no one within the Ukrainian community in Canada seemed to foresee the end of the USSR. Many of the interviewers underlined how «unexpected»[55] the event was. However, whether they were aware of it or not, these individuals were at the very heart of these monumental changes, experiencing them firsthand. These involvements often manifested in both explicit and subtle ways, and sometimes in surprising scenarios. In a short story penned by former DP Ludmilla Bereshko, there's a fascinating segment that brings to light another key figure from the closing chapters of the Cold War, pope John Paul II. Bereshko's story illustrates the significance of this figure to the Polish community, while also noting how Ukrainians were still endeavoring to attain validation and acknowledgment of their distinct national identity during this time period: «Who was going to come to their [Ukrainians] rescue? Who? The Poles at least have a Pope. The whole world knows they're a people. But us? »[56]. And indeed, as widely researched, the election as pope of Karol Wojtyła, on October 16, 1978, constitutes an epochal event not only for the history of the Church, but also for the international dynamics of the Cold War[57]. With this viewpoint, the itinerary of John Paul II's Apostolic Journey to Canada from September 9-20, 1984, unveils new layers of significance. Documents of this trip are available online on the official website of the Holy See[58]. It's intriguing to observe the linguistic choices made for the transcriptions of the Pope's prayers during his journey. In

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[54] This is well-analyzed in: MARPLES, D. R. *The collapse of the Soviet Union,* cit.

[55] The adjective has been used by: Peter Melnycky, 13th September 2022, Edmonton; Roman Petryshyn, 12th September 2022, Edmonton.

[56] PONOMARENKO, F. (Ed.), BERSHKO, L. *The Parcel from Chicken Street and other stories.* Montreal: D.C. Books, 1989, p.61.

[57] See, among others: WEIGEL, G. *Witness to hope: the biography of Pope John Paul II.* Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2009; SCHÄFER, B. "The Catholic Church and the Cold War's end in Europe: Vatican Ostpolitik and Pope John Paul II, 1985–1989". In: *Europe and the End of the Cold War.* London: Routledge, 2012. p. 64-77; ZAGACKI, K. S. "Pope John Paul II and the Crusade against Communism: A Case Study in Secular and Sacred Time." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs,* 2001, 4.4: 689–710; SIGNIFREDI, M. "Giovanni Paolo II e la fine del comunismo: la transizione in Polonia (1978-1989)". Milano: Guerini e associati 2013; HRABOVEC, E. "L'Ostpolitik di Giovanni Paolo II e la Slovacchia (1978-1989)". *Incorrupta monumenta ecclesiam defendunt; 3: Inquisizione romana, indice, diplomazia pontificia,* 2018, 267-290; KELEHER, S. Out of the catacombs: The Greek-Catholic church in Ukraine. *Religion in Communist Lands,* 1991, 19.3-4: 251-263.

[58] "Apostolic journey to Canada". Link: https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/travels/1984/travels/documents/trav_canada.html. Last Accessed on 16 August 2023.

Quebec, the transcriptions they were made available in French and Italian, while English and Italian were the preferred languages in the other provinces. Polish, Slovak, and Ukrainian stood out as exceptions to this norm. In fact, apart from the interactions with the First Nations, significant meetings were arranged between the Pope and the Polish, Slovak, and Ukrainian communities, underscoring their prominent role and influence within the Canadian societal tapestry, and, arguably, even beyond.

Fig. 15: Pope John Paul II visit to the Ukrainian Community in Winnipeg, 16th September 1984[59].

John Paul II met with the Ukrainian community at the Sts. Vladimir and Olga Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral and Parish Hall – seat of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Canada – in Winnipeg, Manitoba on September 16, 1984 [Fig. 15][60]. The address delivered in Ukrainian commenced with the following words[61]:

> […] Through you, my heartfelt greetings reach the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Byzantine rite and all Ukrainians residing in Canada. I greet you as a Slavic brother […]. It brings joy to be among you as we approach the sacred anniversary marking a millennium of Christianity in Ukraine. Through you, I embrace with love in Christ the entire People of your homeland[62], together with its history, culture, and heroism, which it lived in strong faith. Glory to Jesus Christ![63].

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[59] Leo Mol Fonds, A2011-015, Box 0016 File 0002. UoM Archives, Manitoba, Winnipeg.
[60] *Ukrainian Weekly,* 65.39, 23 September 1984, p.3.
[61] English translation is mine.
[62] The word used in Ukrainian «batʹkivshchyny» literally translates into the "land of one's own parents". In Ukrainian the word did not have a gendered dimension carried by the English translation motherland/fatherland.
[63] "Apostolic journey to Canada". Link: https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/travels/1984/travels/documents/trav_canada.html. Last Accessed on 16 August 2023.

In this section, Pope John Paul II identifies himself as a "Slavic brother". This term carries significant emotional weight, especially given that the Pope himself was Polish, creating a bond with his listeners. This was also repeated few minutes later when he reaffirmed the relationship between Poland and Ukraine: «Much more could be said about your history not infrequently linked to that of my homeland»[64]. He expressed joy in becoming a part of the community as they approach the thousand-year celebration of Christianity in Ukraine, which would take place in 1988. This event not only acknowledges the historical significance of the event, especially during the Soviet era, but also highlights its continuous influence and importance in the everyday lives of Ukrainians in Canada. Equally noteworthy was the concluding portion of the speech: «I rejoice to see your children dressed in the beautiful national costumes and to know that your youth is growing with a grateful awareness of their ethnic and religious roots»[65]. Almost a national, more than religious message, that was even more fiercely emerging in his meeting with the Polish community in Toronto:

> Now, that I have been traveling through various cities in this country for a few days, I meet many banners with the inscription "Solidarność". My dear brothers and sisters, my dear fellow countrymen, they mean that the Poles have always tried to add consistent content to that declaration of human rights, throughout these forty years and especially in the 1980s. "Solidarność" constitutes the symbol of an order where man is placed at the center. […] We want to be ourselves and live our own life[66].

It is not a surprise that within the Ukrainian community, particularly resonated the Pope's references to the "heroism" of the Ukrainian nation, and especially in «keeping their faith in Communist occupied Ukraine»[67]. Then, the article on the Ukrainian Weekly describing the event, also mentioned the «privileged position» of Ukrainians to bridge Russian and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches[68]. And indeed, during the 1980s, there was significant scholarly discussion surrounding the unique position of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. One notable contribution to this discourse was a publication released by the Harvard Institute of Ukrainian Studies. This publication holds substantial importance as it thoroughly explores the intricate relationship between the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Vatican, and the USSR during the pontificate of Pope John Paul II. Its specific purpose was to provide insights and knowledge in anticipation of the Millennium of Christianity celebrations[69]. Within this

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[64] *Ibidem.*

[65] *Ibidem.*

[66] *Ibidem.*

[67] *Ukrainian Weekly,* 65.39, 23 September 1984, p.3.

[68] *Ibidem.*

[69] HVAT, I. *The Catacomb Ukrainian Catholic Church and Pope John Paul II.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1984.

publication, Ivan Hvat, a Ukrainian-Slovak journalist, delved into various aspects of the Ukrainian Catholic Church's position, highlighting its distinctiveness and significance within the broader context of Christianity and the richness of the Ukrainian religious landscape:

> Although Kievan Rus' took its Christianity from Byzantium, the Ukrainians have long been influenced by Latin Christendom. Their location on the European religious divide explains the existence of two Ukrainian religious traditions—Uniate Catholic and Orthodox. Religious pluralism in Ukraine also has included other religious traditions—Latin Catholic, Protestant (Calvinist, Antitrinitarian, Lutheran, Mennonite, Shtundist, Baptist, etc.), Armenian Apostolic, Judaic, and Muslim. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Ukrainian believers have fanned out through the world, bringing the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Churches to North America. The Ukrainian Churches now play significant roles in religious affairs in the United States and Canada[70].

The international scenario evolved swiftly in the latter half of the 1980s for the USSR, witnessing widespread turbulence across the Soviet Republics and countries of the Eastern Bloc. These developments ignited more radical sentiments among those in exile, as evidenced by the speech held by Yaroslav Stetsko, held at the ABN Conference, which took place in London in 1985. Significantly, like a loop coming full circle, he mentioned again a possible World War III, a war that this time, is considered avoidable – at least for the "West":

> For the last 40 some odd years this ABN has kept up a constant struggle against Moscow. At first the battle was military, i.e., armed national liberation struggle, but without the aid of the West, out of necessity, it soon became primarily ideological. In very recent times the former option has to some extent become feasible again. Note the situation in Angola Afghanistan and Cambodia. The ABN does not wish to get the West militarily involved in this struggle, but moral technological and financial support would be most welcome. […] If ABN is allowed to implement the second part of its problem for the WW II, the destruction of the Soviet Russian empire through internal dismemberment, the West will never have to fight a World War III[71].

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[70] *Ivi,* Foreword.
[71] "Letting ABN change the results of WW II to avoid having to fight WW III". *ABN correspondence,* 37,1, 1986.

Eventually the events unfolded in the Eastern Bloc. Aptly likened to a domino "effect" in popular illustrations [Fig. 16][72], they culminated in the Soviet Union's flag being lowered on Christmas 1991[73].

Fig. 16: "Domino effect of falling communist governments"

Focusing on Ukraine, a remarkable episode was the creation of the so-called «Ukrainian Wave», a human chain that extended an impressive 482 kilometers from Kyiv to Lviv, passing through Rivne, Ternopil, with an offshoot to Ivano-Frankivsk. The event took place on January 21, 1990, on the 71st anniversary of the signing of the Unification Act, which marked the union of the People's Republic of Western Ukraine and the Ukrainian People's Republic in 1919. An estimated 300,000 to 500,000 Ukrainians joined hands to form this human chain, a monumental demonstration inspired by a similar act carried out by the Baltic nations the previous year[74]. A momentous part of this event was the raising of the blue and yellow national flag. According to the commentaries of the day in the Ukrainian diaspora in North America, the gesture signified a renewed sense of national

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[72] The illustration was made by Herbert L. Block (1909-2001), known to the world as Herblock, one of the most influential political commentators and editorial cartoonists in American history. "Domino effect of falling communist governments". Library of Congress, Washington D.C. *Cartoon Drawings: Herblock Collection.* Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2012642399/.

[73] FOWKES, B. *The disintegration of the Soviet Union: a study in the rise and triumph of nationalism*. Berlin: Springer, 1996.

[74] ÅSLUND, A. *How Ukraine became a market economy and democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009; KUZIO, T. *Ukraine: perestroika to independence*. Berlin: Springer, 2016; MINAKOV, M; KASIANOV, G; ROJANSKY, M. *From "The Ukraine" to Ukraine. A Contemporary History 1991-2021,* Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2021; CODOGNI, P. "The 1990 Revolution on Granite: Lessons from the First Maidan". *East European Politics and Societies*, 2023.

pride and identity. But also «unity and resilience» between the eastern and western parts of the country for a free and independent Ukraine[75]. Some months later, the «Revolution on Granite» took place in Kyiv. The name refers to a significant student-led demonstration that occurred in the capital of Ukraine, and in regions of Western Ukraine, in October 1990. This protest action was given that name because of the venue – the protesters encamped on the freezing granite slabs of the famous Maidan square in Kyiv.

The vocal protests and insistent demands from the public put significant pressure on the governing body and were instrumental in fast-tracking the series of events that culminated in Ukraine's declaration of independence. It took place on August 24, 1991. Further cementing this momentous decision, a Referendum was held on December 1, 1991. An astounding 92.3% of voters endorsed the Act of Declaration of Independence from August, making it abundantly clear that the majority was in favor of a self-governing Ukraine. The 1991 referendum received extensive coverage also in various Canadian local newspapers such as the *Ottawa Citizen*, *The Gazette,* and the *Calgary Herald*. It is worth noting that these publications not only highlight the Ukrainian Canadian viewpoint[76] but also delve into the wider Canadian context, specifically concerning the open question of Quebec. « [Recognizing Ukraine] Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has as much as admitted that a majority of Quebecois have the right to determine will remain in or opt out of the Confederation»[77]. This comparison underscores the examination of Quebec separatism and its connection to the ongoing discussions surrounding Ukrainian independence within the Canadian Confederation[78]. So that, the Prime Minister, after having recognized the result of the Referendum quickly specified that a referendum on sovereignty in Quebec cannot be equated to the Ukrainian vote: «Any comparison would be odious in the extreme, Canada came about because the province of Quebec willingly and voluntarily decided to become part of a new country called Canada»[79]. This element further emphasizes that while community dynamics are significant, especially to analyze the collective identification processes, discussions surrounding Ukrainian issues in Canada also have a wider impact on domestic debates.

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[75] "Human Chain links multitude across Ukraine", *Ukrainian Weekly,* 58.4, 28th January 1990, p.1.

[76] See for example the covering of the celebrations: "Ukrainian Canadians celebrate republic's independence vote", *The Ottawa Citizen,* 2nd December 1991, p. 6; "Ukrainians in Montreal celebrate independence", *The Gazette,* 3rd December 1991, p. 48.

[77] "A Ukraine in Canada?", *Calgary Herald,* 3rd December 1991, p.4.

[78] A second referendum on the status of Quebec would be held in 1995. HÉBERT, C. *The Morning After: The 1995 Quebec referendum and the day that almost was.* Toronto: Vintage Canada, 2015.

[79] "Canada cautious about Ukraine", *The Whig-standard,* 3rd December 1991, p. 8.

5.2.1. Ukrainian Canadian perspectives on independence

The period spanning from August to December 1991 was teeming with intense passion and commitment within the whole Ukrainian community worldwide. The Ukrainian Weekly, in recognition of this achievement, opened the December 8, edition with an announcement of the Kiev Press Bureau that was not only triumphant but also symbolic: «On the map of the world, a new European state has emerged – its name – Ukraine» [Fig. 17].

Fig. 17: "Independence", *Ukrainian Weekly,* 59.49, 8th December 1991.

This statement underscored two recurring themes that had been central to the mission of the diasporic community that I have studied in Canada. First, that Ukraine has firmly established its place on the international map, and second, that it identifies as a European nation. Moreover, it worth noticing the adjective "new". In the statement it does not challenge the idea that Ukraine already existed beforehand, but it may indeed signify a break from the past and draw attention to the transformative nature of Ukraine's journey towards independence. It underlines the idea that Ukraine has emerged as a separate entity on the international stage, distinct from its previous association with the Soviet Union, devaluing however the significant continuities in the transition[80]. These emphases highlight not only the geographic location of the country but also its cultural and political alignment with Europe. Before delving into the impact of this event on the question of return and identity evolution among the third wave, this section will investigate into how independence was portrayed by different "souls" of the community: the umbrella organization UCC, with a particular focus on the more radical narratives from the League, a constituent of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations [ABN], as well as the progressive Association of United Ukrainian Canadians [AUUC].

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[80] FOWKES, B. *The post-communist era: change and continuity in Eastern Europe.* Berlin: Springer, 1999.

Starting from the "nationalist" side of the community, as I mentioned earlier, events were experienced as they unfolded quickly and unexpectedly:

> The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is no more. In its place, on August 24, arose an independent democratic state called, simply, Ukraine. Almost without warning and, literally, overnight Ukraine's long-sought independence became reality. Impelled by the failed coup in Moscow, the obvious disintegration of the union and the hopeless demise of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian Parliament overwhelmingly adopted the Act of Declaration of the Independence of Ukraine. Democrats, Communists and those in between all saw that Ukraine simply must seize the moment, that Ukraine must take its future into its own hands and not wait for outside forces to determine the destiny of this nation[81].

Interestingly, while they expressed joy over the momentous independence, there was an understandable undercurrent of worry about the future and how events might evolve. Certain apprehensions were evident: it was just the beginning, and, as put by the American historian James E. Mace, «storm clouds were already gathering on the horizon»[82]. The initial issue, as discerned from articles published in diaspora's journals appeared to target the Canadian federal government's hesitation to promptly acknowledge Ukraine's independence. On 17th January 1991, the Canadian League called the Canadian Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney[83], to fully recognize Ukraine and several demonstrations were organized by organizations linked to the UCC. For example, on August 26, 1991, the Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada organized a vigil at both the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa and on Parliament Hill, calling for diplomatic recognition of Ukraine[84]. The representative for the Association during this pivotal period was a young man bearing a significant – and contentious – name: Stephan Bandera. He was the grandson of the leader of the OUN-B assassinated by the KGB in Munich in 1959. This not only added a layer of historical significance to his role but also brings with it a sense of controversy due to the polarizing figure his grandfather was. Commenting on Canada's decision to await the outcome of a December referendum to be held in Ukraine before recognizing the independence he stated: «It's obviously a back-door deal with Moscow. Moscow can't exist without Ukraine, but they can do without the Baltics»[85]. In addition to asking for formal Canadian-Ukrainian diplomatic relations, the Ukrainian Youth Association called for the federal government's support of the process of devolution of the Soviet Union from a unitary centralized state

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[81] "Independence: Bye Bye USSR", *Ukrainian Weekly,* 59.35, 1st September 1991, p. 6.

[82] "Storm clouds on the horizon", *Ukrainian Weekly,* 59.35, 1st September 1991, p. 6.

[83] "Canadian Republic urge to develop relations with national republics", *ABN Correspondence,* 42.2, 1991.

[84] "Ottawa demo supports independence", *Ukrainian Weekly,* 59.35, 1st September 1991, p. 3.

[85] *Ibidem.*

to a group of independent sovereign states. Eventually, after the referendum, Canada recognized the independent republic on December 2, 1991. This acknowledgment not only made Canada the first Western nation to officially accept Ukraine's independence but also distinguished it as the second country globally to do so, following Poland[86]. In the realm of public opinion, while some embraced the recognition as a symbol of Canadian autonomy from the United States[87], others expressed greater concern, stating that «recognition shouldn't be rushed until the rules of the new game were clear»[88]. This was particularly evident in discussions on security, with nuclear missiles possessed by the republic, and human rights: «Some Europeans too, worry about Ukrainian nationalist adherence to human rights given the area's violent anti-Jewish, anti-Polish and anti-Russian past»[89].

While the acknowledgement from Canada was significant in terms of international relations, there remained skeptics within the community. Lybomyr Luciuk, for example, in the pages of the ABN wrote: «I am not convinced that basic attitudes towards the issue of Ukrainian independence have changed significantly within the Department of External Affairs, even if they were unable to deny the result of the referendum»[90]. The same argument he had already put forward also on the local press, for example, with the article "Ukrainians should not expect fairness from the West", where he concluded: «I fear that yet again the West will consign Ukraine to a resuscitated Russian empire. I wonder what excuse they will give this time? »[91].

Beyond international recognition, the most pressing issue regarded the borders of the newly established state. References about them are countless. In Luciuk's article on the ABN, the historian noted: «There are a number of tendentious issues. For one, the lack of any definition of what precisely constitutes "Russia", has by extension, left open how its borders are to be fixed and whether other territories (e.g. Crimea) might be still incorporated into it»[92]. The same preoccupation emerged from the pages of the *Ukrainian Weekly*:

> Mr. Yeltsin's spokesman warned republics sharing borders with Russia that it would not let
> them secede taking heavily populated Russian areas with them (i.e. the Crimea and Donbas
> in Ukraine, and northern Kazakhstan). […] Ukraine acted responsibly, signing an agreement
> with Russia on these crucial matters but at the same time emphasizing that this is a bilateral,

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[86] "Canada recognizes Ukraine", *Ukrainian Weekly,* 59.49, 8th December 1991, p. 3.

[87] "Welcome sign of independence", *Star Phoenix*, 4th December 1991, p. 5.

[88] "Canada rushed into recognizing independent Ukraine", *Nanaimo Daily News,* 5th December 1991, p. 4.

[89] *Ibidem.*

[90] LUCIUK, L. Y. "Even in the unlikely event …", *ABN Correspondence,* 43. 1 and 2, 1991, pp. 14-19.

[91] LUCIUK, L. Y. "Ukrainians should not expect fairness from the West", *The Ottawa Citizen,* 22nd September 1991, p. 9.

[92] *Ibidem.*

horizontal agreement between two equals - not a precursor to any new form of union. (It should be noted that the pact goes so far as to refer to the "former USSR") And a pledge to respect each other's territorial integrity was reconfirmed as part of the deal[93].

Irena Bell, remembered in a similar vein: «1991 … It was about time! It was exciting, lot of hope but the spectrum of Russia was hanging»[94]. This should be interpreted in line with one of the central issues that cast a shadow over Ukrainian independence. Specifically, the realization of Ukrainian independence did not occur as many had hoped, through an external victory, but rather materialized as a consequence of the collapse of the Soviet Union. This significant and complex historical context underscores the nuanced nature of Ukraine's path to independence, which differed from the aspirations and expectations held by some, especially in the diaspora: «You know, it happened on its own»[95].

The language employed in reflecting upon the event conveys a sense of a realized dream, or more aptly, a fulfilled mission. The subsequent course of action varies among individuals within the community, with some embarking on a new endeavor - a new mission towards independent Ukraine, while others experienced a newfound sense of liberation. Irene Solomon's interview is noteworthy to show the latter perspective:

> When Ukraine became independent, I was happy for many reasons: nationhood it was time for them to pursue their own path. But I've also felt an enormous relief. The fate of Ukrainians, Ukraine, and the language and the culture did not longer depend on me, it was not on my shoulders, and I was free to be whoever I wanted to be[96].

Born in Toronto in 1961 to a German mother and Ukrainian father, her words encapsulate a profound and intricate emotional journey. The initial part of her quote conveys optimism regarding Ukraine's independence. This sentiment is rooted in a belief for self-determination, as evidenced by the joy expressed over Ukraine's newfound ability to shape its own destiny. However, the second part reveals a personal sense of relief from the burden she once carried. By stating «I was free to be whoever I wanted to be» she conveys a sense of personal liberation that parallels Ukraine's political independence: if Ukraine was now free and independent, so was she. This insight provides

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[93] "Independence: Bye Bye USSR", *Ukrainian Weekly,* 59.35, 1st September 1991, p. 6.

[94] Irena Bell. Interview by me, 23rd March 2022, Ottawa. It should be noted that this interview has been done only one month after the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. So that, the "Russian spectrum hanging" carries a meaning that goes well beyond the memories of the 1991.

[95] Peter Melnycky. Interview by me, 13th September 2022, Edmonton.

[96] Irene Solomon. Interview by UCRDC, 20th February 2020, Toronto.

meaningful perspective on how Ukrainian Canadians achieved a sense of liberation - not solely as emancipated Ukrainians but more importantly, unshackled from the responsibility of needing to defend Ukraine from abroad. Perhaps this was the moment they felt freely able to be Canadian?

In his book "First Person Plural"[97] historian George Melnyk provides a captivating example that relates to Solomon's experience. Melnyk's essay in the first chapter of the book encapsulates the reflections and perspectives of individuals who were raised in families directly affected by the displacement of Ukrainians during and after World War II. By adopting the viewpoint of these second-generation Ukrainian DPs, the author offers profound insights into the intricate dynamics of their experiences and the weight of responsibility they often felt. Describing the work of the artist Husar, he noted: «Since I share the same "baggage" of Husar I can fill in a few blanks […] I gravitated to the Ukrainian refugee identity as our shared identity»[98]. The baggage that the author refers to is the experience of displacement and the associated weight of a diasporic upbringing. This element even if not always brought to light is significant of how much the diasporic mission, especially in the generations following that of the "dispersion", provokes a sense of responsibility for the fate of the motherland since one is raised to keep it alive from afar. The consequences on individuals differed. As aptly put by Melnyk: «Some embraced the message of working for an independent state, others walked away. I felt the best way to deal with the nationalism I received at home was to substitute another version of nationalism that was mor relevant to my life in North America. I realize now it was the source of my western regionalism [in Canada] during the 1970s … »[99]. So, the intricate relationship with a diasporic upbringing and nationalism emerged, whether it be Ukrainian, Canadian, or a combination of both.

Regarding the second significant soul within the community, namely the pro-Soviet AUUC group, I have found in the provincial archives of Alberta the correspondence dispatched to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR in the occasion of the "Declaration of State Sovereignty of Ukraine" on 16th July 1990. Within this document, the AUUC cordially acknowledges and «greets with great pleasure»[100] the Act, recognizing its profound significance not only for Ukrainians residing within Ukraine, but also for Ukrainians residing across the globe. The Association further emphasizes its unwavering commitment to fostering and preserving robust connections with Ukraine, affirming its steadfast dedication to this cause. Finally, and decisive for this case-study, they underline: «We

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[97] MELNYK, G. *First person plural.* Calgary: Frontenac House, 2015.
[98] *Ivi,* p. 22.
[99] *Ivi,* p. 18.
[100] PAA, Edmonton, *AUUC fonds,* PR1986.0252, box 43.

anticipate that our sense of pleasure on the occasion of this great historic act will be shared as well by the other Ukrainian associations of Canada»[101]. Finally, the national convention of the AUUC held in October 1991, adopted a resolution unanimously condemning Stalinism and its consequence on Ukraine[102] and in the aftermath of independence another statement articulated the official position of the association:

> We are of the view that independence and other national issues are questions for Soviet Ukrainians to resolve for themselves. […] That is precisely the same position we have advocated for dealing with the Quebecois. Quebec's future, like the Ukraine's is in the hands of the indigenous people of those lands. If it is not, it should be. The AUUC also accepts that any determination of national will should be resolved democratically. We are of the view, of course, that democracy must extend to all aspects of a social formation, including the workplace[103].

To be clear, the divisions between the UCC and AUUC remained unsolved. It would be inaccurate to assert that Ukrainian independence completely reconciled the Ukrainian community in Canada, which still nowadays comprises of more nationalistic and more progressive political standpoints that are difficult to categorize. In the same AUUC, for example, there was who considered socialism «a noble cause betrayed»[104] by the Soviet Union, and who, instead, was still thinking that the West demonized the USSR to maintain their position of power: «The more you learn about the American role in overthrowing legitimate governments in Latin America, in Asia and so on, the less you would attempt to figure that the West was the core of democracy and the rest of the world was a threat to it»[105]. Nevertheless, independence undeniably brought about a significant transformation, primarily because both "souls" at that point started sharing the same "homeland" as a point of reference. As also highlighted by Mykola Hrynchyshyn, member of the AUUC of Toronto: «The dramatic change in the Soviet Union and in Ukraine, have removed the source of the sharp division in the Ukrainian Canadian community»[106]. This is something put forward also in the interview I had with Peter Melnycky, who, talking about the AUUC in Winnipeg, remembered that:

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[101] *Ibidem.*

[102] HRYNIUK S. M.; LUCIUK L. Y. *Multiculturalism and Ukrainian Canadians: identity homeland ties and the community's future*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario,1993, p. 46.

[103] PAA, Edmonton, *AUUC fonds,* PR1986.0252, box 43

[104] BOYD, J. *A noble cause betrayed but hope lives on. Pages from a political life: Memoirs of a former Ukrainian Canadian Communist.* Edmonton: CIUS Research Report, 1999.

[105] Wilfred Szczesny. Interview by me, 4th January 2021, via Skype.

[106] HRYNIUK S. M.; LUCIUK L. Y. *Multiculturalism and Ukrainian Canadians: identity homeland ties and the community's future*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario,1993, p. 47.

The Cold War was harsh; we couldn't understand how they could support the USSR. Ideology was a big game in town. But you know, after 1991, someone [among the AUUC's members] said – "We were always for Ukraine. Even when it was a Soviet Republic". And in some sense, it was true[107].

The Ukrainian independence led to a partial effort towards mutual understanding and reconciliation, despite the presence of complex dynamics that could not be eliminated. This is exemplified by Larissa Krawchuk, daughter of Peter Krawchuk – a journalist who was a long-time leader with the Ukrainian Canadian pro-Communist left. During the interview we had after the Russian invasion of Ukraine she admitted: «You know, I made peace with the blue and yellow flags. Not with the red and black ones. Even the trident … I know the history now and what it means. But … I can't explain why, every time I see it, it makes me think of fascism»[108]. Perhaps the hidden generational dynamics of postmemory can be found within the complexities of that inexplicable feeling.

5.2.2. Not the land of Shevchenko anymore

Some of the community members decided to go back to Ukraine and witness the overwhelming emotions that came with the declaration of independence and the subsequent referendum in 1991. One of them, Lonhin Pencak, an architect who was part of the third wave, went for two months there to see if he could have been of some help[109]. His impressions in Kyiv were the following:

I hear now and then Ukrainian, very rarely, mostly it's all Russian. That used to bother me, that used to really bother me, but people said: Well, have to understand and all this. [Then] I go after the referendum, same streets, same voices, same language, and I understood. Because at that time I said 92% of those people voted for independence of Ukraine, I get a little emotional about that, you know…sorry guys[110].

In the memoirs of Taras Hunczac, a member of the American Ukrainian community, the issue of language barriers is also raised. Although Hunczac's experience is situated within the US community, I mentioned it here because his travel to Donets'k provides an additional geographical perspective on

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[107] Peter Melnycky. Interview by me, 13th September 2022, Edmonton.
[108] Larissa Krawchuk. Interview by me, 28th September 2022, Toronto.
[109] Lonhin Pencak. Interview by Kassandra Luciuk, 30th June 2016, UCRDC, Toronto.
[110] *Ibidem.*

this challenge, moreover, oftentimes American and Canadian who in 1991 went to Ukraine were part of same teams[111].

> In Kiev, when someone spoke to me in Russian, I said I could not understand, and asked that they translate into Ukrainian. But in Donetsk I had to understand the language in which these people were speaking, in order to tell them about the history of Ukraine and to convince them why they should aspire to be masters of their own land. At the beginning of my stay in Donetsk I had a good impression because Maria took me to the only Ukrainian schools in Donetsk. Going to classes where the children were 12—13 years old, I greeted them with "Glory to Ukraine!" They all got together and said, "Glory to the Heroes!". It was then that I realized that all was not lost on this Ukrainian land[112].

Next, there is Maria Rosa Filijowycz, who was born in Canada. Her father, of Ukrainian descent, went through the DP camp in Austria. Her mother, on the other hand, migrated from a small village near Rome in 1952. Maria Rosa recalls:

> I first came [in Ukraine] in late October 1991. Our team, made up of Americans and Canadians, was to canvass for the December 1 referendum. It was a very difficult period for Ukraine – well, I know that now, but my first impression was that gray was the dominant color. The buildings looked ramshackle and there was suffering in people's eyes. What struck an especially painful chord was sugar ration tickets. I also remember buying a can of Coca Cola, by force of habit, on Independence Square. I had hardly emptied it when several youngsters ran up and asked for it. They wanted an empty can[113].

A peculiar memory with deep religious undertones is then the one of Stefan Horlatsch, a teacher born on January 1921 in Kyrylivka, Ukraine:

> When Ukraine became independent, only because it was something new, something soft, helpless, we had to do everything, so I found a friend and we decided to baptize independent Ukraine, because everything newborn should be baptized and the same with Ukrainian independence. I found myself a friend, Petro Skyba, we went to Ukraine, and we crossed Ukraine from the Belorussian border to Odesa, from the Polish border to the border of the Rostov oblast, Luhansk-Rostov border, we walked there for three and a half months. From that time on, I had returned…I visited Ukraine over 20 times[114].

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[111] Maria Rosa Filijowycz. Interview by Roksolana Slywynska, 24th February 2020, UCRDC, Toronto.
[112] HUNCZAK T. My Memoirs: Life's Journey through Wwii and Various Historical Events of the 21st Century. Lanham Maryland: Hamilton Books; 2016, pp.
[113] Maria Rosa Filijowycz. Interview by Roksolana Slywynska, 24th February 2020, UCRDC, Toronto.
[114] Stefan Horlatsch. Interview by Zoriana Kilyk, 6th February 2017, UCRDC, Toronto.

Since then, members of the community have undertaken various journeys to rediscover their ancestral heritage. This ongoing pursuit of tracing one's own roots can be viewed as an expansion of the trend that initially emerged during the Cold War era of genealogical tourism. It is common for individuals to experience a range of emotions when they find themselves in a situation where they are returning to a place that they have never known or after being separated from it for many years. This can be seen in Lohnin's disappointment upon hearing Russian being spoken on the streets or the bleak landscape that struck Maria Rosa. Sophia Kachor recognized that the Ukrainian language had undergone a process of "russification", which was quite evident due to the regular interaction between the Ukrainian and Russian languages during the Soviet Union. She also recalls instances where people in Ukraine mistook her for being from Western Ukraine instead of Canada, which she thought: «It was the ultimate compliment for me»[115]. Given the testimonies I received during my interviews, it became apparent that there were frequent mentions of short trips and journeys back to Ukraine[116]. Considering this, a question that naturally arose was: «Have you ever considered permanently returning and relocating there? ». With hindsight, the subject caused both nostalgia and a bitter smile. Marta Waschuk in a flash answered: «Oh when we came, we hope»[117], confirming that the third wave was deeply rooted in the idea of that return. However, revisiting the place that was always referred to as home brought about a certain cultural shock to most of the people interviewed. Marta, for example recalled:

> My mother said: "Marta let's go home". But that wasn't home anymore. Other people, and people changed. Even my sister. They were caring only for their own family … to survive. The system changes and you change. We are not the same in here that they are there in Ukraine. When I go there, they do not think the same way I do. There is a different way of looking […] Certain things irritate me! I want to do the things I want to do; speak the things I want to speak. The way in which I behave, they behave differently. Not wrong, but not the way I was raised[118].

Iroida Wynnyckyj instead remembered: «Since 1989 we were travelling to Ukraine twice a year. I enjoy being there. It's a nice European country»[119]. Notwithstanding: «Once I buried my parents in

[115] Sophia Kachor. Interview by me, 24th June 2022, Winnipeg.
[116] Especially: Marta Waschuk. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto; Iroida Wynnyckyj. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto; Peter Melnycky. Interview by me, 13th September 2022, Edmonton; Roman Waschuk. Interview by me, 22nd December 2022, Toronto; Zorianna Hyworon. Interview by me, 28th June 2022, Winnipeg; Irena Bell. Interview by me. 23rd March 2022, Ottawa; Sophia Kachor. Interview by me, 24th June 2022, Winnipeg.
[117] Marta Waschuk. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto.
[118] *Ibidem.*
[119] Iroida Wynnyckyj. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto.

the Canadian soil, I'm here. I will be next to them»[120]. I'd argue that these two testimonies demonstrate the evolution of the homemaking process: on the one hand, the suffering realization of Ukraine "no longer being home" and on the other, Canadian soil becoming home as a result of the family ties that were brought there. The notion of home, which once provided solace amidst the unfamiliarity of a new country, became more complex as they returned to their homeland. This return emphasized the fact that, in the meantime, a new sense of home had been established abroad.

Finally, it is worth mentioning another significant impact of Ukrainian independence on the community, that is the emergence of what has been termed the "fourth wave"[121]. This refers to the influx of Ukrainian immigrants who relocated to Canada post-1991. It is very interesting to note how these newcomers somehow personified that "foreign Ukraine" to community's members. For example, Roman Petryshyn admitted:

> In the 1991 our mindset fell apart. People came from Ukraine, and they spoke Russian. It meant for us to understand a new way of being Ukrainian. It took time to understand that you can speak Russian and still being a patriot and fight for Ukraine. Now our community is in a golden age again like n the 50s and 60s[122].

What is more, members of the third wave initially looked with suspicion at these «Sovietized Ukrainians» or «Ukrainians who spoke Russian». The question of language[123] was the most heartfelt, so much so that one young girl confessed to me that she was careful and did not speak Russian in front of older community members[124]. Talking about newcomers, for instance, Iroida thinks: «There is a difference. They do not all fit in»[125]. Which to be sure it was also truth for some of the people who migrated in the aftermath of WW II. This element introduces an additional dimension of intricacy, illustrating that while ethnic or national affiliation is indeed a fundamental aspect of identity, collective identities are not solely constructed on a foundation of shared mythology. Equally

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[120] *Ibidem.*

[121] I am here using the traditional division POLIAKOVA, S. V.; WOLOWYNA, O. "Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada: Methodology and Practice of Research". *Demohrafiya ta sotsial'na ekonomika*, 2019, 3: 86-98. It goes without saying that this categorization simplifies a more complex framework, as the existence, for example the few Ukrainians who were able to migrate during the Cold War.

[122] Roman Petryshyn, Interview by me, 12th September 2022, Edmonton

[123] Preliminary studies on the topic include: LYNN, S. M. "Ethnic Identity Discourses of Recent Ukrainian Immigrants to Canada: Interactions between New Ukrainian-Canadians and the Established Ukrainian-Canadian Diaspora.", MA thesis, University of Alberta, 2014.NEDASHKIVSKA, A. "Identity in Interaction: Language Practices and Attitudes of the Newest Ukrainian Diaspora in Canada". *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, 2018, 5.2:111–47:

[124] Klavdia Tatar. Interview by me, 7th May 2022, Ottawa.

[125] Iroida Wynnyckyj. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto.

important is the role of shared experiences, namely that «common baggage» illustrated beforehand in the essay of George Melnyk. Drawing a significant parallel, the author characterizes the bond he feels to the artist Natalka Husar, whose parents endured displacement in Europe as akin to a clandestine society:

> This is our secret code, a code we share with many others. It binds us like a rubber band that can be stretched but only through increasing tension. […] I imagine Husar walking down a street […]. We nod to each other as we pass as though we were members of a secret society[126].

The linguistic choices made within these narratives hold significant importance when analyzing the narratives of belonging. For example, it can be noted the frequent shifting from the first person singular to the first plural: «We are not the same here»[127] or again «our code»[128]. When the narrative transitions from "I" or "me" to "we" or "us", it signifies a shift from individual storytelling to a collective narrative. This linguistic choice serves to emphasize the shared nature of the experiences being recounted and the collective identity being formed. It suggests that the speaker or narrator sees themselves as part of a larger whole, connected to a community that shares similar struggles, hopes, and aspirations. Consequently, by employing the first person plural, the storyteller is not only speaking for themselves but also speaking on behalf of the collective, amplifying the voices and experiences of the entire community[129]. While this narrative may utilize a national vocabulary to define the community, it extends beyond the boundaries of nationality. I would argue that what truly unites this «secret society» is a collective experience of displacement, which may differ from individuals who identify themselves as Ukrainians and migrated to Canada, or elsewhere, as well as those who did not migrate at all before or after them. This exploration thus compels scholars to question and expand our understanding of diasporic identities, moving beyond a narrow focus on ethnicity and nationality. It invites us to consider the intricate interplay between shared narratives, mythologies, and the shared experiences that shape diaspora communities. By doing so, we gain a deeper appreciation for the multifaceted nature of collective identity and the rich tapestry of stories that unite people across geographical boundaries and time.

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[126] MELNYK, G. *First person plural,* cit., p. 29.
[127] Marta Waschuk. Interview by me, 8th December 2021, Toronto.
[128] MELNYK, G. *First person plural,* cit., p. 29.
[129] See for example: DE FINA, A. *Identity in narrative: A study of immigrant discourse.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2003.

5.3. «We are all here, and probably always were, here to stay»[130]

To summarize the previous section, the return to independent Ukraine, evoked a range of emotions within individuals. It not only reignited a deep connection to their ancestral land but also provided an opportunity to reconnect with their roots. Whether it was reuniting with family members or walking along familiar streets that held significance for them or their parents and grandparents, these experiences were filled with nostalgia and a sense of belonging. However, the return also brought about a realization that they had established a life and a strong sense of belonging in the foreign land the majority had come to call home. This interplay between the homeland and the adopted country underscores the complexity of their identities and the unique journey they have embarked upon. Moreover, the framework is complicated by the fact that a specific Ukrainian heritage has been preserved in Canada and developed in a unique "Ukrainian Canadian" way from the end of the nineteenth century onwards. It is thus difficult to say with certainty if the "Ukrainian" traditions they refer to are indeed "Ukrainian" or "Ukrainian Canadian". An element also highlighted by Leonid Kuchma, Ukraine's second president, during his visit in Edmonton on October 25, 1994[131].

How it has been mentioned beforehand, the year 1991 marks a significant milestone for the Ukrainian Canadian community, not only because of the declaration of Ukrainian independence but also due to the momentous centennial celebrations organized to commemorate the Ukrainian immigration to Canada, which symbolically began in 1891. This convergence of celebrations presented a unique opportunity for self and community reflection. On the one hand, the newfound independence of Ukraine symbolized a triumphant assertion of their national identity, igniting a sense of pride and joy within the community. On the other hand, the centennial celebrations served as a remarkable reminder of the long-standing ties that bind the Ukrainian community to Canada. It is a narrative of a community that, as it has been analyzed in previous chapters, while holding onto its cultural heritage, has played a significant role in shaping the multicultural mosaic of Canada. During the seventeenth congress of the UCC, which took place in October 1992, Vsevolod Isajiw, a sociology professor at the University of Toronto, emphasized the following point in his keynote speech: "Ukrainian Canadian Community at a historic turning point: its goal revested"[132]: «Today the Ukrainian Canadian community stands at an important turning point of history: both its adopted homeland and Canada- and it's original homeland – Ukraine – are going through profound changes

[130] LUCIUK, L. Y. *Searching for place.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000, p. 280.
[131] APONIUK, N. "Ukrainian Canadians, Canada, Ukraine and popular imagination", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 47.4, 2015: 1-10, p.1.
[132] "Seventeenth Congress of Ukrainian Canadians. Proceedings, Winnipeg: Manitoba, October 1992". LAC, Ottawa, Ukrainian Canadian Congress fonds, R3729, vol. 195, file 12.

that are giving both countries a new character and a new lease on history»[133]. Several changes were articulated by him, encompassing constitutional modifications in Canada, shifts in the ethnic makeup of the country, alterations in the economic and cultural connections with neighboring countries, as well as the independence of Ukraine and the subsequent political and economic consequences of it[134]. Among the subjects addressed in the initial proceedings, a lot of space was dedicated to the "Centennial of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada". The Congress emphasized that this occasion, particularly for individuals of third and fourth generation, rekindled a sense of identity and served as a reminder of their ancestral roots[135]. However, which ancestral roots they referred to, the Ukrainian or Ukrainian Canadian ones? It is of significance to examine the manner in which the Centennial celebrations were executed, the narratives that arose from them, and the subsequent effects on the reconfiguration of the process of self-identification, in order to understand how personalities such as Lubomyr Luciuk, part of that wave "obsessed with return", indeed admitted – looking back at the community experience: «We are all here, and probably always were, here to stay»[136].

5.3.1. 1991: The Centennial of Ukrainian emigration to Canada

Given the extensive range of cultural, political, and religious occurrences that transpired at the local and national levels, each with unique differences among provinces, it is not feasible to comprehensively encompass and analyze every individual commemorative event that took place throughout the entire country between September 1991 and October 1992, all of which aimed to pay tribute to the Centennial of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. A comprehensive record of these events is challenging primarily due to the fragmented nature of the archival sources available, which consist of scattered program initiatives found in various private fonds files. The celebrations that were more easily documented were those organized by the UCC, as the Congress established a commission to coordinate nationwide projects, and each provincial branch had its own local commission[137]. Therefore, despite the incomplete nature of the framework, since not all the events were organized or sponsored by the UCC, it nonetheless provides a significant overview of the topic. In the archive of the University of Manitoba I have accessed a copy of the program from the Ukrainian Canadian

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[133] The speech has been also translated to English by the author in: HRYNIUK S. M.; LUCIUK L. Y. *Multiculturalism and Ukrainian Canadians: identity homeland ties and the community's future.* Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario,1993, p. 82.

[134] *Ivi,* pp. 82-85.

[135] "Seventeenth Congress of Ukrainian Canadians. Proceedings, Winnipeg: Manitoba, October 1992". LAC, Ottawa, Ukrainian Canadian Congress fonds, R3729, vol. 195, file 12.

[136] LUCIUK, L. Y. *Searching for place.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000, p. 280.

[137] "Seventeenth Congress of Ukrainian Canadians. Proceedings, Winnipeg: Manitoba, October 1992". LAC, Ottawa, Ukrainian Canadian Congress fonds, R3729, vol. 195, file 12.

Congress Centennial Committee of the Manitoba branch[138]. I am currently prioritizing this source because, even if limited to the province of Manitoba, it provides the most comprehensive information on the issue and can serve as a starting point for analysis. This program highlights the mission of the celebrations: «Helping Manitobans become involved in Ukrainian Canadian Centennial projects and events» and the community-based, gross roots focus of the initiatives[139]. The program of the UCC contained information on the national opening ceremony that would take place in Edmonton, Alberta, from August 29, 1991, to September 1, 1991, while the closing national ceremony would be at the Winnipeg Convention Center on October 11, 1992. Then, it moves forward listing notable project organized to commemorate the Ukrainian experience in Canada, such as the erection of three monuments in the province. The first one pertains to a collection of sculptures made by Leo Mol in Assiniboine Park, located in Winnipeg, to honour the work of the famous Ukrainian Canadian artist[140]. In the Rossburn area, there stands a second monument that serves as a tribute to the early settlers of Olha. This specific location was selected due to its connection to a significant historical event - the Ukrainian Pioneer Mass Grave Site, a burial site that holds the remains of forty-three Ukrainian settlers, comprising three adults and forty children. Tragically, it is believed that they succumbed to a scarlet fever outbreak shortly after their arrival in 1899[141]. The purpose of the project was to honor the sacrifices made by the first Ukrainian pioneers in the region during the Centennial with a commemorative monument made by Roman Kowal [Fig. 18].

Fig. 18: Monument commemorating the Ukrainian Canadian Centennaial, Olha, Manitoba

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[138] This particular program can be found within the Silvya Todaschuk fonds at the University of Manitoba.

[139] UoM Archives, Winnipeg, *Sylvia Todashuk fonds,* MSS 428-A2014-004, Box 0001 File 0031 – 0042.

[140] The Leo Mol Sculpture Garden was officially opened on June 18, 1992. **"Gift of a life",** *Winnipeg Sun,* 14th June 1992, p. 31.

[141] The site was listed as a Manitoba Historical Site in 1990, I am referring to its description available on the official website of the province: https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/hrb/mun/m045.html. Accessed 28th August 2023.

Finally, the third has been dedicated to the "tomb of the unknown soldier monument" in Dauphin, of which however I was not able to find any other source about. Together, these three monuments aimed at creating a visual representation of the Ukrainian Canadian experience, marking the space with symbols that celebrate the achievements and endurance of Ukrainian Canadians: their initial settlement and their political and cultural contribution to Canada. Then, the Committee planned special ceremonies for the Dauphin and Folklorama Ukraine Kiev Pavilion in 1991, the annual events aimed to showcase Ukrainian culture and heritage. Furthermore, within the mentioned source, there is also a reference to "national projects", thus collective efforts undertaken by various branches of the UCC across Canada. These included the "Family Tree School Resource", which involved the creation of video and educational materials. Another project was the "Centennial Forest", where trees were planted as a symbolic gesture to return to the land what was once taken by their forefathers. Furthermore, there was a "Recognition Program" that acknowledged the contributions of 100 Ukrainian Canadian individuals. Lastly, there was a "Youth Exchange to Ukraine" project, which provided an opportunity for young individuals to visit Ukraine and foster cultural exchange. An interesting appendix in the program listed all the projects that were received from specific individuals or organizations. The Ukrainian Canadian Congress - Manitoba branch endorsed various publications, such as a family history book of the Picknicki family and the history of the parish of St. Peter and Paul in Rosa, Manitoba. They also supported educational programs and art exhibitions. Another element interesting to underline is the coverage that the Ukrainian Canadian Centennial had in local newspapers, which suggests that they had a broader reach beyond the Ukrainian Canadian community itself. For example, the cover of the *Uptown magazine,* a weekly art and entrainment newspaper in Winnipeg, was dedicated to the Centennial and the article about it opened: «There's a big anniversary going on all year all over Canada. With close to one million of Canadians of Ukrainian descent celebrating 100 years of settlement in this country, expect to hear more about this party for a while yet!»[142]. Then, in the September 22, 1991, edition of the *Winnipeg Sun,* there was a section devoted to the Centennial. The article specifically emphasized the double importance of that year: «Now we are celebrating two kinds of changes – the changes in Canada under the Ukrainian settlers' influence and the changes in the homeland»[143]. Even if was not able to find a similar source for the UCC – Alberta branch, nonetheless local newspapers were instrumental to support the research. Looking at the *Edmonton Journal,* for example, it is possible to retrace references to the opening ceremony that included a gala dinner, opera and Ukrainian dance events, and a fireworks

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[142] "A salute to 100 years in Canada", *Uptown magazine,* 22nd August – 4th September 1991, p. 3.
[143] "Ukraine celebrates", *Winnipeg Sun,* 22nd September 1991, p. 17.

celebration[144]. Moreover, it is mentioned a monument planned to be reviled in 1993 honoring the Alberta pioneers and various events held in the Ukrainian Heritage Village, like an interdenominational religious service[145]. All in all, looking at the articles in the Edmonton Journal on the Centennial published between August and September 1991, it emerged that the celebrations organized in Alberta were very similar to the initiatives in Manitoba. The same methodology has been employed in relation to other provinces, specifically Ontario, Saskatchewan and Quebec[146]. Similarly, articles presented concerts, unveiling of monuments, art exhibitions and specific pavilion organized in the framework of wider ethnic festivals. Not surprisingly, the celebrations and projects centered around the pioneer myth and the Ukrainian contribution to Canada. This emphasis reinforces the narrative of the Ukrainian community's significant role in shaping the country and highlights their deserving recognition within Canada. Regarding the relationship with the homeland, the celebrations primarily focused on Canada rather than Ukraine. This may indicate the evolving nature of the Ukrainian Canadian identity, where Canada has become the primary home for many Ukrainian Canadians. Instead of severing ties, the connection to the homeland underwent transformation. Ukraine was not solely seen as a country to liberate and return to, but rather as a nation to cultivate international relationships and exchanges, as demonstrated by the youth exchange program. Among the articles considered an interesting open letter to the editor is noteworthy. Here, David Sereda, a musician from Alberta, complained about the lack of coverage for other Ukrainian Canadian initiatives, the one not linked to the UCC:

> It is even more disappointed when you realize that the coverage appears to be biased towards only a part of the Alberta Canadian community. […] It was not the political immigrants of the post-Second World War years who had such a positive effect on Canada and its people. It was the pioneers who firstly opened this country[147].

This statement examines the complex issue of internal division within the Ukrainian Canadian community. The external classification of individuals in this community is determined by assumed ethnic affiliation. However, the boundaries that determine inclusion or exclusion are not clearly defined. Can the third wave members establish their connection to the pioneer myth as part of their "heritage"? On the other hand, can they be denied access to it? Ultimately, what distinguishes

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[144] "Ukrainian Centennial Celebration's planned", *Edmonton Journal,* 25th August 1991, p. 11.

[145] *Ibidem.*

[146] Here, the main local newspaper containing information on initiatives and events of the celebrations were: *The Kingston-Whig Standard* in Kingston Ontario, the *Star Phoenix* in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan and *The Gazette,* in Montreal.

[147] *Edmonton Journal,* 31st August 1991, p. 11.

claiming Shevchenko from claiming the pioneers as "heritage"? And about this, it may be instrumental to locate the analysis a final glimpse into the "other half" of the community, the AUUC, which celebrated the Ukrainian Canadian Centenary with three festivals in Edmonton, Winnipeg, and Toronto. The historian Hinther who studied the community, noted that also for the AUUC the 1990s became a period of introspection, when they «explored aspects of the movement's history that were both riveting and difficult, shared personal reminiscences of their own political and cultural activism, and collaborated with professional scholars of the Canadian left to explore a host of issues»[148]. The myth of the pioneer was embraced by them as well, but this time contextualizing it in the broader socialist and progressive community movement of the «labour temples»[149].

This dynamic process within the Ukrainian Canadian community seems to reflect the «ideologization of the nation» that was discussed in the second chapter. As described earlier, there were many differing ideas that existed among Ukrainians regarding their own national identity. Within an ethnic community defined by their Ukrainian heritage, a similar phenomenon can be observed. In this case, it is not a question of how many types of "Ukraine" are imagined existing. Rather, the issue relates to how many varieties of "Canada Ukraine" may be envisioned. Each conception carries its own assortment of symbolic meanings and associations, which sometimes overlap in part but are also redefined and reshaped depending on the narrative being conveyed. The symbols and meanings take on new contextual interpretations based on the story or perspective that an individual wishes to portray about their own Ukrainian Canadian identity. Therefore, one can conclude that this dynamic process of diverse identity constructions within the community is equally visible when a national label is combined with a reference to ethnicity to describe oneself. The phenomenon observed among Ukrainians alone extends to Ukrainian Canadians as well.

Finally, in addition to being a cause for community celebration, the coming together of these two significant events has also sparked intellectual discourse among academics and scholars. Of the various efforts, one that stands out is the 1991 symposium titled "Multiculturalism and Ukrainian Canadians: Identity, Homeland Connections, and the Future of the Community", organized by Stella Hryniuk and Lubomyr Luciuk. This symposium consisted of three sessions that examined the Ukrainian Canadian community's role in Canada and in relation to Ukrainian Independence[150]. According to the organizers' words: the most thought-provoking issues emerging from the symposium were the «admission of moral responsibility made by the Ukrainian Canadian left for

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[148] HINTHER, R. L. *Perogies and politics,* cit., p. 212.

[149] *Ibidem.*

[150] The proceedings are in: HRYNIUK S. M.; LUCIUK L. Y. *Multiculturalism and Ukrainian Canadians: identity homeland ties and the community's future.* Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario,1993

helping cover up the Stalinist Terror» and «the scarcity of new thinking on the center and right of the Ukrainian-Canadian political spectrum»[151]. The primary importance of these celebrations, events, and debates is rooted in their representation of the final stage of a process that began in the 1960s. This process aimed to shift the perception of the third wave from being external entities "in exile" to becoming recognized as integral components of the multicultural mosaic. In other words, if there was "return", it was a return from Ukraine to Canada.

5.3.2. A «Return» to Canada

Thus, the celebration of Ukrainian independence and the Centennial served as a significant moment for introspection, prompting individuals to contemplate their own personal sense of belonging and its transformation throughout their lives. In this concluding section, I have decided to analyze narratives that have emerged from two oral sources collected by the UCRDC, which I have selected because they are instrumental in integrate whole the points that emerged in relation to the question of self-identification and self-belonging in the community.

The first is the answer of Maria Rosa Filijowycz, to question of how she would describe herself:

> I think that has gone through various stages in my life for various reasons, probably Ukrainian Canadian at one point and now Canadian Ukrainian, why the change? Because I've gone to Ukraine, and I've been there about three times. The first time obviously it was under the Soviet occupation, then I've gone there twice since then. I'm Canadian there's no question about that, I am Canadian. And that I think has sort of changed, the people who I talk to, I primarily talk about my Ukrainian heritage. "I went to this Ukrainian function or that", but I think that is sort of becoming the forefront that I am Canadian and I'm happy that I am[152].

Upon analyzing the interview excerpt, it becomes clear that the person's perception of their own identity has undergone a transformation. Initially identifying as Ukrainian Canadian, she referred to herself as Canadian Ukrainian. This shift in identity can be attributed to her multiple visits to Ukraine and her firsthand experience of the country's transition from Soviet occupation. As a result, she had come to fully embrace their Canadian identity. Additionally, when asked about the role of the Ukrainian Canadian community, she noted that the community is an essential part of her life because it provided with «a sense of belonging»[153]. Taking both factors into account, it became apparent that

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[151] *Ivi,* p. 2.
[152] Maria Rosa Filijowycz. Interview by Roksolana Slywynska, 24th February 2020, UCRDC, Toronto.
[153] *Ibidem.*

Ukrainian independence resulted in a sense of no longer being associated with the national community of the "homeland". However, to be acknowledged as a member of Canadian society, it was imperative to identify oneself with one of the mosaic tiles, in this case, to belong to another "Ukraine", the one existing in Canada. Interestingly, Irene Solomon, answered the question on self-belonging using similar categories:

> The question of my identity has always been a big part of my life and, unlike some people, some people who embraced their dual identities I always struggled with it. When I was younger, I was definitely Ukrainian Canadian. When I got older, I became Canadian Ukrainian because I felt that there were issues in Canada, that I was born here and that really, I was a Canadian with a Ukrainian heritage. And I almost felt like saying Ukrainian Canadian did not recognize the fact that I was born in this country[154].

The excerpt provided reflects the personal journey and struggles of the author with her identity. She discusses how the question of how to define herself has always been a significant part of her life, and unlike some people who embraced their dual identities, she has always struggled with it. When she was younger, she "definitely" identified as Ukrainian Canadian. However, as she grew older, she felt that being born in that country, she was primarily a Canadian with a Ukrainian heritage. It is particularly interesting how she almost felt that saying Ukrainian Canadian did not fully acknowledge her Canadian birthplace. Unlike Maria Rosa's interview, here the self-reflection started before Ukrainian independence and it originated when she discovered more not about Ukraine or the Soviet Union, but on the main "other" of Canadians, the US:

> I was born in Canada and Canada accepted my parents and other immigrants and when we grew up, we heard very much about the fact that the United States was a melting pot. And so, they were all American first and Canada was multicultural and so we were allowed to have our heritage, which we did. But when I got older and traveled to the United States, I found that ethnic groups also kept their heritage. There were Ukrainian churches, Ukrainian organizations in the United States. People kept their traditions, but they were very much united along the fact that they were Americans. And so, when I got older, I started to question this thing about saying I was Ukrainian Canadian when really, I was Canadian with a Ukrainian background and also a German background. So, things got a little bit confused[155].

It is fascinating to observe how, despite the confusion and the intricate layers of her identity, the author in the excerpt still makes a conscientious effort to define herself within framework of

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[154] Irene Solomon. Interview by UCRDC, 20th February 2020, Toronto.
[155] *Ibidem.*

national and ethnic lines. This highlights the significance and influence that societal constructs, such as nationality and ethnicity, can have on one's sense of self. In the momentous year of 1991, we can observe that the Ukrainian community in Canada underwent a transformative process of self-identification. Despite each individual's unique journey, there was a growing trend of the Ukrainian community embracing and solidifying its Canadian identity, while simultaneously cherishing and utilizing their Ukrainian heritage as a means of belonging within the Canadian context. However, while the dynamics of self-identification the 1991 may be interpreted of a "non-return" to Ukraine, there was still open the question of whether something if anything at all returned to the newly established independent Ukraine.

For example, I consider particularly thought-provoking for the topic of this thesis the monography written by Lubomyr Luciuk *Searching for place: Ukrainian displaced persons, Canada, and the migration of memory*, published in 2000[156]. In particular, the sections of acknowledgment and epilogue offer a compelling reflection on the author's personal past and migration experience. Luciuk opens the book stating that it is: «fundamentally the work of a son of two persons that were displaced and, later, given shelter and protection in their new home, Canada»[157]. Then, he reflects on his upbringing:

> Canada should have been my place. I was born in Kingston, Ontario. And yet it was not quite that simple. In attempting to answer the most basic question any human must face – Who am I? - I had to deal not only with the ancestry, religion, language, values, history, and customs bequeathed to me by my parents, but also with the undeniable fact that the place they were in, where I lived, was not the place where Ukrainians "ought" to be. And I was raised to believe that my identity was inextricably linked to a purpose, that being the struggle for the liberation of enslaved Ukraine[158].

A final glimpse in this belonging negotiation is most brought home in "Lunch Hour with a Soviet Citizen" by Kathie Kolybaba, the story ending the collection "Two lands, New Visions: Stories from Canada and Ukraine", edited by Janice Kulyk Keefer and Solomea Pavlychko[159]. The story takes place during the lunch hour, as the narrator hosts a girl visiting from Ukraine. From the beginning, the visitor's sense of entitlement rubs the narrator the wrong way. However, it is the foreign girl's

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[156] LUCIUK, L. Y. *Searching for place: Ukrainian displaced persons, Canada, and the migration of memory*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

[157] *Ivi,* p. ix.

[158] *Ibidem.*

[159] KEEFER, J. K; PAVLYCHKO, S. *Two Lands, New Visions: Stories from Canada and Ukraine*. Regina, Saskatchewan: Coteau Books, 1998.

pronunciation of English that most troubles and angers her. When the girl speaks, the guttural sounds of her accent seem to chop apart the language that the narrator holds so dear. By the end of the lunch, resentment is seething within the narrator. She admits that while this visitor hails from another country, the earth beneath her fingers is the one she loves. She goes on to say «All the harshness of my own ancestry falls like broken glass between the syllables on the foreign girl's tongue»[160]. This bitter acknowledgement that being a Canadian of Ukrainian ancestry is not the same as being a Ukrainian from Ukraine painfully articulated what in the earlier decades could only hint at.

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[160] *Ivi,* pp. 293-294.

CHAPTER 6

THE RETURN OF NARRATIVES

6.1. After 1991: "Back" to Ukraine

Introducing this final chapter, it would be compelling to start with a captivating anecdote from Janice Kulyk Keefer[1]'s "The Green Library" [2], a novel that delves into the intricate relationship between individualistic sensibilities and collective identity in North America and in post-communist Eastern Europe. Specifically, the story explores the profound personal transformation of a Canadian woman as she reconnects with her "Ukrainian roots", like the journey that would be depicted in Johnathan Safran Foer's acclaimed work, "Everything is Illuminated" six years later[3]. The protagonist is Eva Chown, a 43-year-old woman from Toronto who is divorced and now shares her home with Dan Yashinsky, a Jewish travel agent. Eva's life takes an unexpected turn when she discovers a mysterious photograph in a white envelope left in her hallway. The photograph, taken in the 1930s, features a woman and a young boy, with the figure of a man deliberately removed. Intrigued by this enigma, Eva becomes determined to unravel the mystery surrounding the people in the picture and the missing person. The plot unfolds in the space between Canada and Ukraine, spanning a tumultuous sixty-year period from 1933 to 1993. Eva embarks on a journey into her past, revisiting childhood memories and uncovering long-held secrets. Along the way, she returns to her parents' opulent home and delves into a significant but fleeting relationship her mother once had. Her quest also takes her to post-Soviet Ukraine, where she searches for the son of the cleaning lady who worked

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[1] Janice Kulyk Keefer is a highly regarded Canadian writer, poet, and critic. Born on June 2, 1952, in Toronto, Ontario, she has made significant contributions to literature through her poetry, prose, and literary criticism. She comes from a mixed Ukrainian-Polish background. Her father was born in southern Ontario in 1914, shortly after his parents immigrated to Canada from their village in Galicia, which is now part of Western Ukraine. Her mother, born in the Ukrainian village of Staromischyna in Eastern Galicia (then part of Poland), immigrated to Canada in 1936. Although Janice Kulyk Keefer's family was part of Toronto's Ukrainian community, they maintained a somewhat separate position within it. They lived in the predominantly WASP suburb of Islington while she was growing up. However, she actively engaged with Ukrainian culture and heritage by attending Ukrainian language classes, spending summers at a Kiev church camp, and participating in the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association.

Keefer has been recognized for her work with nominations for the Governor General's Literary Award, a prestigious Canadian literary prize. In the late 20th century, Keefer turned her attention to exploring her Ukrainian Canadian heritage. She published several books and articles that delve into Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian themes. Notable works in this regard include "The Green Library" (1996), which features a Canadian protagonist discovering her Ukrainian heritage, "Honey and Ashes" (1998), a family memoir, and "Dark Ghost in the Corner: Imagining Ukrainian-Canadian Identity" (2005), a creative reflection on Ukrainian-ness in Canada. Keefer's contributions to Ukrainian Canadian literature also include "The Ladies Lending Library" (2007), a series of linked short stories, and "Foreign Relations" (2010), a collaborative volume of poetry with painter Natalka Husar. In: SAIDERO, Deborah, et al. *Janice Kulyk Keefer: Essays on Her Works*. Montreal: Guernica, 2010.

[2] KULYK KEEFER, J. *The Green Library,* New York: Harper Collins, 1996.

[3] FOER, J. S. *Everything is illuminated.* Boston: Mariner's Books, 2002.

for her family, Alex Moroz, and with whom Eva shared a deep connection. As Eva unties the tapestry of her personal history and learns about Ukraine, she discovers her connection to a murdered poet who turns out to be her grandmother. She grapples with the complex politics of Ukraine and confronts the haunting history of Babi Yar. Finally, back in Canada, Eva meets her mother's long-lost lover, who is revealed to be her biological father and a former Ukrainian national leader. In this novel, there are specific moments when the two main male characters openly confront Eva's newfound search of her Ukrainian heritage. The first is Dan, Eva's Jewish boyfriend, whose initial dismissive attitude towards her interest in Ukraine escalates into a heated argument. Frustrated, Dan exclaims: «God, Eva. Of all the things to turn out to be. Ukrainian! »[4]. He goes on to emphasize that being Ukrainian encompasses more than just cultural aspects like Easter eggs and perogies. Dan brings up the darker chapters of Ukrainian history, such as pogroms and the involvement of Ukrainian national heroes in perpetrating them. He also questions the potential role of Eva's long-lost father in World War II, specifically regarding the actions of Ukrainian guards in the death camps. Initially, Eva rejects the notion of being implicated in the troubling aspects of Ukrainian history, especially considering she only recently discovered her connection to this heritage. However, her refusal clashes with Dan's historical consciousness as being socialized and educated with a Jewish background. The second character is Alex, the man for whom Eva has traveled to Ukraine, a country firstly defined as an «extraordinary foreign place»[5]. Their relationship becomes strained due to their inability to communicate effectively. Alex expresses his concerns about the current situation in Ukraine during the 1990s: «They say it will be fifty years before things get better here if by some miracle there isn't a Russian invasion, or civil war, or another Chornobyl»[6], but when he learned about Eva's father, he, much in the way Dan did before, exclaimed: «God knows why anyone would want to make themselves part of this country if they didn't have to»[7]. The recurring scenarios involving Dan and Alex are magnetic and stir potent emotions. They bring to the fore the question of why someone would deliberately adopt their Ukrainian identity while in Canada, and whether this resolution is indeed a voluntary choice. Eva, realizing she is no longer an outsider but rather a «prodigal»[8] - someone who has returned to her homeland - faces an existential question: what exactly is her homeland? Is it Toronto's Bloor West Village – the Ukrainian neighborhood in the city – where she now feels more at ease, or the once «foreign country» where she was treated as an outsider, as reflected by Alex's sentiment: «Why don't you stay home if you can't live without pizza and Coca-

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[4] KULYK KEEFER, J. *The Green Library,* cit., p. 112.

[5] *Ivi,* p. 133.

[6] *Ivi,* p. 264.

[7] *Ivi,* p. 196.

[8] *Ivi,* p. 197.

Cola? Why don't all you Westerners, with your big money that you spend like water over here, for Christ's sake just stay home? »[9].

These questions delve into the heart of this analysis, forming a bridge between the complexities surrounding the concept of "return" explored in the previous chapter and the implications that have yet to be fully revealed. Indeed, I highlighted the multifaceted nature of this specific and mainly temporary "return migration", which was far from a one-dimensional narrative. It was a nuanced and intricate journey that varies greatly among individuals. While some found joy and fulfillment of the diasporic mission – embodied in the establishment of an independent Ukraine – others encountered unexpected obstacles that challenged their initial expectations, for example a hostile or unfamiliar environment, the Russian language in the streets or even a different way of thinking in the family. Furthermore, another element emerging regarded the changing perception of "home". During the Cold War, the ancestral homeland served as a focal point for nostalgic discourse, where community members engaged in narratives that encompassed a wide range of cultural, literary, social, and political aspects. However, there can be no definitive anchoring or fixed sense of belonging when people bring their own pasts, into a new place of dwelling. As it has been shown, the emotional journey of those who had the opportunity to return to Ukraine after independence often represented more of a return to "Canada" than a purely Ukrainian experience. This is because their journey back served as a milestone in crystallizing their awareness of being «No longer quite Ukrainian but not quite Canadian either…»[10], or in other words it meant the transition from a "Ukrainian Canadian" to a "Canadian Ukrainian" realm, as highlighted in the accounts of the previous chapter's conclusive remarks[11].

The discussion on return and homemaking has sparked an important realization about the need to expand, or at least problematize, the study of diaspora beyond the traditional "triangular" dimension[12]. This conventional approach typically focuses on the homeland, the resettlement country, and the network established among the members of the shattered community worldwide. However,

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[9] *Ivi,* p. 204.

[10] APONIUK, N. "«… No Longer Quite Ukrainian But Not Quite Canadian Either…»: The Ukrainian Immigrant in Canadian English-Language Literature. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 2015, 47.4: 49-65.

[11] Maria Rosa Filijowycz. Interview by Roksolana Slywynska, 24th February 2020, UCRDC, Toronto; Irene Solomon. Interview by UCRDC, 20th February 2020, Toronto.

[12] The focus on the triangular relationship is visible in research such as: ČUVALO, A. "Triangular Relations: The Croatian Diaspora, the United States and the Homeland". *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 1999, 40: 25-41; GRAY, V. S. *Devilish triangles: Diasporas, host countries, and homelands in today's Europe*. Baltimore: University of Maryland, College Park, 2002. GORDON, L. R. "African thought and African diasporic studies". *The Black Scholar*, 2000, 30.3-4: 25-30; BAUMANN, M. "Diaspora: genealogies of semantics and transcultural comparison". *Numen*, 2000, 47.3: 313-337. FAIST, T. "Diaspora and transnationalism: What kind of dance partners". *Diaspora and transnationalism: Concepts, theories and methods*, 2010, 11; KRÁL, F. "Mapping Diaspora Studies:(Un) settled Past, Heterogeneous Present, and Multidisciplinary Future (s)", *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 2020, 20(3), 391-397.

as we stitch together the strands of the thesis, it's clear that from these three elements, at least six overlapping spaces have surfaced in the analysis which are vital to categorize when examining this specific migratory experience. To clarify, in historiographical work, the objective is to construct a framework and uncover the dynamics in motion, hence I'm not seeking to restrict events to a set of bullet points. The emphasis is on elucidating the wider context and the interplay among elements that have come up in the thesis so far, to attain a deeper comprehension of the processes at hand.

The first two spaces for exploration are intrinsically linked with the homeland, Ukraine. Within this sphere, we encounter two facets: the conceptual homeland and the existing political entity. The conceptual homeland captures the collective notion of Ukraine held by the diaspora. This idea is often molded by memories, narratives, and cultural ties. This notion is intimately connected to the «nationalism from afar» or «long-distance nationalism»[13] that came to fruition during the Cold War in Canada, a place where cultural nation-building activities occurred within the Ukrainian community. Conversely, the existing political entity pertains to the tangible bordered territory of Ukraine. It has experienced a significant shift from being a Soviet republic to morphing into an independent state. Therefore, it acts as the primary correspondent for Canada in international relations. Furthermore, it represents the physical territory that diasporic individuals must reconcile with, in terms of identity and possible conflicts.

Canada also holds substantial importance in this diasporic journey. It serves as a home for the diasporic community, offering a fresh start and opportunities for resettlement. But it also poses challenges concerning feeling like one doesn't completely belong. It's critical to differentiate between everyday life in Canada and the performative aspect of identifying with the Canadian nation, which came up in discussions about multiculturalism and the concept of a multiethnic mosaic. While Canada provides a physical space for resettlement, the emotional and cultural facets of feeling genuinely connected to the nation and its collective identity are more complex. Once again as in the case of the "Ukrainian" space, one must be cautious not to overlook the difference between the state and the nation. While the former has clear, albeit contested borders, the latter is far more fluid and nebulous: there can be as many nations as one can envision, especially when this "imagination" happens outside state institutions. Indeed, it would be misleading to claim that Canada is not a nation. Particularly from the 1960s, nationalism was rampant in Canadian politics. The debate is around differing

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[13] ANDERSON, B. "Long-distance nationalism". *The spectre of comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the world*, 1998, 58: 74-88; PRYKE, S. "British Serbs and long-distance nationalism". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2003, 26.1: 152-172; WISE, A. "Nation, transnation, diaspora: locating East Timorese long-distance nationalism". *Sojourn: Journal of social issues in Southeast Asia*, 2004, 19.2: 151-180; SCHILLER, N. G. et al. "Long-distance nationalism". *Diaspora*, 2005, 1.1: 3-7; SKRBIŠ, Z. *Long-distance nationalism: diasporas, homelands and identities*. Milton Park: Taylor & Francis, 2017.

perspectives on what Canada – as a nation – is and the role various communities, in this case Ukrainians, play.

Then, there's the Ukrainian community outside the state borders of Ukraine. This refers to individuals forced to leave Ukraine due to factors such as political, social, or economic circumstances. Again, it is fundamental to recognize two interconnected realms: firstly, the overarching network formed by the globally dispersed community, characterized by its distinct institutions and discourse platforms[14]. Secondly, there are the more localized "dots" within the network, which correspond to individual communities in particular resettlement countries. These communities partake in innovative identity-building activities at the crossroads of these spheres. Given the extensive research and time required to fully analyze all these spaces, this thesis has primarily focused on just one of these "dots": the third wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Nonetheless, it is crucial to remember that even with this focus, the study must be situated within all the intersecting spaces discussed previously: Ukraine and Canada - as states and nations, and the transnational[15] networks established by the "dots".

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[14] The concept of "network" to study diasporas is widespread: WAYLAND, S. "Ethnonationalist networks and transnational opportunities: the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora". *Review of International Studies*, 2004, 30.3: 405-426. RAI, R.; REEVES, P. (Ed.). *The South Asian diaspora: transnational networks and changing identities*. New York: Routledge, 2008. LAGUERRE, M. S. "The Transglobal Network Nation: Diaspora, Homeland, And Hostland". In BEN-RAFAEL, E.; STERNBERG, Y. (Ed.) *Transnationalism: Diasporas and the advent of a new (dis) order*. Boston: Brill, 2009, pp. 195-210; BERNAL, V. *Nation as network: Diaspora, cyberspace, and citizenship*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.

[15] The concept of transnationality is a valuable framework for understanding and analyzing various aspects of contemporary society, particularly in the context of globalization and increased interconnectedness. However, it is important to exercise caution when utilizing it. The term refers to the notion of transcending national boundaries and operating across different countries or regions. It recognizes the existence of social, cultural, economic, and political connections that extend beyond traditional nation-state boundaries. This concept allows for a deeper understanding of the complex and fluid nature of contemporary identities, communities, and movements. However, caution must be exercised when using the concept of transnationality due to its potential to oversimplify or homogenize diverse experiences and contexts. It is essential to recognize that transnationality is not a one-size-fits-all concept and that experiences of transnationalism can vary greatly depending on factors such as migration patterns, power dynamics, socio-economic disparities, and historical contexts. Furthermore, and most importantly for this thesis, the concept of transnationality should not overshadow the significance of local contexts. I am specifically looking at the following literature: FAIST, T. "Towards a Political Sociology of Transnationalization. The State of Art in Migration Research." *Arch.europ.sociology* 2004, XLV 3: 331–366; BRETTELL, C. B. "Introduction: Global Spaces/Local Places: Transnationalism, Diaspora, and the Meaning of Home." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 2006, 13 (3): 327–334; GLICK SCHILLER, N. "Beyond the Nation-State and Its Units of Analysis: Towards a New Research Agenda for Migration Studies. Essentials of Migration Theory". Working Paper 33. Bielefeld: COMCAD - Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development, 2007; DALUM BERG, U., RODRIQUEZ R. M. "Transnational Citizenship across the Americas". *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Politics,* 2013, 20.6: 649–664; ERDAL, M. B.; OEPPEN, C. "Migrant Balancing Acts: Understanding the Interactions between Integration and Transnationalism." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 2013, 39.6: 867–884. DAHINDEN, J. "Transnationalism Reloaded: The Historical Trajectory of a Concept." *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 2017, 40.9: 1474–1485.

Considering this initial preliminary conclusion, this chapter scrutinizes some of the evolutions in these spaces in post-Soviet[16] times, which are the outcomes of the third wave's political and cultural endeavors within the timeline considered, with the primary purpose to establish potential trajectories for future research. In order to accomplish this, the chapter is organized as follows: first, I will concentrate on the spaces of the homeland, Ukraine. One important question to investigate is the degree to which elements from the diaspora activities have truly returned to Ukraine, both in the political and in the cultural realm. What has been accepted and embraced, and what has been rejected in the recently established Ukrainian state? Second, the focus shifts to the Ukrainian community in Canada, delving into the intricate process of identifying oneself as Canadian through an ethnic lens and questioning the concept of Canadian identity in relation to ethnicity. By examining the unique Ukrainian experience in Canada, we can explore whether their sense of identity can be primarily understood as symbolic ethnicity or, considering Eva's experience, if it is an ethnicity to some extent "chosen" by individuals. Lastly, the chapter examines how these questions may also be useful to investigate the commonly overlooked concept of multiculturalism in Canada. How has multiculturalism evolved and changed during the turn of the millennium? Is it still a mosaic, and if so, what is the role of "Ukrainian Canada" in it? This exploration of potential future research paths enables to critically analyze existing power structures while uncovering new perspectives of analysis.

6.1.1. To Ukraine: Political routes[17]

In the realm of politics, the first act that can be seen as a "return to Ukraine" and which I have selected for analysis in this section, was performed by Mykola Plaviuk, the President of the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic [UNR-in-exile]. This event, which carried great symbolic significance, took place during the commemoration of the first anniversary of Ukrainian independence in August 1992. During this occasion, Plaviuk officially relinquished the

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[16] It is worth mentioning here that within the realms of historical studies and the social sciences, the use of the term «post-Soviet» has been a subject of ongoing controversy. Advocates assert that the shared experience of transformation observed among the countries falling within this broad classification justifies the application of the term as an analytical concept. Conversely, opponents contend that "post-Soviet" no longer signifies a specific historical period, but rather serves as an ideological reference point that perpetuates the dichotomous relationship between the capitalist West and the socialist/communist East, aligning with the established notion of the former as the Other. I have decided to consciously employ it in this chapter because I am analyzing immediate post-1991 dynamics, a context where from an historiographic perspective, the transition from Soviet to post-Soviet times cannot be underestimated. On the debate see: SAGATIENĖ, D: *Challenging the "Post-Soviet" Label and Colonial Mindsets: NATO Summit in Vilnius, VerfBlog,* 2023/7/11.

[17] These two sections dealing on "what has returned from the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada to Ukraine" focuses solely on Ukrainian Canadian sources for analysis. To provide a comprehensive understanding of the subject, it would have been beneficial to visit also Ukrainian archives, which were initially intended to be included in my fieldwork. However, due to contextual circumstances, this was not feasible.

authority of the UNR-in-exile and proclaimed that Independent Ukraine was the lawful successor of the UNR[18].

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the event, it is essential to first recall the political environment surrounding the different nationalistic factions within the Ukrainian diaspora. As explained in the second chapter, the political agenda of the various diaspora groups was not uniform and due to the absence of a fully recognized and independent statehood, also identifying who detained the central power "in exile" was a contested issue. As a result, various parties that reemerged within the diaspora after the war had their own unique agendas and priorities for action. The UNR-in-exile[19], aimed to bring together and organize these diverse entities. Its objective was to reunite the principal political parties that had been restored following the war and establish a government-in-exile that could potentially unite them. The abbreviation UNR stands for Ukraine National Republic, the one that existed from 1917 to 1920. Led by the Directory, its goal was to preserve Ukrainian sovereignty. However, due to armed conflicts and the advancing Soviet forces, the head of the Directory and the UNR government were compelled to go into exile. After World War II, Andrii Livytsky, a lawyer who was leading the Directory of the UNR at that time, restructured the government-in-exile in 1947 with the objective of upholding the ideological and legal principles of the UNR. On July 10, 1948, a «Provisional law about the reorganization of the State Center of the Ukrainian People's Republic in exile»[20] was enacted, which entailed coordination among various Ukrainian political organizations, including the OUN groups and the main Eastern Ukrainian political parties. Notwithstanding, political divisions remained heated. For example, even if the OUN – Zh agreed to the establishment of the UNR-in-exile in 1948, it never took up the six seats allotted to it on the Council, nor participated in any of its activities[21]. It is also reported to have severed all

[18] The event was for example covered by the main diaspora newspapers with information based on the "Kiev Press Bureau", see: "Exiled Ukrainian government presents its mandate to President Kravchuk", *The Ukrainian Weekly,* 30th August 1992, p. 2. Moreover, audiovisual sources are cited in KASIANOV, G. *Memory Clash. The politics of history in and around Ukraine 1980s – 2010s"*, Budapest, Vienna, New York: CEU Press, 2022, p. 215. Specifically see: "1992: ostanniy presydent UNR peredaye Kravchuku kleynody," video, Istorichna pravda, January 22, 2012, http://www.istpravda.com.ua/videos/2012/01/22/69657/.

[19] For the reorganization of the UHVR after WW II, I am referring to the sources collected in the publication of the OUN-Zh: *UHVR v svitli postanov Velykoho Zboru ta inshykh dokumentiv z diyal'nosty 1944-1951,* vol. 3, 1956.For the reorganization of the UNR after WW II see instead: VYNAR, L.; PAZUNIAK, N. (Ed.), Derzhavnyi tsentr Ukraïns'koï narodn'noï respubliky v ekzyli: Statti i materiialy, Filyadel'fiya; Kyyiv; Vashington: Fundatsiya im. S. Petlyury: Veselka: Fundatsiya Rodyny Feshchenko-Chopivs'kykh, 1993; RUDNYTSKYI, Y. *DTs UNR v ekzyli mizh 1941 i 1991/2 rokamy*, Ottawa: UNR-in-exile, 1994. The three sources are also available on the digital archives of the diaspora: diasporiana.org chtvo.org.ua as my last access on 3rd October 2022.

[20] RUDNYTSKYI, Y. *DTs UNR v ekzyli mizh 1941 i 1991/2 rokamy*, cit., p. 74.

[21] VYNAR, L.; PAZUNIAK, N. (Ed.), Derzhavnyi tsentr Ukraïns'koï narodn'noï respubliky v ekzyli: Statti i materiialy, Filyadel'fiya; Kyyiv; Vashington: Fundatsiya im. S. Petlyury: Veselka: Fundatsiya Rodyny Feshchenko-Chopivs'kykh, 1993

connection with the UNR in the summer of 1950, focusing on their own platform, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council [ZP UHVR]. This point holds great significance as it suggests that the government was primarily symbolic in nature. While it indicated that the "true" Ukraine existed outside the borders of the Soviet Union, not all recognized it as the true representative of Ukraine itself. Between 1948 and 1992, the UNR in exile elected four presidents. The first one already mentioned was Andriy Livytskyi, who passed away in West Germany in 1954. Stepan Vytvytskyi, a journalist and member of the UNDP, served as president from 1954 to 1965 while in the United States, where he relocated after the war. Mykola Livytskyi, who also immigrated to the United States, served as president from 1967 to 1989. During his tenure, he planned to store the documents of the UNR government-in-exile in the National Archives of Canada [now LAC]. Lastly, Mykola Plaviuk, assumed the position in 1989. He was associated with the OUN-M and migrated to Montreal after the war becoming an active member of the third wave in Canada[22]. This was the fragmented context of the political leadership of the diaspora when Ukraine became an independent state. Following the jubilant culmination of the 1991 referendum and elections, the subsequent task at hand was to determine the course of action for the "government-in-exile", that – at least symbolically – held as I mentioned the political power for the émigré community. Upon the request of President Plavyuk, the UNR-in-exile organized a special session of the 10th convocation Rada in the autumn of 1991. This session occurred on March 14-15, 1992, during which a resolution was passed to discontinue the activities of emigration institutions of the UNR and establish the content and structure of the historical act for the transfer of powers to the newly formed independent government of Ukraine. In August 1992, Plavyuk, along with a delegation from the State Council of the UNR-in-exile, participated in a celebratory event at the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine in Kyiv to mark the first anniversary of Ukraine's independence. During this gathering, he officially presented the UNR's emblems, a seal, and a flag, to Ukraine's president, Leonid Kravchuk. Additionally, he handed over a document [Fig. 19 and 20][23] stating that the Republic acknowledged Ukraine as its lawful successor[24]:

> By presenting our credentials, we affirm that the Ukrainian State, established on August 24
> and ratified by the Ukrainian people on December 1, 1991, upholds the historical and cultural
> legacy of the Ukrainian People's Republic and is the rightful successor of the Ukrainian
> People's Republic[25].

[22] RESHETCHENKO, D. "Derzhavnyy tsentr Ukrayins′koyi Narodnoyi Respubliky v ekzyli: peredumovy reorhanizatsiyi (1945–1948 rr.)", *Ukrayins′kyy istorychnyy zhurnal,* 2018, 3: 11-123.

[23] J. B. Rudnyckyi fonds, MG31-D58, Volume number: 204. LAC, Ottawa, Ontario.

[24] RUDNYTSKYI, Y. *DTs UNR v ekzyli mizh 1941 i 1991/2 rokamy*, cit., pp. 30 – 32.

[25] Translation by me. Original in ukrainian: "Skladayuchy svoyi povnovazhennya, my zayavlyayemo, shcho proholoshena 24 serpnya i utverdzhena 1 hrudnya 1991 roku narodom Ukrayiny Ukrayins′ka Derzhava prodovzhuye derzhavno-natsional′ni tradytsiyi UNR i ye pravonastupnytseyu Ukrayins′koyi Narodn′oyi Respubliky" in VYNAR, L.;

Fig. 19: Mykola Plavyuk hands over the Certificate of the UNR-in-exile, 1992.

Fig. 20: Mykola Plavyuk hands over the flag and medals of the UNR-in-exile, 1992.

Source: LAC, Ottawa, *Jaroslav Rudnyckyi fonds*, MG31-D58, Volume number: 204

The Ukrainian Weekly provided a detailed account of the event, which consisted of two parts spanning two days: August 22 and 24. Initially, on August 22, a grand ceremonial event was held at the Ukraine Palace to commemorate the first anniversary of Ukraine's declaration of independence. The primary speaker was President Leonid Kravchuk, followed by the last president of the Ukrainian People's Republic in exile, Mykola Plaviuk. The second part of the event took place on August 24 at the Mariinsky Palace, which had become the official residence of the President of Ukraine by that time. During the proceedings at the Ukraine Palace, an announcement was made regarding the termination of the government-in-exile's activities, which had provided leadership during the period

PAZUNIAK, N. (Ed.), *Derzhavnyi tsentr Ukraïns'koï narodn'noï respubliky v ekzyli: Statti i materiialy*, Filyadel′fiya; Kyyiv; Vashington: Fundatsiya im. S. Petlyury: Veselka: Fundatsiya Rodyny Feshchenko-Chopivs′kykh, 1993.

of UNR from 1917 to 1921. Following the parade and subsequent celebrations on the streets, a group of fifty individuals gathered at the Mariinsky Palace. This group consisted of a representative delegation from the UNR in exile and the leaders of the contemporary Ukrainian state. Mykola Plaviuk, in his capacity as the former president, headed one delegation, while the other was led by Kravchuk[26]. Paul Grod, the President of the Ukrainian World Congress [UWC][27], described retrospectively the event not surprisingly as «the result and culmination of the Ukrainian diaspora's primary mission in the 20th century: preserving and reconstituting Ukraine's statehood»[28]. Finally, in 1996, the UNR archives were turned over to the State Archive of Ukraine[29].

On the surface, the event of transferring authority from the government-in-exile to independent Ukraine held symbolic significance. It marked a momentous shift in the diaspora politics and represented the fulfillment of a «mission» for those involved. However, upon closer inspection, one may question the deeper meaning and practical implications of this gesture. While the transfer of items and the proclamation of Ukraine as the legal successor of the UNR certainly carried emotional significance, it is important to acknowledge that this alone do not automatically resolve the complex challenges and realities faced by a newly independent state, or, more importantly, fully address its history. Even if the Ukraine's Act of independence in 1991 made a reference to the «thousand-year tradition of state development in Ukraine»[30], it was the Ukrainian SSR that was declaring independence: the new Ukraine would be its continuation. Independence was declared, not restored and, moreover, it was proclaimed by the then legitimate members of the Supreme Council of the USSR. Indeed, the process of Ukraine's independence has been subject to varying perspectives within the diaspora itself, with some members expressing concerns about how it unfolded. According to their viewpoint, they believe that a free and independent Ukraine should have been established without any involvement from the Soviet system. They argued that the process does not align with their vision of how an independent Ukraine should have been achieved, as demonstrated by the ABN Congress in Toronto held in 1992 where it was discusses the fact that the «Bolshevik nomenklatura still holds

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[26] "Exiled Ukrainian government presents its mandate to President Kravchuk", *The Ukrainian Weekly,* 30th August 1992, p. 2.

[27] Mentioning the Ukrainian World Congress is indeed not secondary, in fact, prior to 1993, the UWC was known as the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, Pavliuk himself served as President of this organization between 1978 and 1981. Still headquartered in Toronto, the Annual Congresses Congress were organized since its foundation in New York and Toronto. It was not until 2008 that the meetings were organized in Ukraine, both Kyiv and Lviv.

[28] Paul Grod statement on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of independent Ukrainian state succession to UNR-in-exile, 22nd August 2022. Available at: https://www.ukrainianworldcongress.org/30th-anniversary-of-independent-ukrainian-state-succession-to-unr-government-in-exile/. Last access 9th October 2023.

[29] As it is documented in the finding aids of the *Tsental'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vlady ta upravlinnia* [*Central State Archive of the Highest Organs of Government and Administration of Ukraine*].

[30] "Act of Declaration of Independence", *The Ukrainian Weekly,* 1st September 1991, 35:59.

key positions»[31]. And in fact, just two years prior to the event analzyed, Leonid Kravchuk[32] was in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This element is crucial to not be misled by narratives that can be constructed around specific historic events, as in the «myth of regained historical continuity»[33] that was advanced through the narrative of the UNR-in-exile's return to Kyiv. While some may view this event as symbolizing the end of the exile of the UNR and the fulfillment of a national mission, the politics in post-1991 Ukraine – and the country's history, cannot be fully grasped without considering the Soviet past as an integral part of the country's trajectory[34]. There are still some unresolved questions for which additional sources and research would be necessary. For example, regarding the role of members of the diaspora who returned to Ukraine and actively participated in the political life of the independent state[35]. This is strictly related then to domestic policies of Ukraine itself: Did the elite wanted and facilitated that "diasporic return" in the first place? For example: what was the position regarding the granting of Ukrainian citizenship, but also, if we want to keep the Jewish diaspora as a reference point of analysis, was there a "law on return" as the Israeli's one? Was it even discussed?

As concern this specific research, the symbolic return of the government-in-exile, seemed more to me the recognition that, reframing Irene Solomon's oral source, even the politics of Ukraine was thought to be not on diaspora's shoulders anymore[36]. This does not imply that the diaspora should be indifferent to the events unfolding in Ukraine, as I will discuss further in later sections of this chapter. It simply means that, from that point onward, the political and legal framework and reference point was centered around the Ukrainian state.

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[31] I am here referring specifically to the articles and speeches published by the ABN between 1991 and 2000. Particularly relevant is for example: "The ABN Congress in Toronto", *ABN Correspondence,* 1992, 46.6.

[32] Interestingly, in his memoir Kravchuk did not mention this "transfer" of power. In: KRAVCHUK, L. *Maemo te, shcho maemo: Spohady i rozdumy*. Kyiv: Stolittia 2002.

[33] I am using here the fortunate expression used by Tomasz Kamusella for the Polish contexr: KAMUSELLA, Tomasz. *The un-Polish Poland, 1989 and the illusion of regained historical continuity*. Springer International Publishing, 2017.

[34] FOWKES, B. *The post-communist era: change and continuity in Eastern Europe*. Berlin: Springer, 1999; BECK, A. "Reflections on policing in post-soviet Ukraine: A case study of continuity". *The Journal of Power Institutions in Post-Soviet Societies. Pipss. org*, 2005, 2; MINAKOV, M. "The End of a Great Era: Post-Soviet Transformation in a Historical Perspective". *Nuovi Autoritarismi e Democrazie: Diritto, Istituzioni, Società (NAD-DIS)*, 2023, 5.1.

[35] Some references are made for example in: ÅSLUND, A. *How Ukraine became a market economy and democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009. See specifically the third chapter "Leonid Kuchma's reform (1994-96), where the author mentions personalities such as: Roman Zvarych, Bohdan Hawrylyshyn and Oleh Hawrylyshyn. Moreover, in the *Ukrainian Weekly,* I have found references on members of the Canadian, American and Australian communities who headed to Ukraine as official observers of the presidential elections. For instance: "Wrzesnewskyj travels to Ukraine, again", *Ukrainian Weekly,* 72.52, 26th December 2004, p. 3; "Australian Ukrainians also headed to Ukraine", *Ibidem.*

[36] Irene Solomon. Interview conducted for a project of the UCRDC, 20th February 2020, Toronto.

6.1.2. To Ukraine: Cultural routes

The impact of cultural activities carried out by the diaspora during the Cold War on post-1991 Ukraine, may be far more complex to analyze than the symbolic return of the "political" mentioned above. Firstly, it is worth citing the words of the British cultural critic Raymond Williams, who famously asserted that «culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language»[37]. Consequently, a note of caution on what "culture" means in this context is needed. Here, in fact, I am employing a narrow definition of the term that can be defined as the «works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity»[38]. So that, what I have in mind in this section is a «visible objective culture» that can be conceptualized as anything created by the artistic and intellectual efforts of individuals and residing outside them[39]. Undoubtedly, more extensive research is required to document the entirety of the artistic and intellectual output that has returned to Ukraine and its potential influence on independent Ukraine. Nonetheless, within the compiled sources, I have encountered certain instances that could serve the dual purpose of aiding in the formulation of conclusions for the analysis of the third wave, while also suggesting potential avenues for future research in this area.

> After the referendum, we started travelling to Ukraine to create the Canadian Friends of Ukraine Foundation and started opening libraries. We opened 18 libraries. We collected Ukrainian books here [in Canada] and packed them up to Ukraine and in some of the Canadian libraries in Ukraine there were up to 18 or 20,000 books. The best libraries were in Odesa and Donetsk. They worked very actively, faithfully[40].

This testimony originates from Stefan Horlatsch, a survivor of the Holodomor, who was born on January 9, 1921, in Kyrylivka, a village located in the Zaporizhzhia region. After the culmination of World War II, Stefan, along with other Holodomor survivors, found themselves in DP camps. In 1948, he relocated to Canada, where he embarked upon a vocation as an educator and subsequently gained prominence within the Ukrainian Canadian community. Within the context of this oral history interview, a significant event emerges, centered around the process of «repatriation» of books, and in certain cases, entire libraries, from Canada to Ukraine. The project mentioned in the interview refers to the project of the Canadian friends of Ukraine, which sponsored the establishment of 14 Canada-

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[37] WILLIAMS, R. *Keywords: a vocabulary of society and culture*. London: Croom Helm, 1976, p. 87.
[38] *Ivi,* p. 90.
[39] I have decided to specify this point because throughout the thesis, the analysis is based on a broader definition of culture, derived mainly from the work of cultural anthropologists like Clifford Geertz who defined culture in terms of a set of meaning. GEERTZ, C. *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic books, 1973.
[40] Stefan Horlatsch. Interview by Zorianna Kily, 6th February 2017, UCRDC, Toronto.

Ukraine Library Centres in various state library institutions located in eastern and southern Ukraine, namely Luhansk, Donetsk, Kharkiv, Simferopil, Sevastopil, Odesa, Chernihiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Mariupol, Poltava, Cherkasy, Sumy, and Kherson[41]. From the only source I was directly able to find on the topic, the materials dispatched to Ukraine would consist predominantly of Western publications, printed in both Ukrainian and English, with a primary focus on books and journals encompassing Ukrainian history, culture, literature, and the fine arts. Additionally, the Centers would provide English-language publications pertaining to law, international relations, economics, literature, and various encyclopedias. These collections would be utilized by high school, university, and graduate students, many of whom have defended their Master's and PhD dissertations on Ukrainian history, literature, and fine arts by leveraging the information resources made available through this program. Furthermore, the Library Centers serve as hosts for a series of conferences that delve into Ukrainian subjects relevant to the collections housed within the respective library institutions[42]. Fittingly, in commemoration of the 20th Anniversary of the establishment of the center in Dnipropetrovsk, Nataliya Bilovytska, the director of the center located in, recalled during an interview:

> The Canadian-Ukrainian Library Center was established with a generous gift from the Canadian diaspora. The gift consisted of a cargo weighing 4,375 kg, packed in 175 packs. These packs contained books and periodicals that were collected from the personal libraries of members of the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada. The literature in the collection was primarily published in the Ukrainian language, with a smaller portion of publications in English. The materials in the collection spanned from 1907 to 1998 and mainly consisted of literature published in the Western world during the 20th century.[43].

According to the director, the implementation of this initiative enabled the residents of the Dnipropetrovsk region to access literature that had previously been inaccessible to them. Notably, concerning the topics, the collection pertains publications on the liberation movement in Ukraine from 1917 to 1920, as well as materials concerning the Holodomor. I was not able to find specific archival material during the fieldwork about this project, but it might be intriguing to dig more into the topic, especially concerning the location of those libraries.

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[41] MOCHALOVA, L. "Kanads′ko-ukrayins′ki bibliotechni tsentry v Ukrayini i na Donbasi", *Donbas: kul'turno-osvitniy obmin z ukrayintsyamy svitu. Materialy naukovo-praktychnoyi konferentsiyi.* Donets′k, 2011: 202—208.
[42] *Ibidem.*
[43] Translation is mine. The original interview can be found in: "Kanads′ko-ukrayins′komu tsentru v Dnipri vypovnylosya 20 rokiv", Ukrinform, 21st September 2020. https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-diaspora/3103560-kanadskoukrainskomu-centru-v-dnipri-vipovnilosa-20-rokiv.html. Last access 10th October 2023.

It should be also mentioned that the need of "receiving" cultural material and educational and technological tools and assistance was also felt among Ukrainians. For instance, the need for books specifically written in the Ukrainian language emerged because of the scarcity of cultural output in Ukrainian during the Soviet period. This necessity was demonstrated by Oxana Pachlovska, a scholar and writer, who expressed concern as early as 1989 regarding the condition of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine due to the absence of fundamental resources for its citizens, including dictionaries and encyclopedias[44]. Another intriguing source that confirmed the unwavering commitment of the Ukrainian Canadian community towards addressing the issue is the report of the Ukraine/Canada Education Conference, written by John Sokolowski, program manager of the Bilingual programs and Native languages Branch of the Alberta Education. The meeting was convened in Ukraine during a tremendous turning point, the summer of 1991, and was made possible through the joint efforts of the Saskatchewan teachers of Ukrainian, in close collaboration with the Ukrainian Ministry of Public Education, and the Center for International Ties with Ukrainian Educators of Lviv[45]. The document is relevant as one reads the recommendations listed, among them there are for instance:

> Efforts should be made to expand the exchange of learning resources, students and educators between Canada and Ukraine; A revised Ukrainian orthography, which will meet the needs of Ukrainian both inside and outside of Ukraine should be issued by the Institute of Linguistics of Kiev[46].

Moreover, in the report, a captivating aspect is found within the section titled "Requests" which presents a compilation of appeals made by Ukrainian participants to be included in the report[47]. Some of these requests directly pertain to the necessity of more educational materials, such as those made by Oleksamder Nikitenko and Nila Voloshina. Additionally, there is a notable interest expressed in Ukrainian Canadian topics, particularly the language (Roksoliana Zorivchak) and children's literature (Svitlana Pohulialo, Volodymyr Romanets). Among these requests, it is worth mentioning an emotional and private claim that stood out from the list. Raisa Horbachona, a resident of the Cherkasy area, has reported that her six-year-old son is afflicted with a medical condition, which could be attributed to the enduring repercussions of the Chernobyl catastrophe: «She would like to contact doctors in Canada»[48]. This personal plea underscores the ongoing impact of the Chernobyl disaster

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[44] PAKHLʹOVSʹKOYI, O. "Start z ruyiny kosmodromu". *Literaturna Ukraina*, 1989.

[45] "Report of the Ukraine/Canada Education Conference, 25th September 1991", Prosvita fonds, Mss 361, Pc 317 (A.11-91). UoM Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

[46] *Ibidem.*

[47] The submission of every request was accompanied by corresponding contact information, facilitating communication between the parties involved. In: *Ibidem.*

[48] *Ibidem.*

on affected individuals and may also underline the challenges faced by Ukraine in terms of medical resources, expertise, and international support. The aftermath of the disaster revealed once again the broader legacies of the "Soviet times" in Ukraine, that cannot be wipe out with a stroke. These legacies encompassed not only the immediate political and cultural needs but also the long-term effects of a centralized and top-down system that influenced various aspects of society, including governance, infrastructure, and resource allocation. Understanding and fully contextualizing historical phenomena requires considering these multifaceted legacies and their ongoing impact on the affected individuals and the country as a whole. It emphasizes the importance of addressing not only the immediate consequences but also the broader dimensions.

In addition, the report also includes the speech of Ray Meiklejohn, Minister of education of Saskatchewan. The conclusive remarks of the speech, once again underlines the effort of transferring educational equipment to Ukraine: «On behalf of Saskatchewan Education I'd like to present the Ukrainian ministry of public education with the gift of 2 complete IBM computer systems and a laser printer. Slava Kanadee – Slava Ukrainee!»[49]. With the final celebratory exclamation worth noticing, especially because it was done in the summer of 1991 in Ukraine. The slogan, despite its problematic aspects and legacies, in the decades gained popularity and underwent a process of resemanticization, allowing it to be used in formal occasions beyond the meetings of the most radical nationalists.

Finally, in analyzing the report, it is worth mentioning the heartfelt description of the events unfolding in the USSR during the summer of 1991, particularly the Moscow Coup that occurred while the conference participants were in attendance. The author's note, which provides a perspective from a Ukrainian Canadian and the Canadian delegation on the other side of the Iron Curtain, adds a unique and valuable viewpoint to the situation. This perspective sheds light on the experiences and observations of individuals who were directly impacted by the events and offers a broader understanding of the historical context.

> The psychological changes have been enormous. I was told more than once that people now for the first time have the right to be themselves. This is true at the personal level and in the case of people like the Ukrainians at the level of the nation. […] By the way, during the week before the coup, the Ukrainian government was already arranging to take over control of the Soviet armed forces and the new Ukrainian currency, which was scheduled for introduction in January 1992, was supposedly printed in Canada […]. All these actions would suggest that the disintegration of the former Soviet Union was not as unexpected and sudden, as it might seem in the West[50].

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[49] *Ibidem.*
[50] *Ibidem.*

I find the suggestion of contrasting narratives in diaspora sources regarding the «unexpected and sudden» dismantlement of the USSR particularly interesting. However, on a deeper level, what seems truly significant is the passage that states, «I was told more than once that people now for the first time have the right to be themselves». This insight highlights the profound notion that people in Ukraine experienced a sense of newfound freedom in the "identity" realm, and the right to express their true selves after Ukraine gained independence. This sentiment is contrasted with the interview of Irene Solomon mentioned in the previous chapter, which suggests that even on the other side of the Iron Curtain, the feelings following Ukrainian independence were similar[51]. People in Ukraine felt the freedom to embrace their Ukrainian identity, while those in the diaspora may have grappled with the idea of no longer being Ukrainian in the same way. This connection between the experiences on both sides of the Iron Curtain adds depth to the understanding of the post-independence period and the implications that this turning point had on the identity-building in "each" Ukraine.

As for the object of my analysis, it is significant to clarify that this act of return held symbolic significance, as it was not merely the physical books that were being returned, but rather the notion that the «Ukrainian culture» preserved by the diaspora from afar could now safely return to their homeland. This narrative encompasses a paternalistic undertone, as it explores the significance of the Ukrainian language and traditions within the diaspora, which were regarded as the embodiment of "authenticity" primarily due to their lack of exposure to Soviet influence. Moreover, the «return» meant most of all the return of narratives that might have had an impact on the nation-building process within independent Ukraine. Historian Yekelchyk conducted a convincing analysis of the construction of a new historical memory for Ukraine following the dissolution of party ideological control in the late 1980s. Through his research, he shed light on the selective appropriation of symbols from Ukraine's historical past and the nation-building processes of independent Ukraine. This endeavor aimed to revive a national canon and forge a fresh collective identity. Ultimately, the historian concludes that this process relied on a blend of Soviet discourse and nationalist mythologies, with the latter being inherited and popularized from the diaspora. Yekelchyk's work provides valuable insights into the complex dynamics at play during this transformative period in Ukrainian history[52]. In line with this argument, it is significant the insight of Roman Washuk, the son of Marta's

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[51] Irene Solomon. Interview by UCRDC, 20th February 2020, Toronto.

[52] YEKELCHYK, S. "National Heroes for a New Ukraine: Merging the Vocabularies of the Diaspora, Revolution, and Mass Culture". *Ab Imperio*, 2015, 2015.3: 97-123. The politics of memory in post-Soviet Ukraine has been extensively research. I will discuss later in the chapter the two main turning points in Ukrainian history after independence and the subsequent effect on memory narratives, however to introduce the framework of analysis the main literature on the topic is: HIMKA, J. P. "War Criminality: A Blank Spot in the Collective Memory of the Ukrainian Diaspora". *Spacesofidentity.net*, 2005. MARPLES, D. R. *Heroes and villains: Creating national history in contemporary Ukraine*. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007; NARVSELIUS, E. "The Bandera Debate: The contentious legacy of World War II and liberalization of collective memory in Western Ukraine". *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 2012, 54.3-4:

one of the "DP children I had interviewed during my fieldwork. Mr. Washuk, who served as ambassador of Canada to Ukraine, regarding his reminiscences during his tenure from 2014 to 2019[53], recalled:

> I think that when someone in Ukraine tend to have idealization of interwar nationalism, integral nationalism, they tend to associate the diaspora with that to a far greater extent than actual was the case. And so, I found when I was Ukraine, I had to explain to people: «No, we weren't all like acting crazy» [laugh][54].

While further research is required to fully understand the dynamics at play, there is a plausible argument to be made regarding the significant role that the diaspora's cultural publications played in the widespread return of a national canon. This does not imply that the Ukrainian state completely adopted the national canon as it was, as diasporic narratives were at times accepted and at other times questioned and re-evaluated. However, it is crucial not to overlook this layer of complexity.

6.2. After 1991: The Ukrainian Canadian Community beyond the watershed

As highlighted in the previous chapter, the year 1991 marked a significant turning point for the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada. This was a moment of identity redefinition for both individuals and the community as a whole. On an individual level, the events prompted many members of the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada to reassess their own identities. Some individuals experienced a deep sense of connection and pride, viewing Ukraine's independence as a validation of their heritage and cultural roots. For them, this moment represented a reaffirmation of their Ukrainian identity and a

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469-490; TÖRNQUIST-PLEWA, B; YURCHUK, Y. "Memory politics in contemporary Ukraine: Reflections from the postcolonial perspective". *Memory Studies*, 2019, 12.6: 699-720; PORTNOV, A. "Memory wars in post-Soviet Ukraine (1991–2010)". In: *Memory and theory in Eastern Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013: 233-254; KASIANOV, G. *Memory Crash: Politics of History in and around Ukraine, 1980s–2010s*. Central European University Press, 2022.

[53] Note the significance of the time span of Mr. Washuk's tenure as ambassador of Canada to Ukraine from 2014 to 2019. Indeed, the events in Ukraine in 2014, commonly referred to as the "Euromaidan" or the "Revolution of Dignity", marked a significant turning point in Ukrainian history. During this period, Ukraine experienced mass protests and political upheaval, leading to the ousting of President Yanukovych and the subsequent annexation of Crimea by Russia. These events brought about a profound shift in Ukrainian society, politics, and international relations. As a result, many researchers and scholars have adopted the concept of a "post-Euromaidan Ukraine" to analyze and understand the changes and challenges faced by the country in the aftermath of these events, especially as concern the issue of memory politics and national canon. See: SHEVEL, O. "The battle for historical memory in postrevolutionary Ukraine". *Current History*, 2016, 115.783: 258-263.KULYK, V. "Memory and language: Different dynamics in the two aspects of identity politics in Post-Euromaidan Ukraine". *Nationalities Papers*, 2019, 47.6: 1030-1047; UMLAND, a. "The far right in pre-and post-Euromaidan Ukraine: From ultra-nationalist party politics to ethno-centric uncivil society". *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, 2020, 28.2: 247-268.OLIINYK, A; KUZIO, T. "The Euromaidan Revolution, Reforms and Decommunisation in Ukraine". *Europe-Asia Studies*, 2021, 73.5: 807-836.

[54] Roman Waschuk. Interview by me, 21st December 2021, Toronto.

renewed commitment to preserving and promoting Ukrainian culture in Canada. However, it is important to note that not all individuals within the Ukrainian diaspora had the same outcome or response. Some may have experienced a more complex process of identity redefinition, grappling with questions of dual identity and the challenges of balancing their Ukrainian heritage with their Canadian identity. At the communal level, the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada also faced a moment of reflection and reevaluation. With Ukraine's newfound independence, the diaspora had to consider its own role in relation to Ukraine and its place within the Canadian multicultural landscape. The diaspora community had long been active in preserving Ukrainian culture, advocating for Ukrainian causes, and supporting Ukraine's independence movement. With the establishment of an independent Ukraine, the community had to redefine its mission and purpose, adapting to the changing dynamics and needs of both the Ukrainian community in Canada and Ukraine itself. It is not a coincidence that there was an increase in publications by Ukrainian Canadians addressing the topic of identity after 1991. The sparked a renewed interest and introspection within the Ukrainian Canadian community, leading to a greater discussion of identity-related themes. In this section, I delve into the question of "what comes next", after this significant watershed moment. I examine whether the mission of the Ukrainian Canadian community was truly fulfilled or if there are further implications to consider. Most importantly, I explore the extent to which self-identification based on nationality or ethnicity is influenced by the Canadian context of everyday life. In simpler terms, I question the meaning of being born and raised in Canada as a "Ukrainian" after 1991: what does it truly mean?

Before delving into the topic, it is essential to address another issue that is closely related to the previously discussed "return of narratives" and that is necessary to detangle to better understand the dynamics at play. Specifically, I would like to draw attention to a prevalent stance and oversimplification that, in my opinion, requires careful consideration and scrutiny. When the term "Ukrainian diaspora" is used, it often takes for granted that it is a nationalistic perspective that focuses on individuals who migrated from Western Ukraine, or better, from Galicia and whose narratives have gained greater acceptance in Western Ukraine after independence[55]. This perception often reflects a dichotomy between a "pro-European West," which is sometimes associated with a Galician heritage, and a "pro-Russian East", influenced by the historical presence of the Russian Empire. Consequently, the diaspora is often seen as aligning with the former, further reinforcing these regional

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[55] For instance, the historian Himka describes these narratives as ones of "Galician Ukrainians" in North America. HIMKA, J. P. "A Central European Diaspora under the Shadow of World War II: The Galician Ukrainians in North America". *Austrian history yearbook*, 2006, 37: 17-31. See also the "Ukrainian Galician" element in the Ukrainian nationalism: MAGOCSI, P. R. *Roots of Ukrainian Nationalism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002 and the definition of a "Western Ukrainian diaspora" in CORSALE, A.; VUYTSYK, O. "Long-distance attachments and implications for tourism development: the case of the Western Ukrainian diaspora". *Tourism Planning & Development*, 2016, 13.1: 88-110.

distinctions. Indeed, the historiographic work has highlighted and problematized the regional question within Ukraine. While acknowledging the existence of regional factors, it is crucial to recognize that a clear-cut divide between the regions is a myth. Ukraine's complex history of empires first and Soviet Union then both in the interwar and in post-WW II periods, has shaped its diverse cultural and linguistic makeup, making it vital to move beyond narratives perpetuating rigid partitions[56]. The existing literature on the diaspora has not fully explored the complexity surrounding this perspective. It is crucial to approach the diaspora with a critical mindset and question the commonly held belief that it exclusively represents a particular form of nationalism associated with "Western Ukraine". Assuming this notion without scrutiny can result in two contrasting perspectives: some may idealize the diaspora as a model to strive towards, considering it as the embodiment of the national canon's idealized "Piedmont". On the other hand, others may view the diaspora as radical ethnonationalists to be avoided, refusing in block its political, cultural, and intellectual achievements.

While this thesis has focused on the Canadian context, it is important to conduct further comparative analysis in other resettlement countries. By exploring different case studies, a more comprehensive understanding of the diaspora can be achieved. It is crucial to recognize that while there may be some common transnational narratives, it is not appropriate to generalize one specific experience or viewpoint as representative of the entire diaspora. Each experience is unique, and it is important to consider each "dot" as a distinct part of the overall experience. Secondly, it is imperative to recognize that not all individuals within the diaspora, particularly those in the third wave, held strong ethnonational ideologies, nor they were all from Galicia. For example, in this analysis on the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada, a significant number of individuals came from Eastern Ukraine, surpassing the numbers of the first and second waves. As these individuals arrived in Canada, they brought with them memories from the Soviet era, including those originating from Soviet Ukraine. One example is Stefan Horlatsch, a survivor of the Holodomor, who played a significant role in sending books and libraries to Eastern and Southern Ukraine after Ukraine gained independence. This demonstrates that the narratives from the "diaspora" were not solely confined to Western Ukraine upon their return and that the memories and experiences of the diaspora also reached other regions of Ukraine, including those from Eastern Ukraine. Lastly, the issue of "nation-building" in the diaspora should be carefully addressed. Zooming on some of the results of this research on Canada, following World War II, I argued that the third wave of Ukrainian immigrants embarked on a journey that I have identified as a kind of nation-building. However, it is critical to highlight and explicit what type

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[56] See for example: BARRINGTON, L. W.; HERRON, E. S. "One Ukraine or many? Regionalism in Ukraine and its political consequences". *Nationalities Papers*, 2004, 32.1: 53-86; BARRINGTON, L. "Is the regional divide in Ukraine an identity divide?". *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 2022, 63.4: 465-490; FOMINA, J. *Language, Identity, Politics-the Myth of Two Ukraines*. Washington: Bertelsmann Foundation, 2014.

of nation-building it was in this context: an identity-building process that employs a national vocabulary, so that more than "building a nation", they were building a specific identity using the national imaginary[57]. This distinct collective identity emerged from the displacement and experiences in DP camps, where the bonds of community were formed around the Ukrainian national narrative. Cultural and intellectual growth blossomed, and the nation's boundaries became clearer through the selection of symbols, heroes, and significant dates. The Canadian stage became then a space for negotiation, characterized by both encounters and conflicts. Throughout the Cold War, the narrative of the "DPs" evolved as new elements of Ukrainian-Canadian identity entered the scene, such as the Canadian internment camps. Simultaneously, this evolution had an impact on the existing community, including their experiences of World War II and the Holodomor. These experiences underwent a process of negotiation not only within the Ukrainian community itself but also with other communities in Canada and the Canadian government. Those narratives were transmitted both to the next generations and – finally – to independent Ukraine. To a certain extent, the Ukrainian diaspora in Canada fell victim of its own discourse. By presenting themselves as the defenders of the Ukrainian nation against Soviet "occupation" and framing the historical context in a particular way, there has been a tendency to portray their nationalism as frozen in the interwar period. This perception has raised concerns in Ukraine, and in general in the international perception of the diaspora's members, where some view the diaspora as being associated with ethnonationalist interpretations, leading to labels such as "Fascists" or "Nazis". The semantization of World War II symbols has further complicated the situation, exacerbating tensions[58]. Notwithstanding, the historical understanding should be more nuanced, acknowledging the presence of far-right ethnonational ideologies in certain environments of the diaspora, alongside who was politicized through national narratives and selective remembrance of events, but whose social practices are not necessary conservatives[59].

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[57] LUCASSEN, L. "The domination of the national category: A review of some recent studies on (im) migration and nation-building". *Immigrants & Minorities*, 1995, 14.3: 319-331. BRUBAKER, R; COOPER, F. "Beyond identity". *Theory and society*, 2000, 29.1: 1-47.

[58] HIMKA, J. P. "A Central European Diaspora under the Shadow of World War II: The Galician Ukrainians in North America". *Austrian history yearbook*, 2006, 37: 17-31; RUDLING, P. A. "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacturing of Historical Myths". *The Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, 2011, 2107. HILFERTY, L. *"Glory to the Heroes!" The Commemoration of the OUN and UPA in the Ukrainian Diaspora.* Burlington: The University of Vermont, 2022.

[59] KOINOVA, M. "Diasporas and Democratization in the Post-Communist World". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 2009, 42 (1): 41–64, pp. 55-56.

6.2.1. A mission for independent Ukraine: A never-ending story

In the immediate aftermath of Ukraine's independence in 1991, many members of the diaspora viewed the achievement of an independent Ukraine as a successful accomplishment of their mission. It represented a liberation from the burden of fighting for independence and the realization of long-held aspirations. However, this newfound independence also presented a new potential mission for those within the Ukrainian community in Canada who assert their role as the true bearers of Ukrainian identity and treasure the "authentic Ukrainianness". For example, when interviewing Stepan Bandera, the grandson of the OUN-B's leader, journalist Lesia Ganzha asked him if he ever felt overwhelmed or burdened by his family name[60]:

> Older people often told me: "You must be like your grandfather. We will struggle for an independent Ukrainian state to the last man". That was my father's credo, and I did believe in it. Now we have a Ukrainian state, but it is not the real Ukraine which is still to be built. I see my own future inseparable from Ukraine, and I want to apply for Ukrainian citizenship, because this is the only logical completion of my family's efforts and struggle.

I want to put the focus here on «Now we have a Ukrainian state, but it's not the real Ukraine which is still to be built». The statement emphasizes the belief that the essence of Ukraine goes beyond the mere existence of a political entity. It suggests that the true Ukraine is not defined solely by its statehood, but rather by the collective identity and aspirations of its people and the underlying motive was that Ukraine was still not a «nation», namely the «real Ukraine». In the immediate aftermath of 1991, the nation-building of the diaspora was thus directed to Ukraine. This shift of focus – from inward in the community – to outward, to an existing political entity, it was also echoed in the report of the Ukraine/Canada Education conference[61]:

> We should also be realistic. We are not and cannot be anymore a bastion of the Ukrainian language. We no longer have the demographic base, who can maintain Ukrainian as a living language of home and community. The demographic base for Ukrainian now exists only in Eastern Europe. The future is Ukraine[62].

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[60] GANZHA, L. "Stepan Bandera: I often use my name to shock people", *Den'*, 13 November 2012. https://day.kyiv.ua/en/article/other/stepan-bandera-i-often-use-my-name-shock-people Last access: 14th October 2023.

[61] "Report of the Ukraine/Canada Education Conference, 25th September 1991", Prosvita fonds, Mss 361, Pc 317 (A.11-91). UoM Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

[62] *Ibidem.*

It can be concluded that within the diaspora – namely among those members of the community who still defined themselves as part of it and who were not at peace with the "Canadian Ukrainian" identity above-mentioned – there was a shift in focus towards actively participating in the nation-building process of Ukraine. These members saw themselves as stakeholders in the future of Ukraine, with a vested interest in its cultural, political, and social evolution.

Notwithstanding, diasporic relationships with the homeland are not static and fixed but instead evolve and adapt over time. Thus, the diasporic national imagination is a dynamic and ever-evolving concept that encompasses a wide range of perspectives and experiences within the diasporic community. It is influenced by significant events that occur in the homeland, which can deeply impact how individuals express their sense of belonging. These events have the power to ignite shifts in perceptions, priorities, and even personal identity within the diaspora. As a result, the reactions and responses to these events can vary greatly, leading to diverse and sometimes conflicting expressions of attachment and affiliation to the homeland[63]. Expanding on the trajectory after Ukraine gained independence in 1991, there were two pivotal events that particularly exemplified the influence of significant events on the diasporic national imagination: the Orange Revolution in 2004 and the Revolution of Dignity in 2014. To give some context, the year 2004 represented a turning point in the history of Ukraine, when in the aftermath of the new presidential elections, the Ukrainian political scene was overturned by the so-called Orange Revolution[64]. In a nutshell, the term indicates a series of protests and demonstrations that occurred in Ukraine from late November to December 2004. It was triggered by allegations of electoral fraud during the presidential election between Viktor Yanukovych and Viktor Yushchenko. After the disputed election results were announced, mass protests erupted in Kyiv and other major Ukrainian cities. Supporters of Viktor Yushchenko, the pro-Western opposition leader, demanded a re-run of the election and an end to corruption. The protests gained significant international attention, with world leaders, media, and international organizations closely following the events in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Supreme Court subsequently declared the election results invalid due to widespread fraud. A new run-off election was scheduled, and Yushchenko emerged as the winner, receiving 52% of the vote. The victory of Yushchenko marked

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[63] For a theoretical background it has been crucial the work of Ewa Morawska: MORAWSKA, E. *A sociology of immigration:(Re) making multifaceted America*. Berlin: Springer, 2009.

[64] ASLUND, A.; MCFAUL, M. *Revolution in orange: the origins of Ukraine's democratic breakthrough*. Washington: Carnegie endowment for international peace, 2006; KUZIO, T. "Nationalism, identity and civil society in Ukraine: Understanding the Orange Revolution". *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 2010, 43.3: 285-296. Events were part of a transnational phenomenon in Eastern Europe and Eurasia. See: BEACHÁIN, D. Ó.; POLESE, A. (Ed.). *The colour revolutions in the former Soviet republics*. London and New York: Routledge, 2010; LANE, D; WHITE, S (Ed.). *Rethinking the 'coloured Revolutions'*. London and New York: Routledge, 2013; GERLACH, J. *Color revolutions in Eurasia*. Berlin: Springer, 2014.

a significant turning point in Ukrainian politics and brought attention to issues of electoral integrity, corruption, and democratic values.

Even if the sources I have gathered are limited on this topic, I came across a noteworthy project established by the Canadian institution of Ukrainian studies, the "Ukraine Transparency and Election Monitoring Project [UTEMP]" during Ukraine's 2004 presidential election. In the Press Release of the CIUS[65], the Institute supported the idea that their role was indeed significant in the unfolding of events. According to the CIUS, the UTEMP aimed to monitor the election process, raise awareness among Canadians, and contribute to international monitoring efforts. Under UTEMP, 26 individuals, including high-profile Canadians, were sent to Ukraine. Some of them conducted seminars on election laws, policies, and procedures for local officials and scrutineers. Training sessions were held in Kyiv and regional centers like Sumy, Luhansk, Kharkiv, Poltava, and Kirovohrad. Additionally, UTEMP trained over 1,000 local Ukrainian observers to monitor the election. Canadian UTEMP observers played a crucial role in directly monitoring the election process. They spent an extended period in Ukraine, documenting numerous electoral law violations during the campaign and their presence, along with the observation of other UTEMP-sponsored parliamentarians, highlighted cases of election fraud and abuse. Their monitoring activities contributed to the Canadian government's swift decision not to recognize the election results. UTEMP also focused on informing the Canadian media about the election in Ukraine. John Mraz, UTEMP's media director, wrote an article titled «In the shadow land of lies» for the Globe and Mail newspaper. This article exposed electoral law violations described by officers of Kharkiv's Ministry of Internal Affairs[66]. The press release then concluded that the Orange Revolution was a success and highlighted the Ukraine's Supreme Court decision to rerun the election between Viktor Yanukovych and Viktor Yushchenko on December 26, with the Canadian government funding up to 500 observers from Canada. This was also reported by the Ukrainian Weekly:

> A large force of observers has been sent also by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Ukrainian Canadian Congress. Most of these volunteers are paying their own way. Why? Because they believe in the cause: democracy for Ukraine. And, because they can do something tangible to promote it[67].

Under the presidency of Viktor Andriyovych Yushchenko from 2005 to 2010, there was a significant shift in Ukrainian foreign policy towards Western Europe. This change occurred within a

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[65] CIUS Digital Archives, *Press Release,* 2004, Last access 16th October 2023.
[66] *Ibidem.*
[67] *Ukrainian Weekly,* 72.52, 26th December 2004, p. 6.

specific international context. On May 7, 2009, the European Union [EU] launched the Eastern Partnership, which served as a platform for dialogue between the EU and selected post-Soviet states on matters such as visa agreements and trade relations. The Eastern Partnership aimed to foster closer cooperation and integration between the EU and its Eastern neighbors, including Ukraine. It provided a framework for discussions on various aspects of bilateral relations, including political association, economic integration, and sectoral cooperation. This initiative played a crucial role in shaping Ukraine's foreign policy direction during Yushchenko's presidency, as it offered a pathway for increased engagement with Western Europe. Furthermore, during the early 2000s, the EU underwent two major enlargements. In 2004, several countries from the former Eastern Bloc, including Poland, Hungary, and the Baltic states, became EU members. This was followed by another wave of accession in 2007, which included Bulgaria and Romania. These enlargements brought countries that were once part of the Eastern Bloc into the EU fold, expanding the Union's reach further eastward. The inclusion of these former Eastern Bloc countries in the EU created new opportunities and dynamics for Ukraine's foreign policy. It reinforced the idea of closer integration with Western Europe and provided a context in which Ukraine sought to align itself politically, economically, and culturally with the EU[68].

This was the context when the other crucial watershed, the Revolution of Dignity, or Euromaidan, unfolded in Ukraine in 2014. It was sparked by the decision of the then-president Viktor Yanukovych to suspend the signing of an association agreement with the European Union, the "Association Agreement and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement with the European Union". This decision has been followed by a series of student protests which started in November 2013 and reached their peak on 20th February 2014, when more than 50 protesters were killed. The "Maidan massacre" is considered to be the turning point of the revolution, that shifted a series of demonstrations which took place in Kyiv into a broader and general protest against the government, that was eventually overthrown. The most striking event following the revolution was without any doubts the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation on 18th March 2014[69].

Although events in 2004 may not have received significant scholarly attention when viewed through the diaspora lens, the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine did capture the interest of scholars[70]. The Euromaidan protests and Russian annexation of Crimea sparked impactful global debates among Ukrainians regarding their domestic issues and influence beyond Ukraine itself. These events

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[68] O'BRENNAN, J. *The eastern enlargement of the European Union*. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

[69] Russia refuses to define it as an "annexation", defending the legitimacy of the referendum, which was held within the region, according to the principle of self-determination of peoples.

[70] This is not surprising, since the events of 2014 were not only linked to domestic dynamics but also had a deep impact on the international arena.

fundamentally questioned Ukraine's national identity and in doing so, ignited intense interest in exploring and establishing what that identity entails for anyone identifying as such. Defining characteristics of Ukrainian sovereignty and citizenship took on new meaning and significance. As the contours of the country's identity were subjected to re-examination in the face of foreign intervention and internal divisions, a sense of imperative emerged to solidify and safeguard how Ukrainians define themselves collectively. The very existence of an independent Ukrainian state and people was thrust into the spotlight internationally and within Ukraine. Rather than being a settled matter, Ukrainian identity now demanded rigorous defense and articulation. It became a mission that would presumably continue for the foreseeable future as the country works to heal divisions and strengthen its institutions and relations with neighbors in a complex regional environment.They have posed important questions, such as to what extent do significant political developments in the homeland influence the ways in which diaspora communities mobilize and experience a changing sense of self-belonging[71]. Ivan Kozachenko's research is especially noteworthy, since the scholar discussed how Ukrainian diasporas have reimagined their national belonging since the Revolution of dignity in Ukraine. An interesting aspect of his research is that he also tackled theories and methods to study information and communication technology [ICT] in diasporic settings, a crucial element for future historical research on the topic. The author highlights that ICT has facilitated the creation of "diasporic public spheres" which enable diasporic communities to imagine themselves online. This concept of a "digital diaspora" emphasizes the use of ICT connectivity by immigrant groups or descendants of immigrant populations to participate in virtual networks for various purposes, including political, economic, social, and communicational activities. Overall, ICT, particularly social media, has become a significant tool for diasporic communities to connect, mobilize, and engage in discussions and activities related to their homeland politics and identities. It provides a platform for the creation of diasporic public spheres and the expression of diverse perspectives and communal life. Looking at digital diasporas in Canada, the UK, the Czech Republic, Germany, and Hungary, Kozachenko argued that the events of Euromaidan made Ukrainian diasporas reinvent and reimagine their national identity, ranging from conservative ethnic nationalism to more civic identities that accommodate Ukraine's diversity. The study finds that civic identity elements became

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[71] Among others: KRASYNSKA, S. "Digital civil society: Euromaidan, the Ukrainian diaspora, and social media", in MARPLES D. R.; MILLS, F. V. (eds.), Ukraine's Euromaidan: Analyses of a civil revolution, New York: Columbia University Press, 2014: 177-198. KOZACHENKO, I., et al. "Re-Imagining" the Homeland? Languages and National Belonging in Ukrainian Diasporas since the Euromaidan. *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies (EWJUS)*, 2018, 5.2: 89-109; TATAR, K. "Helping the homeland in troubled times: Advocacy by Canada's Ukrainian diaspora in the context of regime change and war in Ukraine". *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, 2020, 9.2: 35-51; NIKOLKO, M.; ŞAHIN, F. K.. "Overcoming the boundaries: strategies of cooperation among Crimean Tatar and Ukrainian diaspora groups in response to the Ukrainian crisis. The comparison of Canada and Turkey". *Euxeinos: Governance & Culture in the Black Sea Region*, 2020, 10.30.

more visible after Euromaidan, but Russian aggression reinforced conservative sentiments. While new diasporas – so that the fourth wave of Ukrainian immigration – tend to be more civic and inclusive, old diasporas still struggle to accommodate linguistic and ethnic diversity. However, he concluded that there are signs of progress in recognizing Ukraine's regional pluralism within diasporic communities. For instance, looking at Canadian sources employed by Kozachenko, the author mentioned a radio deejay from Canada who recalls a situation reflecting changes in attitudes towards the Russian language within diasporic communities. The deejay mentions an important interview in Russian that they decided to broadcast on their radio channel. Surprisingly, there were no complaints, whereas before the Euromaidan, such a decision would have faced strong criticism: «If I had done this before, I would have been crucified (laughs)»[72]. Then, research also mentions the efforts of "new" communities to develop a more civic framework for social interactions online. The group "Ukrainians in Canada" is cited as an example, where individuals from Ukraine and those who identify with Ukraine can join, regardless of the language they speak or the church they belong to:

> [Translated from Ukrainian] This group is for those who have come from Ukraine and for those who identify themselves with Ukraine. It does not matter what language you speak and what church you go to or not go to. Languages of communication in this group: Ukrainian, Russian, English, and French[73].

This research serves as a starting point for further investigation and highlights how, even after Ukraine gained independence, those who define their self-belonging based on a "diasporic identity" could develop over time a new "mission" according to the situational framework. This may suggest that as long as individuals identify themselves as part of the diaspora, they feel a sense of purpose and a mission to accomplish. During my fieldwork I have first-hand witnessed a notable shift in narratives within the diaspora during oral history interviews. This change in narratives is attributed to the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, which acted as a significant turning point. The invasion had a profound impact on the way life experiences and associated memories were recounted by individuals within the community. For example, one interviewee, Sophia, noted that more people within the community started identifying more strongly with their Ukrainian heritage after the war and invasion. They remembered their origins and felt a stronger connection to the refugee experience: «I … after the war, after the invasion, … I saw more people [within the community] being more

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[72] Cited in KOZACHENKO, I., et al. "Re-Imagining" the Homeland? Languages and National Belonging in Ukrainian Diasporas since the Euromaidan. *East/West: Journal of Ukrainian Studies (EWJUS)*, 2018, 5.2: 89-109, p. 101.
[73] Cited in *Ivi,* p. 100.

Ukrainian. Oh, they remembered where they came from. We were them [the refugees] » [74]. Another interviewee, Zorianna, highlighted how the war reactivated emotional traumas that she thought she had already resolved. The invasion brought back vivid memories and made her feel as if she was reliving those experiences: «Those images … it is like experiencing everything all over again»[75]. Even if it would be outside the scope of the thesis a further investigation of the issue, this preliminary observation may be indeed fruitful to engage in the study of how crucial events in Ukraine impacted on the different Ukrainian communities worldwide.

6.2.2. Ukrainian community in Canada: A symbolic ethnicity?

This section problematizes an element that it is often overlooked when analyzing the dynamics of the Ukrainian community in Canada, namely the social construction of ethnicity in the country – and how it has evolved. To start the reasoning about what does it mean to be "Ukrainian Canadian" at the turn of the millennium, it might be useful to start from official censuses, which gave the governmental perspective. Indeed, the blurred meaning attached to the "ethnic origin" within them varied across the decades. As noted in the research of White, Badets, and Renaud, earlier censuses limited responses on ethnic origin to reports of ancestry on the father's side and allowed only one response[76]. Starting from the 1986 census, multiple responses became permissible, and ancestry encompassed both maternal and paternal origins[77]. This change was driven by intermarriage and the long-standing residency of individuals with ancestors arriving in Canada during the 1700s and 1800s. As a result, ethnic origin trends from 1986 onwards cannot be directly compared to those from earlier censuses. Additionally, shifts in immigration source countries contribute to the diversity of ethnic categorizations. In the 2006 census, ethnic origins were obtained by asking each respondent the question: «What were the ethnic or cultural origins of this person's ancestors? »[78]. The accompanying census guide clarifies that «ancestry refers to someone from whom a person is descended and is generally more distant than a grandparent. Ancestry should not be confused with citizenship or nationality»[79]. So that, it is important to note that these contemporary statistics are not solely influenced by demographic factors like births, deaths, and migration. The proportion of individuals

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[74] Sophia Kachor. Interview by me, 24th June 2022, Winnipeg.

[75] Zorianna Hyworon. Interview by me, 22nd June 2022, Winnipeg.

[76] WHITE, P. M.; BADETS, J.; RENAUD, V. "Measuring ethnicity in Canadian censuses". In: *Challenges of Measuring an Ethnic World. Science, Politics and Reality, edited by Statistics Canada and US Bureau of the Census, Proceedings of the joint Canada-United States Conference on the Measurement of Ethnicity*. 1993. p. 223-269.

[77] *Census of Canada, 1981*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada = Statistique Canada, 1986. This explains for example why in 1981 529,615 identified their ethnic origin as Ukrainian, while in 1986 the number skyrocketed to 961,310.

[78] *Census of Canada, 2006*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada = Statistique Canada, 2006.

[79] *Ibidem.*

declaring British or French ethnicities primarily reflects the data capture practices, the inclusiveness of the ancestry question, and ethnic diversity. Respondents to the 2006 census were allowed to record up to four responses, with the possibility of up to six responses through hyphenation (e.g., Italian-Canadian). The increased number of ethnic options means that very few individuals are likely to report having only British or only French ethnicity. Furthermore, while ancestry is emphasized, the use of a single question to elicit responses increases the likelihood of selective knowledge or memory influencing self-identifications. It's worth mentioning that depending on how people respond, race and religion can also be captured through the official ethnic origin question used in the census, since some respondents indicate specific ethnicities such as "Jewish" "Black", or "North American Indian".

The structure of official censuses raises concerns about the concept of "ethnicity". It raises questions about the extent to which identifying as "Ukrainian" is a matter of personal choice. Since our understanding of identity is closely tied to the production of knowledge, it is important to consider how social conditions shape our perception of ethnicity. Scholars like Herbert Gans and Mary Waters have explored the concept of «symbolic ethnicity»[80] which suggests that identifying with a particular ethnic group can be a voluntary and selective connection to certain aspects of ancestral culture. This expression of ethnicity, often seen in celebrations, festivals, and cultural preferences, is seen as a way for individuals to maintain a sense of heritage amidst ongoing cultural integration and assimilation. Mary Waters, drawing from ethnographic interviews, presents a compelling argument that individuals with multiple European ancestries can choose from a variety of situational identities in the United States. Factors such as the popularity of certain ethnic groups, family history, and knowledge about one's heritage influence these choices. For example, someone with a Greek and Polish mother and a Welsh father may identify as Greek with close friends and family, Polish at work, and Welsh on census documents. Waters emphasizes that this context-specific performance of multiple identities is predominantly available to white Americans due to the racial ascription of identity in the United States[81]. In contrast, individuals with mixed African American and Austrian ancestry, for instance, are socially perceived as "black" regardless of their subjective experience or chosen identity. The expansion of the category of "whiteness" after World War II to include descendants of previously racialized "non-white" immigrants has provided more ethnic groups with the flexibility to adopt socially accepted, multiple ethnic identities—an option not typically available to racialized minorities[82]. By embracing the ideology of choice, individuals in a context of increasing ethnicization

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[80] GANS, H. J. "Symbolic ethnicity: The future of ethnic groups and cultures in America". *Ethnic and racial studies*, 1979, 2.1: 1-20; WATERS, M. C. *Ethnic options: Choosing identities in America*. University of California Press, 1990.
[81] WATERS, M. C. *Ethnic options,* cit.
[82] MIDDLETON, S.; ROEDIGER, D. R.; SHAFFER, D. M. (Ed.). *The construction of whiteness: An interdisciplinary analysis of race formation and the meaning of a white identity*. Univ. Press of Mississippi, 2016.

are encouraged to view ethnicity as something personally meaningful. Symbolic ethnicity aims to reconcile universal sameness, anyone can choose their identity, with particular differentiation, anyone can choose a specific ancestral affiliation, but this is a privilege of the non-visible minorities.

I would argue that this insight might be instrumental also in the Canadian context and especially in the study of the Ukrainian community, which can be listed in those "white ethnicities". As shown in the third chapter, the Ukrainian-Canadian community was an active participant of the multicultural debate, thus becoming one of the "accepted" tiles of the mosaic. Therefore, despite the initial discrimination faced, it is understandable why the "Ukrainian Canadian" identity became desirable among the community members: it meant recognition and legitimation. However, the study of the second and third generation, as highlighted in the previous chapter, reveals that our self-identification cannot solely be a matter of choice, despite the possibility provided by state institutions to "choose" ethnicity in the censuses. Using the definition of Stephan Feuchtwang, there is an intergenerational «haunting memory»[83], that cause our personal histories to not be isolated but interconnected with the experiences of our ancestors. It is through this transmission of memories that we forge a connection to the past and a sense of belonging to something greater than ourselves. This «haunting memory» acknowledges that our identities are shaped not only by our family but also by the collective experiences and narratives of our community. The haunting aspect of this memory lies in its ability to linger and influence our present lives. The stories and memories passed down to us have the power to shape our values, beliefs, and sense of self. They remind us of the struggles, triumphs, and sacrifices of those who came before us, instilling a deep appreciation for our heritage and a responsibility to carry it forward. We become part of a larger tapestry of human experience, united by shared memories and a collective consciousness that transcends individual boundaries[84].

To answer the initial question, I would preliminary suggest that being a Ukrainian Canadian in the time span of the analysis implied being socialized and educated in a community that strongly values and represents the Ukrainian heritage. This is influenced by the Canadian context, which not only accepts Ukrainians as part of society, especially from the 1960s onwards, but also recognizes them as one of the ethnic constituents of a newly imagined Canada. Finally, it remains an open question to explore whether and how the concept of the "Canadian mosaic" has changed and evolved since the 1990s and if it has had an impact on the Ukrainian community.

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[83] FEUCHTWANG, S. "Haunting Memory: The Extension of Kinship Beyond the Nation". In DE CESARI C.; RIGNEY A. *Transnational Memory: Circulation, Articulation, Scales*, Berlin, Munich, Boston: De Gruyter, 2014, pp. 271-286.
[84] *Ibidem.*

6.3. The multicultural mosaic in the 1990s

The idea that multiculturalism in Canada has been used to limit differences and confine oppositional politics to the realm of "culture" is not new. There is a significant amount of critical multicultural scholarship in Canada that predates this study, which has highlighted the limitations of multiculturalism and how its discourse can often assimilate or exploit racial and ethnic differences to promote Canadian nationalism. Critical multiculturalism in Canadian literary studies—often in conversation with critical race theory, Marxist analysis, feminism, and postcolonial theory—has worked carefully to subvert stable notions of identity promulgated by official multiculturalism and trace the often hybrid, ambivalent spaces of national (un)belonging, including in the more recent postcolonial turns to diaspora, transnationalism, and cosmopolitanism[85]. As the dates of the formative critiques of multiculturalism I cite above suggest, a great deal of critical labour was devoted to interrogating multiculturalism as the millennium turned. One of the key catalysts for this critical examination was the enactment of the Multiculturalism Act in 1988. This legislation brought the concept of multiculturalism to the forefront of national discussions and debates, prompting further exploration and scrutiny. In addition to the legislative development, a series of high-profile events captured the attention of mainstream Canada and contributed to the cultural politics of difference. Examples of these events include the Japanese Canadian redress movement and agreement in 1988[86], the Oka "crisis" and failed Meech Lake Accord in 1990[87], the Royal Commission on Aboriginal

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[85] Among many others, the following works have been crucial in this regard: WALCOTT, R. "A Tough Geography: Towards a Poetics of Black Space (s) in Canada". *West Coastline*, 1997, 31.1: 38-51; BANNERJI, H. *The dark side of the nation: Essays on multiculturalism, nationalism, and gender*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2000; KAMBOURELI, S; PIVATO, J. "Scandalous bodies: diasporic literature in English Canada". *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 2000, 32.3: 156; MACKEY, E. "Becoming indigenous: Land, belonging, and the appropriation of Aboriginality in Canadian nationalist narratives". *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, 1998, 42.2: 150-178; THOBANI, S. *Exalted subjects: Studies in the making of race and nation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.

[86] The Japanese Canadian redress movement brought attention to the injustices suffered by Japanese Canadians during World War II, such as internment and dispossession. The subsequent agreement acknowledged these wrongs and provided compensation. This event raised questions about the effectiveness and inclusivity of multicultural policies, particularly in addressing historical mistreatment of specific ethnic groups. In: IZUMI, M. The Japanese Canadian Movement: Migration and Activism before & after World War II. *Amerasia Journal*, 2007, 33.2: 49-66.

[87] The Oka "crisis" emerged from a land dispute between the town of Oka, Quebec, and the Mohawk community of Kanesatake. This conflict highlighted tensions between Indigenous land rights and broader societal interests, prompting discussions about how multiculturalism addresses the complexities of Indigenous rights and reconciliation. The failed Meech Lake Accord, which aimed to amend the Canadian Constitution, further exposed challenges in accommodating diverse cultural and regional interests within a multicultural framework. In: LACKENBAUER, P. Whitney. Carrying the burden of peace: "The Mohawks, the Canadian Forces, and the Oka crisis". *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, 2008, 10.2; SWAIN, H. *Oka: A political crisis and its legacy*. Douglas & McIntyre, 2010.

Peoples from 1991 to 1996[88], and the Writing Thru Race conference in 1994[89]. These events served to shine a spotlight on the complexities and limitations of multiculturalism, prompting deeper exploration and analysis. Another influential factor was the publication and subsequent popularity of Neil Bissoondath's book *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* in 1994. In his book, Bissoondath offered a thought-provoking critique of the prevailing multiculturalism policies and their implications for Canadian society. Bissoondath, himself a Trinidadian-born Canadian of East Indian descent, challenged the notion that multiculturalism was an ideal solution for fostering cultural diversity and social harmony. He argued that multicultural policies, instead of promoting genuine understanding and integration, often perpetuated divisions and reinforced cultural stereotypes. One of the key arguments presented in his book was that multiculturalism tended to prioritize cultural preservation over individual freedom and integration. Bissoondath expressed concerns that the emphasis on cultural preservation could lead to the creation of isolated, self-contained communities that hindered meaningful interaction among different cultural groups. He believed that true integration required individuals to transcend their cultural boundaries and engage in a shared national identity. Furthermore, Bissoondath critiqued the notion that multiculturalism automatically guaranteed equal treatment and opportunities for all cultural communities. He argued that certain cultural practices, especially those that oppressed women or violated human rights, should not be tolerated under the guise of multiculturalism. The publication of "Selling Illusions" sparked intense debates and discussions across Canada. It challenged the prevailing assumptions about multiculturalism and forced policymakers, academics, and the general public to reevaluate the effectiveness and consequences of multicultural policies, that might led to the ghettoization of new immigrants; the solidification of Anglo-Canadian culture as a norm; the establishment of a culture hierarchy; the commodification of – and fixation on – culture; the papering over of crucial class and general differences and inequalities, and the pursuit of a false unity and common Canadian identity.

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[88] The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples conducted a comprehensive study on the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian government. Its findings revealed historical and ongoing injustices faced by Indigenous communities, emphasizing the need for meaningful reconciliation and recognition of Indigenous rights. This commission contributed to a deeper understanding of the limitations of multiculturalism in addressing the unique circumstances and aspirations of Indigenous peoples. DUSSAULT, R. *Report of the royal commission on aboriginal peoples*, 1996; ANDERSEN, C; DENIS, C. "Urban Natives and the nation: Before and after the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples". *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, 2003, 40.4: 373-390; FRIDERES, J. S. "The royal commission on Aboriginal peoples: The route to self-government". *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 1996, 16.2: 247-266.

[89] The Writing Thru Race conference brought together scholars and writers to explore the intersections of race, identity, and multiculturalism in Canada. It provided a platform for critical discussions and analysis of multiculturalism's limitations, particularly in relation to racialized and ethnic differences. Through this event, diverse perspectives and critiques of multiculturalism emerged, challenging the dominant narrative, and prompting further exploration of the complexities of cultural diversity in Canada. In: PADOLSKY, E. "Ethnicity and Race": Canadian Minority Writing at a Crossroads. *Journal of Canadian studies*, 1996, 31.3: 129-147.

It is worth noting that "Selling Illusions" was not without its critics. Some argued that Bissoondath overlooked the positive aspects of multiculturalism and the contributions made by various cultural communities to Canadian society[90]. However, regardless of differing opinions, the book played a significant role in shaping the ongoing dialogue about multiculturalism in Canada, encouraging a more nuanced and critical understanding of its strengths and weaknesses. These elements are a sign of the vivid debate sparked in the 1990s and they converged to make multiculturalism and its boundaries a central topic of debate for cultural critics in Canada during the turn of the millennium.

In recent years, there has been a growing sense of «multicultural fatigue» in Canadian public discourse and cultural criticism. This concept, first identified by Kamboureli in her influential work *Scandalous Bodies* in 2000, suggests that there is a weariness or saturation with discussions around multiculturalism in Canada. Kamboureli argues that the perception of multiculturalism as a done deal or an accomplished fact reflects the belief of the dominant society that multiculturalism has already fulfilled or even exceeded its intended purpose. This assumption is based on the implementation of official policies and the proliferation of discussions and forums surrounding multiculturalism. In her book Kamboureli also engages in a critical dialogue with Bissoondath's views on multiculturalism. She argues that his portrayal of multiculturalism as a *fait accompli* fails to address the ongoing complexities and challenges faced by marginalized communities. Kamboureli highlights the need to recognize power dynamics and structural inequalities within multicultural societies, which she believes Bissoondath overlooks. Multiculturalism has been gaining increased visibility in public discourse, often seen as a key factor in Canada's national identity. It has historically played a role in promoting Canadian nationalism and is often upheld as an example of the nation's enlightened and comparatively civil approach to tolerance and diversity. The recognition and celebration of multiculturalism have become important aspects of Canadian society, reflecting the country's commitment to embracing different cultures and fostering inclusivity. Notwithstanding, starting from the 1990s, there has been a growing recognition of the limitations of the multicultural mosaic in adequately addressing the concerns and experiences of Indigenous peoples in Canada. Critics argue that the focus on multiculturalism often overshadowed the ongoing struggles and injustices faced by Indigenous communities. This led to a call for a more inclusive and comprehensive approach that acknowledges and addresses the historical and ongoing marginalization of the First Nations[91]. The lack of attention to Indigenous peoples within the framework of multiculturalism has been a subject

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[90] One of such critique is in KAMBOURELI, S; PIVATO, J. "Scandalous bodies: diasporic literature in English Canada". *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 2000, 32.3.

[91] This phenomenon was not limited to the Canadian context. For instance, see the work of the Australian anthropologist Ghassan Hage, who reflected on the lack of attention to Indigenous peoples in: HAGE, G. *White nation: Fantasies of white supremacy in a multicultural society*. London New York: Routledge, 2012.

of critique and debate. Scholars and activists have highlighted the need to bridge the gap between the study of multiculturalism and Aboriginal issues, challenging the institutional divisions that have perpetuated this divide. The shift in discourse towards a greater emphasis on understanding the complex relationships between Indigenous and multicultural studies has indeed expanded the concept of the mosaic itself[92]. This expansion has prompted various reactions within the communities that have traditionally been considered part of the multicultural mosaic, such as the Ukrainian community. This turn may be met with a sense of discomfort or uncertainty since it challenges long-held narratives and perceptions of their place within the multicultural fabric of Canada. This point was raised for instance in the interview with Roman Petryshyn, when the professor highlighted:

> In the 1980s, the [Ukrainian] community underwent a profound crisis. Paradoxically, as we gained recognition and legitimacy, we also experienced growing sense of feeling like outsiders once again. It might seem a contradiction, I know … The new fashionable word to portray oneself as a tolerant and inclusive Canadian became "visible minorities" and "indigenous". We were finally Canadians![93].

Embracing what it means to be Canadian with respect to Indigenous peoples provides an opportunity for reflection. For example, the "pioneer myth" upon which the Ukrainian Canadian community established their identity now carries additional context. For decades they advocated being recognized as the builders of Western Canada, yet now grapple with the reality that development also might have negatively impacted Indigenous communities. «We were finally Canadians» meant also to learn how to "bear the guilt" of Canadianness. This topic has been investigated by the literary critic Lindy Ledohowski, who explored the concept of "white settler guilt" in the Ukrainian Canadian prairie literature[94]. Ledohowski underlined that many writers in Ukrainian Canadian literature have grappled with the challenge of honoring their immigrant ancestors while also recognizing the role of early settlers in systems of colonialism.

In a nutshell, during the 1990s and into subsequent decades, the discourse surrounding multiculturalism in Canada prompted a reevaluation of the long-held "mosaic" metaphor for Canadian cultural identity. Proponents of expanded inclusion sought to reconceptualize the mosaic

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[92] LAWRENCE, B.; DUA, E, "Decolonizing antiracism". *Social justice*, 2005, 32.4, 102: 120-143; KIM, C.; MCCALL, S.; SINGER, M. B. (Ed.). *Cultural Grammars of Nation, Diaspora, and Indigeneity in Canada*. Montreal: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012.
[93] Roman Petryshyn. Interview by me, 12th September 2022, Edmonton.
[94] LEDOHOWSKI, L. "White settler guilt: contemporary Ukrainian Canadian Prairie literature". *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 2015, 47.4: 67-83.

as incorporating new constituent elements, representing newly immigrated populations and their distinct ethnic and religious traditions. In some cases, scholars and policymakers advocated moving beyond the mosaic framework altogether, seeking a model that more fully encompassed Canada's increasing diversity.

6.3.1. «The first postnational state»[95]

The Russian annexation of Crimea reignited the connection between the Ukrainian Canadian community and their homeland, Ukraine. In the meantime, in 2015, Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau postulated in *The New York Times* magazine during an extensive interview[96], that Canada represented a «postnational state» with «no core identity» or «mainstream»[97]. Trudeau's choice to use the term "postnationalism" rather than the more established framework of "multiculturalism" is notable. While multiculturalism acknowledges cultural diversity within a unified national identity, "postnationalism" implies, at least in theory, a dismantling of nationalism itself as the basis for nationhood. Trudeau's choice to use the term "postnationalism" in The New York Times, was not coincidental. As it has been investigated in this work, the recent discussion, and critiques on multiculturalism, have demonstrated the logic of a multicultural 'mosaic', initiated in the 1970s, no longer suffices to maintain Canada's social cohesion in a time of changing dynamics and mutating demands from increasingly transnational communities within. While it is not my intention to delve into the question of whether Canada can be classified as a postnation or if Trudeau's vision of a postnational Canada could be seen as another "national myth", I do want to emphasize the profound influence that the crisis of multiculturalism and the multicultural mosaic have had on sparking discussions beyond academic circles and into the realm of politics in the new millennium. These debates have reached far and wide, shaping the political landscape in a significant way. Moreover, it is worth considering that the question being posed may not be the most accurate approach. Instead of trying to determine if Canada transitioned from a "pre-national" to a "post-national" phase without ever truly becoming a nation, as suggested by literary critic Northrop Frye[98], perhaps the focus should shift to explore the contradictions in a attempting to define Canadian identity, a multicultural society with a long history of immigration, that includes two founding settler colonial nations and Indigenous peoples who also claim the territory of Canada as their own.

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[95] LAWSON, G. "Trudeau's Canada, again". *The New York Times,* 8th December 2015.

[96] The Canadian federal election in 2015 was held on October 19, 2015. The Liberal Party, led by Justin Trudeau, emerged as the winner, securing 184 seats and forming a majority government, overturning nearly a decade of conservative government.

[97] LAWSON, G. "Trudeau's Canada, again". *The New York Times,* 8th December 2015.

[98] FRYE, N. *Northrop Frye on Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.

With these fresh insights in mind, let's refocus on the thesis and explore the enduring significance of the national idea within ethnic communities, such as Ukrainian Canadians. Even among those who acknowledge their strong connection to Canada, there remains a distinct inclusion of their "Ukrainian heritage" in their self-definition. This intriguing phenomenon sheds light on the ongoing influence of cultural identity and the intricate interplay between national and ethnic affiliations. A plausible explanation for this lies in the absence of a well-defined mythscape or shared historical narrative that encapsulates the Canadian identity, the one referred to as a «core identity» by Trudeau. It is thus plausible that without a distinct Canadian mythscape, ethnic communities like the Ukrainians tend to maintain their own mythscape, which consists of narratives, traditions, and symbols that connect them to their ancestral homeland. This mythscape plays a crucial role in fostering a sense of belonging and identity within these communities, acting as a unifying force. Even after 1991, the impact of this mythscape remains evident through vibrant celebrations of the community. As an example, I would like to mention the active involvement of organizations like the UCC – Toronto Branch in organizing events commemorating Canada's 150th anniversary. These celebrations serve as a poignant reminder of the enduring power of the national idea, even within a multicultural society like Canada. They demonstrate that while Canada embraces diversity and multiculturalism, the notion of national identity continues to hold significance and resonate strongly within ethnic communities. Indeed, the celebration of Canada's 150th anniversary was organized contextually to Ukraine's Independence Day in Centennial Park, Toronto on August 24, 2017[99]. As mentioned by the press release of the organization, the festivities include a full day of delightful food, enjoyable activities, and engaging performances. The outdoor stage shows feature energetic Ukrainian dancers and singers, captivating the audience with their talent and showcasing the cultural heritage of the Ukrainian community. As queried by Roman: «It is not difficult to imagine while Ukrainian national imaginary, even if detached from Ukraine, might still be more powerful than a maple leaf or a duck»[100] [Fig. 21][101].

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[99] "26th Anniversary of Ukraine's independence and Canada 150 – Press Release", UCC Toronto branch, 24th August 2017.

[100] Roman Petryshyn. Interview by me, 12th September 2022, Edmonton. The duck in the picture refers to The 61-foot tall rubber duck will be floating in our local Toronto waters on Canada Day weekend (July 1-3 2017) during the Redpath Waterfront Festival, in the context of Canada 150 anniversary.

[101] Picture by Christopher Katsarov, The Canadian Press, Friday, June 30, 2017.

Fig. 21: A giant inflatable duck sits on Toronto's Harbourfront as part of the Redpath Waterfront Festival.

6.3.2. «We are all immigrants to this place»[102]

To conclude, it is crucial to explore the importance of return narratives in shaping the themes of "roots" and "homemaking" discussed in this final part of the thesis. Despite the presence of diverse narratives surrounding the notions of return and non-return, as well as the resurgence of narratives focused on Ukraine after 1991, which influenced the sense of belonging within the Ukrainian Canadian community, the concept of "Ukrainian roots" remained a defining and significant aspect in Canada, even in the face of Trudeau's vision for a "postnational" state. I concur with Hirsh and Miller's viewpoint that roots discourse can be seen as both a productive and problematic narrative of home[103]. The Ukrainian diaspora in Canada, like many other communities, engaged in dynamic homemaking processes in their new environment. They actively cultivated cultural traditions, organized events, and maintained connections with their ancestral homeland. These proactive endeavors allowed them to create a sense of belonging and a vibrant community. However, it is vital to recognize the potential pitfalls of being overly fixated on ethnonational discourses. While preserving cultural heritage and maintaining ties to the homeland are vital aspects of diaspora identity, there is a risk of becoming entrenched in a static and exclusive understanding of one's own belonging. The concept of roots becomes especially problematic when it is understood as fixed origins, often idealized as a golden past, typically associated with a national "myth of origin". It seems as though these origins are seen as a moment frozen in time, detached from their own historical context. Such narratives tend to sanitize the past, isolating and glorifying these origins while neglecting the interconnectedness between different places, both nearby and distant. Within the context of

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[102] ATWOOD, M. *The Journals of Susanna Moodie,* 1970.

[103] HIRSCH, M; MILLER, N. K. (Ed.). *Rites of return: Diaspora poetics and the politics of memory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011, p. 5.

nationalism, these primordial origins are presented as the source of authentic identity, exclusively accessible to those who share the same ethnicity.

How this influenced and has been influenced by the Canadian context? First of all, it is intriguing the insight of Goldman and Saul who point out that in Canada «the supposedly unified nation is haunted from within by other nations»; they expressly refer to «the spectral presences of North America's Indigenous peoples and the Québécois» but they also acknowledge that «the forces of globalism and diasporic experience […] ensure that the nation is also haunted and fractured at the transnational level»[104]. Ukrainian Canadians find themselves confronting an identity dilemma. While they have assimilated into Canadian society linguistically and legally through citizenship, their ancestral homeland of Ukraine remains an integral part of their ethnic identity and cultural heritage. On the surface, Ukrainian Canadians appear indistinguishable from other Canadians due to their proficiency in English and possession of Canadian passports. However, their Ukrainian roots persist internally as a psychological connection that helps define who they are on a deeper level, regardless of whether they have personally visited Ukraine. Attempting to fully embrace both their Canadian and Ukrainian identities presents a challenge of negotiating two allegiances that often overlap and intersect in complex ways. The boundary between identifying as Canadian versus identifying with the culture and people of Ukraine can be ambiguous and permeable. Living in Canada while retaining a sense of history and kinship with Ukraine fosters an internal negotiation of reconciling these dual components of their identity. Finding an equilibrium between feeling fully integrated into Canadian society while still honoring their Ukrainian heritage can be a delicate balancing act for members of the Ukrainian Canadian diaspora community. One way to conceptualize the amalgamation of Ukrainian and Canadian identities is through the lens of ethnic identity and national ideals. Ukrainianness, as an ethnic identifier, came to represent the Canadian principles of pluralism and multiculturalism. By framing Ukrainian-Canadianness as a pan-ethnic conduit for intergroup solidarity, certain scholars argued immigrant experiences, such as those of Ukrainians, were integral to the social cohesion of Canadian society itself. For example, Ledohowski contended Ukrainian and other immigrant narratives provided an ethnic tapestry that underscored Canada's cultural mosaic[105]. Presenting Ukrainian identity as a vehicle for cross-community affiliation among diverse populations demonstrated how ethnicity could both honor immigrant origins and reflect inclusive national values. In this conceptualization, the Ukrainian experience and those of all newcomers were considered fundamental to the very Canadian fabric. Framing ethnic identity in relation to national ideals of

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[104] GOLDMAN, M; SAUL, J. "Talking with ghosts: Haunting in Canadian cultural production". *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 2006, 75.2: 645-655, p. 648.

[105] LEDOHOWSKI, L. "Becoming the hyphen: the evolution of English-language Ukrainian Canadian literature". *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 2007, 39.1-2: 107-127.

pluralism and multiculturalism suggested immigrants strengthened, rather than threatened, the social order by contributing their distinct heritages to a shared national culture. During the early Ukrainian Canadian experience, ethnic identity was first perceived as a badge of inferiority to be discarded through material success. In that era, being ethnic was synonymous with being poor and ignorant. However, in the years since the implementation of Canadian multiculturalism as federal policy, contemporary critical discourse started to view ethnicity «as an asset»[106], which has given rise to nationally and racially defined categories of hyphenation. Ethnic group identities remain salient for those whose ancestral communities no longer occupy marginalized social positions. Despite postmodern notions of fluid subjectivities and discourses celebrating instability, at least some ethnic groups still yearn for a model of selfhood defined by stability and tradition. For Ukrainian Canadians, their sense of "Ukrainianness" often functions as a counterpart to their "Canadianness", with the former identity casting its shadow upon the latter. From this perspective, if Canada is characterized as a nation of immigrants, then the Ukrainian Canadian experience epitomizes what it means to be Canadian. Ultimately, this dual identity framework is exemplified in the works of Margaret Atwood, one of Canada's preeminent fiction writers and poets:

> We are all immigrants to this place even if we were born here: the country is too big for anyone to inhabit completely, and in the parts unknown to us we move in fear, exiles, and invaders. This country is something that must be chosen—it is so easy to leave—and if we do choose it, we are still choosing a violent duality[107].

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[106] SIEMERLING, W. "Writing Ethnicity: Introduction". *Essays on Canadian Writing*, 1995, 57: 1, p. 15.
[107] ATWOOD, M. *The Journals of Susanna Moodie,* London: Bloomsbury,1970.

CONCLUSIONS

The research explored the migration experience undertaken by the third wave of Ukrainian migrants as they crossed borders in search of refuge in Canada after being displaced from postwar Europe. Their journey was not merely of miles and maps; rather, it represented an introspective search for self-definition that evolved from a suspended state of exile into a necessity to cultivate a sense of belonging. This was initially accomplished through the development of a distinctive diasporic identity. However, the findings illustrated that in establishing themselves within Canada's «multicultural mosaic», these individuals also contributed new elements to the tapestry of their «adoptive homeland». In retrospect, the history of this migration revealed to be predominantly a Canadian story, perhaps more so than it is a Ukrainian one. This stems from how the vocabulary of *Ukrainianness* was employed as a tool for navigating both the exclusion and inclusion experienced within Canadian society. Thus, being Ukrainian served as a framework for mapping the new landscape and shaping migrant identity in the process. However, before elaborating on this pivotal conclusion, it is prudent to re-examine the key issues emerging from the three theoretical strands forming the backbone of the analysis: displacement, translation, and return. Reflecting on these themes provides crucial context for fully understanding the dissertation's primary findings regarding the nature and impact of this migration on both the Ukrainian community and Canada as a whole.

Displacement

As it has emerged in the analysis, this migration wave has some specificities, since its inception is situated in the forced migration resulting from WW II and the consequent community-building in DP camps. The body of sources analyzed leads me to conclude, in line with previous studies on the subject, that the peculiar circumstances of existence in DP camps - suspended outside of normal constraints of space and time and defined by the unique daily realities of camp life - fostered the development of what could be termed a «nationalism from afar». If Ukrainian nationalism was not born anew after WWII, it might be argued that it surely entered and developed a new phase in the experience of postwar displacement. Life in the DP camps created social networks and organizational structures that migrants carried with them upon resettlement. The harsh and prolonged circumstances of camp life also forged communal bonds and a shared culture of survival. Within the camps, the Ukrainian community consciously undertook efforts to cultivate and reinforce a cohesive shared identity and sense of solidarity through embracing their national affiliation. This process of nationalization occurred through both the active initiatives undertaken by community members in support of the national movement as well as via the dissemination of national educational

programming and cultural influences that permeated all facets of camp life, impacting both children and adults alike. The analysis of how the diasporic mission and the mythscape associated with it was developed proved particularly pertinent. Specifically, in constructing a narrative of engaging in an ultimate confrontation against the Soviet Union, the elaboration illuminated important dimensions of this diaspora's conceptualization of its historic mission and symbolic geography. The testimonies provided by DPs from Eastern Europe regarding their memories of living through World War II in those territories presented a unique perspective that both enhanced the historical understanding of the civilian experience during that tumultuous period, while also risked inadvertently framing their recollections through a polarized anti-totalitarian lens that equated the evils of Nazism and Communism. While individual community members' experiences may have varied between ideological consciousness and mere survival, the reconstruction of this collective narrative emerging from this experience was a key outcome of this section. Then, the narratives arising from the investigation noted that the diasporic mission was also enriched by other "camp" experiences. Although displacement camps, Nazi concentration camps, and gulags are often viewed as separate entities addressing different political perspectives, reunifying the memories of all three camps may provide interesting insight into how their resulting vocabularies overlap as a common involvement, even for those individual members who did not directly experience imprisonment themselves. By reconstructing the collective narrative and acknowledging the diversity of individual experiences and motivations, commonalities in the resulting vocabularies used to describe displacement, concentration, and imprisonment can be identified. This allows the hardships endured by the community to be recognized as a shared practice extending beyond any single person's direct exposure. Another result of the analysis was to note that the idealization of DP camp experiences as a heavenly refuge, in contrast to the trauma of war and life in the Soviet Union, served foremost as a coping mechanism. On an individual level, romanticizing camp life helped displaced persons process and make sense of their trauma. On a group level, the communal narrative normalized suffering and strengthened social bonds. However, this idealization also threatened to obscure the very real hardships of camp life, such as poor conditions, lack of autonomy, and uncertain future.

Moving forward the analysis, it was crucial to recognize that this bottom-up perspective of identity formation cannot be divorced from the overarching political context that was simultaneously shaping events. The policies and stances of the international community managing the post-war refugee crisis, as well as the rising prominence of anti-communism and dynamics of the emerging Cold War, provided critical contingencies that the process unfolded within. The suspension of normal life, controls, and reference points that characterized the camp experience catalyzed communal efforts

to assert and maintain a distinct national identity. Yet this internal drive towards nationalization also responded to external forces, as the displaced Ukrainians navigated their situation within the larger framework of international refugee policy and East-West ideological divisions. It was within this socio-political milieu that the conditions became favorable for Ukrainians to be acknowledged as a distinct nationality, circumventing the coerced repatriation to the Soviet Union. This enabled yet another westward exodus, this time from the DP camps of post-war Europe. Among the diverse trajectories undertaken by this displaced population, I elected to focus my analysis on those who navigated across the Atlantic Ocean, ultimately finding refuge in Canada. This period represented a seminal juncture during my fieldwork. Indeed, from that point forward, understanding Ukrainian nationalism could no longer be disentangled from the locale in which these identity formation efforts were taking place, namely Canada. What is commonly referred to as a nation-building project gradually materialized as an identity-building endeavor for a group with a migrant background living in Canada, a country with a long history of immigration. The stage upon which this process unfolded came to profoundly shape both its character and ultimate expression for this community of displaced Ukrainians rebuilding their lives anew in their «adopted» homeland.

When the Canadian government initiated an immigration program for DPs in the late 1940s, it opened a path for thousands of Ukrainians to finally leave war-torn Europe. As the research demonstrated, their transatlantic journeys were far from straightforward. Facing complex bureaucratic barriers, medical screening controversies, and the difficulties of adapting to an unfamiliar way of life after arriving in Canada, the resettlement process proved immensely challenging. Through the analysis of various first-hand accounts and narratives of the refugee experience, an intriguing conclusion emerged regarding the role of journey memories in the formation of the group identity. The experiences of transit itself did not appear to constitute a foundational component of the shared memory that developed from the sources examined. Rather, each story contained unique details pertaining to voyage that diverged from the recollections of time spent in refugee camps, which exhibited greater commonalities across reports. The duration endured in camps reasonably explains why instances from such settings featured more prominently in these life stories relative to recollections of boat travel. However, this should not be generalized. In fact, in other migration contexts documented in scholarly research, such as investigations into Irish emigration or the black Atlantic, the journey and the boat served as the encapsulating symbol of their plight[1]. So

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[1] CORPORAAL, M.; CUSACK, C. "Rites of passage: The coffin ship as a site of immigrants' identity formation in Irish and Irish American fiction, 1855–85". *Atlantic Studies*, 2011, 8.3: 343-359; TARNÓC, A. "The Slave Ship as the Chronotope of the Black Atlantic: Interaction between Space and Time as Reflected in the Antebellum Slave Narrative". *Eger Journal of American Studies*, 2022, 17: 169-180.

that, the specifics of each migration - the duration, conditions, and nature of the journey - determine what comes to symbolize the overarching experience in the collective memory of the group about the journey. Upon their arrival, these newcomers faced considerable challenges acclimating not only to mainstream Canadian society but also navigating the pre-existing Ukrainian Canadian community. Early networks established by first and second wave immigrants and growth of Ukrainian institutions in Canada offered crucial support systems. However, the influx of third wavers also impacted the already established community structures. An examination of the internal structure and divisions within the Ukrainian Canadian community was conducted. On its surface, the evident distinction between the pro-Soviet AUUC and the UCC, reveals part of this complexity. However, this binary characterization remains an oversimplification. Internal divisions existed among various nationalist groups themselves, compounded by generational differences, religion affiliations and by Ukrainians settling across different Canada's provinces. These fissures complicated efforts to present a homogenized community identity. The third wave initially felt compelled to form their own organization, suggesting the risks of characterizing any ethnic community as monolithically national based solely on a shared vocabulary. As evidenced, the meaning and interpretations of Ukraine differed across immigrant waves and generations. A salient issue that emerged over subsequent decades was how to negotiate these diverse viewpoints, at minimum among nationalist factions, to construct a coherent and inclusive yet bounded Ukrainian Canadian collective identity.

Translation

The second thematic strand has scrutinized the process of identity formation for Ukrainian DPs following their initial resettlement. As the Ukrainian DPs transitioned to life in Canada after World War II, aspects of their diasporic identity were either adapted or maintained as they acclimated to their new Canadian context. This process of negotiation went hand in hand with conflict and encounter within the pre-existing community. Experiencing life as a newcomer in a host society inherently involved tensions as members endeavored to delineate their identity and position within the country. However, participating in the process of negotiation was significant not only to address the circumstances accompanying foreign status but also to facilitate shaping the definition of belonging both within the «ethnic community» and the wider host society, two factors that in this case study demonstrated a notable interrelationship. As newcomers settled into their new surroundings, defining their place became a complex task involving negotiations within both their own ethnic affiliations as well as the wider national fabric. To comprehend the significance thereof, it was consequently imperative to situate the community amid the broader Canadian milieu.

In the immediate post-World War II period, Canada was in the midst of reimagining its national identity. This effort was especially pronounced during the 1960s. That transformative decade saw Canada experiencing robust economic growth and prosperity as the country continued to industrialize and urbanize at a rapid pace following the war. With this expansion came questions about how political and social institutions would need to adapt to meet the needs and reflect the values of an increasingly urban, multicultural population. The 1960s also witnessed the rise of new social movements advocating for civil rights, women's liberation, and environmental protection that challenged traditional power structures and norms. These forces of change generated vigorous debates within Canada regarding the philosophical underpinnings of the country as it defined its place in the modern world. The fledgling nation was faced with determining its own distinct identity and path forward. As a former British colony that had gained independence but remained tied to Britain and situated alongside the increasingly powerful United States, Canada grappled with articulating its uniqueness on the world stage apart from its two larger neighbors from which it had emerged. One of the fundamental questions Canada had to address was how to cultivate and promote a sense of national character and purpose that acknowledged but moved beyond its colonial origins. With the country comprising populations with diverse ethnic and linguistic heritages including French settlers, English settlers, Indigenous peoples, and numerous migrant communities, unifying these disparate souls under a cohesive vision posed a considerable challenge. The political developments that emerged sought to acknowledge the pluralistic nature of the national identity. Rather than define Canada through a single language, religion, or defined territory, these approaches recognized the country as being comprised of multiple cultural communities delineated and understood along «ethnic lines». The fact that then-Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced the new multiculturalism policy in front of the UCC national convention in Winnipeg in 1971 provided powerful validation of the Ukrainian Canadian role within the nation and demonstrated that they played a key part in bringing the idea of multiculturalism into the national discourse and formalizing it as an official approach.

Analysing the everyday life of the community revealed that Ukrainian nationalism abroad unfolded to develop through communal events and cultural and intellectual activities - commemorating Ukrainian historic dates, poets such as Shevchenko and Lesya Ukrainka, the Holodomor, and the Second world war, not without controversies especially when it came to negotiate those narratives with Polish and Jewish communities. The diasporic mission elaborated in the displacement camps persisted from afar through contesting the Soviet Union within the wider context of the Cold War confrontation. However, it was intriguing to observe the merging of Ukrainian themes with distinctively Ukrainian Canadian ones, as seen in the pioneering role of Ukrainians in Western Canada, the internment experiences within Canada or they crucial role in the multicultural debate.

One notable constraint of this research was the infeasibility of comprehensively cataloging and thoroughly investigating every cultural artifact due to the vast scope of the topic. Therefore, I opted to choose a variety of mediums rather than concentrating exclusively on a single format with the aim of discerning overarching tendencies deserving of more in-depth future exploration given the dearth of existing scholarly work on this subject outside of some literary criticism. The selection of different types of cultural productions allowed for a preliminary understanding of prevailing patterns during the period but left opportunities for refinement through narrower scrutinise of individual mediums. What matter to my analysis though, was to state that a Ukrainian Canadian narrative was elaborated and to underline how its crystallization would not have been possible without the emphasis placed on multiculturalism by Canadian political institutions during this time, especially with regards to embracing ethnic groups as integral threads in the tapestry of the national culture. Through implementing bilingual education programs, establishing academic chairs on ethnic studies, and allocating provincial and federal funding streams, Canadian governing bodies strongly influenced the growth and proliferation of community-based organizations within the Ukrainian Canadian population. Such community groups had already achieved a well-established and institutionalized presence prior to these multicultural policies and support mechanisms. However, the validation of Ukrainian Canadian that came with its designation as contributing to Canada's identity undoubtedly empowered community development and reinforced among members that their ethnic heritage was an asset to be included within the national fabric rather than a discriminatory cause of exclusion.

Moreover, findings of this section point to the need for further exploration of how multiculturalism, nation-building and diverse communities intersect within scholarly endeavors in Canada. Scholarship in ethnic studies plays an important role in documenting histories, cultures, and contributions of minority groups. However, such fields often develop separately rather than through dialog. They tend to focus on single groups rather than taking comparative or interdisciplinary approaches. Broader conversations and collaborations across ethnic studies could provide valuable insights. Comparing experiences of different communities may reveal common threads in the immigrant experience while also highlighting each group's unique history. The evolution of Ukrainian studies in Canada, from grassroots community origins to current support from both community and government institutions, shows the complex interplay between multiculturalism policies, nation-building goals, and ethnic community interests. My analysis led me to conclude we must understand both constructive and potentially undesirable impacts of multicultural policies on education and knowledge production. Including "other" communities in historical narratives is imperative. However, one must ask whether defining ethnic identity should be left to communities or conducted

more broadly through academia incorporating varied perspectives. As methodological nationalism fades in favor of transnational and global approaches, we must consider whether this shift benefits all peoples equally or remains a privilege primarily for those with recognized national identities. After all, abandoning the «nation» concept is easier said than done when your community firmly established itself as one. Can decolonizing academia truly incorporate new perspectives without first supporting communities to develop themselves as a "nation"? This contradiction requires navigating with care. On one hand, it is not ideal for diverse communities to speak only to themselves or feel their stories valued only within their own circles. However, global academic approaches developed primarily in Western institutions also risk overlooking nuances and leaving some groups still feeling marginalized, where communities remain in «solitudes» and radicalization potential always exists. Overall, inclusion requires acknowledging this tension constructively.

On the whole, the theme of «translation» regarding the postwar Ukrainian migration wave to Canada should be understood as a hybrid process encompassing elements of both domestication and foreignization on individual, communal and international levels. Ukrainian immigrants arriving after World War II existed within the multi-faceted context of the Ukrainian Canadian community while also navigating their complex relationship with both Canada and the Soviet Union. On an individual level, Ukrainian migrants translated their own identities into the new Canadian environment through a blend of assimilation and preservation of cultural traditions. Within the Ukrainian Canadian community itself, Ukrainian identity was translated in complex ways as immigrants negotiated the realities of life in Canada while maintaining connections to Ukraine. Aspects of Ukrainian culture was both domesticated to suit Canadian norms and foreignized to retain distinctiveness. While finding ways to preserve elements of Ukrainian culture from abroad through organized community rituals, festivals, and the development of institutions, the peculiarities of life in Canada, especially the implementation of the official policy of multiculturalism to manage cultural diversity, ultimately led this group toward a process of *Canadianization*, which however became openly evident only at the turn of the 1991, a periodizing date for the community.

Return

I have thus questioned how the pivotal watershed year of 1991 impacted and potentially transformed the diasporic identity of this migration wave. To achieve this objective, I elected to utilize the concept of «return» as an analytical anchor, given return's inherent role in constituting diasporic subjectivity. Sources from the 1960s through the 1980s analyzed in the second section had already revealed that

Ukrainian Canadian identity possessed unique characteristics intertwined with both the process of nationalism from afar as well as domestic dimensions linked to Canada's multiculturalism policy. However, the existence of a diasporic mission to advocate for Ukrainian independence and statehood kept the focus of the community firmly oriented towards Ukraine. Ukrainian language, culture, and history had to be preserved, developed, and promoted through diasporic nation-building efforts. A key finding that emerged from this analysis was how the memories and narratives of the Ukrainian Canadian community confronted and grappled with the 1991. That year marked both the centennial of Ukrainian immigration to Canada as well as the hard-won independence of Ukraine after the collapse of the Soviet Union. While my initial research question explored whether community members returned to their ancestral homeland following its liberation, the answer proved straightforward - as my focus was on those who remained in Canada. Their decision to stay was understandable for a variety of reasons, including advanced age after so many years abroad. Notwithstanding, I have also tackled the phenomenon of genealogical tourism. While it allowed members of the third wave and their children and grandchildren to reconnect with their roots and explore the land of their forefathers, it also highlighted the complexities of identity and sense of belonging. Visiting the land of one's ancestors for the first time can be a moving experience, evoking a sense of nostalgia and connection to history. Yet upon arrival, travelers often have realized that while this place remains the territory of their ancestral roots, home is now somewhere else. The confluence of Ukrainian independence and the immigration centennial prompted thus reflections on a century's journey and the complex interplay of homeland and adopted country in shaping identity. While Ukrainian independence was achieved, it did not occur through the envisioned final battle against communism. Rather, independence emerged through an internal development that opened a transitional phase with both continuities and ruptures from the past. Facing the realities of an independent Ukraine, the existing government-in-exile recognized that nation-building efforts would be determined by Ukrainians within Ukraine. The symbolic return of the exiled government also represented a rupture, as from that point forward Ukraine's fate rested in the hands of Ukrainians within the country. Notably, one consequence was the liberation from the perceived «burden» of maintaining Ukraine from abroad, a narrative that fractured diasporic identity by problematizing the impact of being raised with an unfulfilled mission. This has opened an important issue regarding the experiences of the second generation that merits further scholarly investigation. Specifically, it raises a pivotal question regarding one's relationship to place: at what juncture does a location transition from a temporary abode to a site of permanent residence where one can legitimately stake a claim of ownership and belonging? Immigrant families often arrive with hopes that subsequent generations

will seamlessly integrate into their new homeland. However, the realities encountered by native-born, such as navigating cultural conflicts and an identity situated between two worlds, stand in contrast. The emerging picture proves that those Ukrainian émigrés participating in nation-building endeavors centered on the intellectual advancement of Ukraine, concurrently expedited their assimilation and self-identification as constituents of Canadian society. In other words, the mythmaking surrounding an independent Ukrainian state served the purpose of allowing migrants to navigate their otherness in their new homeland. Rather than viewing these phenomena as separate and disparate processes, they must be understood as a unique dynamic interrelationship. Keep specifying adjectival forms of Canadian identity, to define "what kind of Canadian" one is, can potentially redefine diasporic identities rooted not only in Canada but with ongoing connections elsewhere. Related to this consideration, I then decided to conclude the thesis exploring path of future research concerning the evolution of a diasporic identity after 1991. In sum, the unfolding of Ukrainian history continually reshapes the diaspora, warranting continued scholarly attention to evolving expressions of Ukrainian identity abroad. In this thesis, I have has sought to provide a nuanced examination of the multifaceted case study presented through an integration of various contextual lenses. While the numerous layers considered occasionally posed challenges to a wholly unified analysis, maintaining this structure allowed for an illumination of the diverse factors concurrently influencing the situation under investigation. Too often relegated to the peripheries of consideration yet profoundly impactful, exploring these contextual contours in tandem aimed to offer generative interpretive frameworks. While recognizing the limitations of any singular analysis, it is my contention this work provides a meaningful contribution to understanding the many intersecting dimensions.

Finally, over-reaching concluding remarks are essential. Firstly, this case study proved the strength and power of collective experiences – especially traumatic ones – in forging a shared group identity through a migration history framework. Even decades later, the collective memory of displacement continued to unite this community. However, this shared experience of trauma took on additional significance through the lens of a national vocabulary and identity. By framing their common hardships within a national concept, even when delinked from a formal nation-state, the community likely reinforced feelings of belonging. While this dissertation places itself in the recent academic trends arguing for moving beyond methodological nationalism, the case study illustrates the enduring political power of the «nation» to shape community bonds. The same conclusion was also drawn investigating the consequences on how multiculturalism was enacted in Canada. Looking at the Ukrainian case, it seemed that multiculturalism was a consequence of the weakness that comes from defining Canada as a nation. It was also the power of all the national vocabularies of the ethnic

communities recognized as part of the mosaic that sustained and created fertile ground for a peculiar Canadian identity. However, one of the problematic consequences may be to have more a framework of multinationalism – with the risk of homogenizing separate ethno-national communities. Something that strongly contrasted with the idea that migration and globalization should make it impossible to think in terms of ethnonationalism. This dissertation thus also has the aspiration of warning against treating multiculturalism as an idealized construct, without studying or problematizing its consequences. A policy based on inclusion and tolerance may instead foster ideas of ethnic and national purity. A rigid focus on preserving distinct cultural heritages risks reifying differences and undermining opportunities for mutual understanding and social solidarity. The Ukrainian situation was unique because it represented the ideal of the multicultural mosaic envisioned in the 1960s.

However, the notion of a mosaic, defined by a predetermined set of components, prompts the question: What implications arise for those not encompassed within it? With each determination of the cultures deemed essential to the nation and those that are not, new delineations of inclusion and exclusion, belonging and alienation, come into existence. Additionally, what about individuals who do not align with any of these predefined cultural components? What are the consequences they encounter when obligated to assign themselves to a specific cultural identity? The mosaic metaphor implies that cultures are static and bounded entities, but cultures are dynamic and permeable. Attempts to define which cultures fit within a nation risk marginalizing those that do not conform neatly to the prescribed tiles.

> Who is there left now to describe it? Oh, it's lost forever and only lives on in the memory of a few old people and a handful of ghosts who still haven't found a place to go. Just ask yourself[2].

While this case study has been instrumental to provide an overview of the context, events, and themes surrounding the third wave Ukrainian migration to Canada from the immediate postwar years to 1991, there remains much to be uncovered and understood about this historical period. It is hoped that this foundation inspires further research that continues to illuminate the diverse experiences of Ukrainian Canadians, without letting it be only a matter concerning the memories of the dwindling number who experienced it firsthand, the «few old people» and «ghosts» of Ludmilla Bereshko's story.

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[2] PONOMARENKO, F. (Ed.) BERESHKO, L. *The Parcel from Chicken Street and Other Stories*. Montreal: DC Books, 1989, p. 7.

APPENDIX A

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF UKRAINIAN CANADIANS SELECTION FOR RESEARCH

This appendix provides an overview of the key Ukrainian Canadian organizations discussed in the thesis. For each organization, available information is presented, such as date of founding, branch locations, headquarters, and affiliation with larger bodies. The goal is to map and catalog the establishment of these groups to contextualize the development of the community. Organizations were selected based on the sources found that referenced them during the research process.

Name	Headquarter	Founding date	Affiliation and notes
Ukrainian World Congress [Before: World Congress of Free Ukrainians until 1993]	Toronto	New York, 12-19 November, 1967	The congress has member organizations in 33 countries and ties with Ukrainians in 14 additional countries. In 2003, the Ukrainian World Congress was recognized by the United Nations Economic and Social Council as a non-governmental organization (NGO) with special consultative status.
Ukrainian Canadian Congress [Before: Ukrainian Canadian Committee]	Head Office: Winnipeg National Office: Ottawa	Winnipeg, 6 November, 1940	Founded under the initiative of the federal government of Canada and non-Communist Ukrainian organizations (UNF, UHO, UCB, USRLC e Ukrainian Labour Association) to consolidate a large Ukrainian population under an umbrella-like structure for a united war effort during the Second World War and Postwar period. There are six Provincial Councils (Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, Saskatchewan) under the UCC National umbrella, which bring together hundreds of provincial Ukrainian Canadian community groups. Branches of the Ukrainian Canadian community work at the local/civic level. They are all under the umbrella of UCC National however they are separate legal entities (Edmonton, AB, Calgary, AB., Lethbridge, AB, Vancouver, BC, Vernon, BC,

			Victoria, BC, Durham Region, ON, Brantford, ON, Hamilton, ON., St. Catharines, ON, Toronto, ON, London, ON, Ottawa, ON, Welland, ON, Windsor, ON, Regina, SK, Canora, SK, Saskatoon, SK, Yorkton, SK, Montreal, QC) Affiliated to: • Canada-Ukraine Foundation • Ukr. Can. Foundation of T. Shevchenko • Canadian Ethnocultural Council • Ukrainian World Congress •
Ukrainian National Federation of Canada	Toronto	Edmonton, July 17, 1932.	Founded by members of the Ukrainian Nationalist movement of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN-A. Melnik), whose influences, and vision remain a vital part of the organization to this day. In the first four years, 50 Branches were established across Canada. Members: • Ukrainian War Veterans' Association of Canada • Organization of Ukrainian Women of Canada • Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada Affiliated with the UCC
Ukrainian War Veterans' Association of Canada	Toronto (from 1935)	Winnipeg, January 30, 1928.	From the beginning it maintained close contacts with the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and, after the Second World War, the OUN (Melnyk faction).
Organization of Ukrainian Women of Canada	Saskatoon, Winnipeg and Toronto	1930	The UWOC is responsible for developing youth programing, publishing Women's World Magazine and activism in humanitarian, educational and social objectives of the UNF of Canada. Affiliated with the UCC.
Ukrainian National Youth Federation	Toronto	Saskatoon, 27 July, 1934	Founded by the UNF as a means to develop youth leadership across Canada. Its first president, Sen. Paul Yuzyk, set the organization on a course to help develop Ukrainian

			Canadian leaders and the future leaders of the community. Affiliated with the UCC.
Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood	Winnipeg	Saskatchewan, December 1932	Ukrainian Catholic Church of Canada. Affiliated with the UCC.
Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada	Edmonton	1944	Ukrainian Catholic Church of Canada. Affiliated with the UCC. Members: • Archeparchy of Winnipeg • Eparchy of Saskatoon • Eparchy of Edmonton • Eparchy of New Westminster • Eparchy of Toronto •
Ukrainian Catholic Youth / Young Adult	Winnipeg, Edmonton, Saskatoon	1944	Ukrainian Catholic Church of Canada. There are 5 centers in Canada: 3 with a paid youth director (Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Edmonton) and 2 with volunteer contacts (Vancouver, Toronto). There is no membership list. Whoever is a member of a Ukrainian Catholic Church between the ages of 12 to 40 is a member.
Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada	Etobicoke	1927	Close to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada but operates independently. Affiliated with: • Ukrainian Canadian Congress • World Congress of Ukrainians
Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada	Etobicoke	1926	The UWAC is an integral component of the USRL. Affiliated with: • National Council of Women • Ukrainian Canadian Congress • World Congress of Ukrainians Branches of the Association are located within the structure of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church parishes and in addition to their cultural and educational activities serve the needs of the Church as outlined in the Constitution.

Ukrainian Orthodox Youth of Canada	Etobicoke	1931	The UOYC is an integral component of the USRL. Affiliated with the UCC.
League of Ukrainian Canadians [Before: Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine until 1991]	Toronto	1949	Affiliated with the UCC.
League of Ukrainian Canadian Women	Toronto	1955	Affiliated with the UCC.
Ukrainian Canadian Professional and Business Federation of Toronto	Toronto	1935	Affiliated with the UCC.
Canada-Ukraine Foundation	Toronto	1995	Affiliated with the UCC.
Canada-Ukraine Chamber of Commerce	Etobicoke	1992	Affiliated with the UCC.
Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society	Toronto	1977	Affiliated with the UCC.
PLAST Ukrainian Youth Association	Toronto	1948	Established in Lviv in 1911-1912. Transferred to the countries settled by postwar Ukrainians refugees. In Canada, Plast established branches across the country. Today there are Plast centres in Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, St.Catharines, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Calgary._Affiliated with the UCC.
Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada [CYM]	Toronto	1948	Originated in postwar Germany._Branches: Toronto, Oshawa, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Hamilton, Fort Wiliam, Windsor, Sudbury, Brantford, Onoranda, St. Catherines, Vancouver._Affiliated with the UCC.
Shevchenko Scientific Society of Canada	Toronto	1949	Affiliated with the UCC.
Ukrainian Canadian Foundation of T. Shevchenko	Winnipeg	1961	Established in occasion of the fundraising campaign for the Shevchenko monument. Affiliated with the UCC.
Ukrainian Canadian Research and	Toronto	1982	The UCRDC was established in 1982, initially under the name of

Documentation Centre [UCRDC]			Ukrainian Famine Research Committee. Affiliated with the UCC.
Ukrainian Canadian Social Services	Toronto	1953	It has its roots in the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund, a volunteer organization that was established in 1945 to assist Ukrainian refugees arriving in Canada after World War II, as well as those still waiting to immigrate in Europe.
Ukrainian Canadian Students' Union [SUSK]	Ottawa	1953	Affiliated with the UCC.
Ukrainian Canadian Civil Liberties Association [UCCLA]	Ottawa	1984	UCCLA's roots trace back to 1984, when the Civil Liberties Commission was constituted to deal with unfounded allegations about "Nazi war criminals" in Canada.
Association of United Ukrainian Canadians [AUUC] Before: Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (1918 - 1924), followed by the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (1925 - 1946), the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland (1941 - 1946)	Winnipeg	1946	The Association of United Ukrainian Canadians is a progressive Organization that endured links with the Soviet Union and Soviet Ukraine before 1991.
Brotherhood of Former Soldiers of the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army	Toronto	1960s	An association of former members of the Division Galizien, founded in Neu Ulm, West Germany, in 1949. Its head office was located first in Munich, then transferred to New York at the end of the 1950s, and finally to Toronto in the mid-1960s.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF MAIN UKRAINIAN PUBLISHING HOUSES IN CANADA (1940S-1980S)

This draft list of Ukrainian publishing houses operating in Canada between the 1940s and 1980s has been compiled from initial research conducted by L. Bykovs'kyi in his 1956 article "Nash vydavnychyi doribok na chuzhyni za 1945–1956 roky" published in Vyzvol'nyi shliakh journal. The list has since been supplemented with additional sources uncovered during my own fieldwork and with assistance from archivist and historian Orest Martynowych. To the best of my knowledge, a comprehensive mapping and scholarly study of Ukrainian publishers specifically in Canada, and more broadly those operating in diaspora, has not yet been undertaken. The work is made difficult by the fact that many of these publishers were small, individual, or organization-led initiatives whose names and structures evolved over time. For insight into ethnic publishing within Canada's multicultural policy framework, see BAUER, J. "Multiculturalism, cultural community: Is it about culture or ethnicity? The Canadian approach". *International journal of cultural policy*, 2000, 7.1: 77-95.

City	Name
Toronto	Vydavnytstvo "Homin Ukrainy"
Toronto	Vydavnytstvo "Vil'ne slovo"
Toronto	Kiev printers LTD 686 Richmond Street
Toronto	"Nashym ditiam" Obiednannia Pratsivnykiv Dyatiachoi
Toronto	Ukrains'ke vydavnytstvo "Dobra Knyzhka" [Oleksander Mokh]
Toronto	Sribna surma [Zynovii Knysh]
Toronto	Vydavnytstvo Lastivka
Toronto	Vydavnytstvo "Novi dni"
Toronto	Vydavnytstvo "Dlia svitla"
Toronto	Justinian Press
Toronto	Progress Books
Winnipeg	Vydavnycha spilka Tryzub = Trident Press Ltd. Nakladom "Ukrains'koho holosu"
Winnipeg	Vydavnytstvo "Mii pryiatel"
Winnipeg	Vydavnytstvo "Postup"

Winnipeg	"Vira I kul'tura" [Metropolitan Ilarion] [denominational/religious press]
Winnipeg	Ukrains'ka Vil'na Akademiia Nauk [UVAN]
Winnipeg	Nakladom Komitetu Ukraintsiv Kanady
Winnipeg	Kul'tura i osvita [Oseredok]
Winnipeg	Nakladom Instytutu doslidiv Volyni
Winnipeg	Vydannia Ivana Tyktora
Winnipeg	Osnova publications
Winnipeg/Toronto	Kliub pryiateliv ukrains'koi knyzhky [Ivan Tyktor]
Winnipeg/Toronto	"Novyi shliakh"
Yorkton, Saskatchewan:	Holos spasytelia = Yorkton, Saskatchewan: Redeemer's Voice Press [Redemptorist Fathers] [denominational/religious press]
Mundare, Alberta	Vydavnytstvo i drukarnia OO. Vasyliian = Mundare, Alberta: Basilian Father's Press [Basilian Fathers] [denominational/religious press]
Edmonton	Slavuta [Yar Slavutych]
Edmonton	Ukrainian Language Education Center

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Strathcona Project collection

Pier 21 Museum and Archives (Halifax, Nova Scotia)

Oral History collection

Multicultural History Society of Toronto (Toronto, Ontario)

Ethnic Newspapers – Ukrainian collection

Oral history interview - Ukrainian collection

University of Toronto (Toronto, Ontario)

Ukrainian Collection of John Luczkiw

Ukrainian National Federation Archives (Toronto, Ontario)

Ukrainian national youth federation fonds

Ukrainian Canadian Research and Documentation Center (Toronto, Ontario)

Oral History - Ukrainian by choice collection

Archives of Ontario (Toronto, Ontario)

Bohdan Panchuk fonds

Canadian League for the Liberation of Ukraine fonds

Multicultural History Society of Ontario fonds

Ukrainian National Federation of Canada fonds

United Nations Archives (New York City, New York)

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) (1943-1949) fonds

Library and Archives of Canada (Ottawa, Ontario)

Department of National Defence fonds

Horoshko fonds

Jaroslav Rudnyckyi fonds

John Wesley Dafoe fonds

Joseph Boyko fonds

Mykyta Mandryka fonds

Office of the Custodian of Enemy Property fonds

Plast-Ukrainian Youth Association

Royal Commission on bilingualism and biculturalism fonds

Stephan Pawluk fonds

Ukrainian Canadian Committee fonds

Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union fonds

Ukrainian Canadian Veterans Association fonds

Wasyl Olijnyk fonds

William Lyon Mackenzie King fonds

Ukrainian Canadian Committee, or, Komitet Ukrayints's iv Kanady fonds

Department of Employment and Immigration fonds

University of Manitoba Archives (Winnipeg, Manitoba)

The Ukrainian National Home Association of Winnipeg fonds

Alexander Baran fonds

Petro Danyliuk fonds:

Victor Deneka fonds

Oleh Gerus fonds

J.B. Rudnyckyi fonds

Irene Knysh fonds

Leo Mol fonds

Irene Knysh Fonds

Martynec Family fonds

Koshetz Choir

Sylvia Todaschuk Fonds

Kay Kuzyk fonds

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UVAN fonds

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