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MISKO, Louise,
AN ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND
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TO ACHIEVING INDEPENDENCE OF THE UKRAINE.

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AN ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND ATTITUDES
OF PITTSBURGH UKRAINIANS RELATIVE TO ACHIEVING
INDEPENDENCE OF THE UKRAINE

A Thesis

Presented to the Graduate School
of Duquesne University

In partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts
in Political Science

by

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August 1974

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Relative to Achieving Independence of the
Ukraine

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To my father
who loved God and man and truth
and
to my innocent children

PREFACE

Since 1880, Ukrainians in Pittsburgh have tried to promote the movement of independence in the Ukraine. Efforts based on democratic principles have been expressed rather than defined through religious, social, and political institutions. A document such as the United States Constitution and By-Laws has yet to be developed. The Ukrainian government-in-exile with headquarters in Munich, Germany aspires to a democratic republic but as an organization is still in the formative stage.

The author has limited her written analysis to the South Side where the Pittsburgh Ukrainians settled originally. The pattern of ethnic existence established here was repeated elsewhere in the Pittsburgh area with such institutions as the church, the fraternal society, and the national home. All promoted cohesion and preserved cultural heritage in music, dance, literature, dress, and domestic arts. Today with the electronic age accelerating assimilation, Pittsburgh Ukrainians have attempted to adapt to social changes while reinforcing efforts towards the establishment of an independent Ukraine.

In spite of two phases of growth and decline (1880 to 1945 and 1945 to the present) in original institutional activity--the church, the fraternal society, the national

home--World War II political refugees in Pittsburgh have advanced the cause of nationalism through new organizations of national and international scope: the Patriarchate Committee, the Ukrainian Studies Chair, and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

Due to the historical background of the Ukrainian immigrant, there are gaps in research. In Western Ukraine, under Austria-Hungary, benign neglect relegated the Ukrainians to an agricultural way of life. In Pittsburgh, work in the steel mills and mines--twelve hours a day--imposed limitations on time for study. A salary of two dollars a day meant virtually nothing could be spent on books. What records were kept proved rudimentary. The early pioneers are gone so that information on origins is limited or non-existent. The intelligentsia that emerged by the 1930's was quickly assimilated by intermarriage and adoption of the American life style, revealing no interest in recording a history that seemed modest and insignificant. By World War II, when a group of Ukrainian political refugees arrived, they also had problems of economic adjustment. As a result, they added the barest minimum to historical records. The author's efforts at political analysis of local Ukrainian nationalist activity are the first of its kind in the Pittsburgh area. A beginning must be made even though incomplete.

A definition of Ukrainian nationalism to gain perspective is requisite. A recent definition was articulated

in 1940 by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and sent to Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State, delegated by President Roosevelt as a roving ambassador to gain insight into European conditions. The text of the memorandum reads, in part:

The Ukrainian people are aware of their right to expect the world to regard their struggle for national freedom as being a wholly independent and self-inspired endeavor to win statehood for a 45-million Ukrainian nation, which at present is mostly under the domination of Moscow. The struggle is being waged in accordance with the legal right of the Ukrainian people to national sovereignty within the boundaries of their ethnographic territories. Consequently, the Ukrainians will never agree to any national dependence upon anyone and will oppose with all possible force at their disposal anyone who would deny them their national independence.¹

The political credo since World War II has been:

"Freedom for the people and freedom for the individual."²

Further expounding on the credo, the Ukrainian underground slogans in illegal anti-Soviet publications read:

We are fighting for a free and democratic independent Ukrainian state!

We are for the destruction of Bolshevik exploitation and the slave labor system which the Soviets have introduced in every phase of our life. We are for the right of the people to elect such a government as they desire!

We are for the liberation of the Ukrainian peasant, worker and intellectual from Soviet slavery!

¹Clarence A. Manning, Ukrainian Resistance (New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1949), pp. 25-26.

²Ibid., p. 133.

We are fighting for full freedom of the press, of expression, of religion and of political belief!

We are for free cultural progress unhampered by dictatorship and for friendly relations with other peoples and states!

We are for the absolute equality of all citizens of the Ukraine, regardless of their race, social status, religion or political beliefs.³

Ukrainians in the United States, waiting for an international realignment that will produce a liberated Ukraine, express their nationalism through the Ukrainian Congress Committee (most of whose members support the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) in Article 2 under Object of the Constitution and By-Laws:

To make known and secure every possible means of support for the plight of the Ukrainian people in their heroic struggle to establish a free, independent and democratic state of Ukraine.

The fraternal society of Pittsburgh, the Ukrainian National Aid Association, expresses its nationalism in Article 2 under Objects of the Constitution and By-Laws:

- d) to give every possible moral and material assistance to Ukrainian people in their struggle for liberation in their native country.

A more advanced definition of nationalism and its ideology awaits more favorable circumstances. Thus far, much of the political thinking has assumed the form of grievances and protests.

³Ibid.

In the meantime, the movement for independence continues in the Ukrainian community through the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America which seeks to inform the world community in regard to the Ukrainian question, the Patriarchate committee which hopes to advance the cause of nationhood through the church, and the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard University which seeks to establish the truth in regard to the Ukrainian people and its civilization.

Finally, in this case study my purpose was to trace the thread of nationalist efforts through Pittsburgh's Ukrainian institutions whose unifying elements are history, territory, language, religion, culture, and traditions. The first chapter will deal with origins of modern Ukrainian nationalism in the Ukraine. The second chapter will cover migration to the United States, generally, and to Pittsburgh, specifically. The third chapter will review nationalist elements in the church that preserved ethnic unity and cultural heritage. The fourth chapter will examine secular institutions in terms of structure, membership, aims, methods, and results. The fifth chapter will review early political protests that resulted in the founding of a national organization to aid the Ukraine in achieving a state of survival. The sixth chapter will include a statistical survey of attitudes and interviews which may indicate trends of Ukrainian political behavior. The concluding chapter will review international trends which may indicate the fate of the Ukraine.

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To Dr. Kenneth Hesselberg, Chairman of the Political Science Department at Duquesne University, I owe a debt which I am honored to acknowledge. It was he who suggested that I concentrate my efforts on the Ukrainian question. Being of Ukrainian descent, I found the experience rewarding.

I am deeply indebted to my constructive critics and advisors, Dr. Robert Beranek and Dr. Paul Anderson, who were most generous with their encouragement, advice, and suggestions during the development and consummation of this thesis.

I wish to note my appreciation to the executive staff at the Ukrainian National Aid Association of America-- Wolodymyr Masur, Ananey Nekonchuk, and Paul Marinec, who exerted every effort to put relevant materials at my disposal. My special thanks to Michael Tymiak, Chairman of the Patriarchate Committee in Western Pennsylvania, who contacted me promptly with every new development.

To all those in the Pittsburgh Ukrainian community, who assisted in this first endeavor of a political analysis and study of attitudes of the movement for Ukrainian independence, I am most grateful.

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

The Ukrainian nationalist movement traces its origins to the Kievan Period in an area then known as Rus. The first period of statehood lasted from the ninth to the fourteenth century disintegrating with the invasion of the Mongols.¹ The second period of statehood was established by a revolution against the Polish kings in 1648 under Bohdan Khmelnytsky. In 1654, he drew up an alliance at Pereyaslaw with Czar Alexis of Moscow for the sake of protection. The czars eventually divided the country with Poland.² The third period of statehood began in 1918 with the fall of Russia and Austria-Hungary during World War I. By 1919, independence vanished when the peace treaties eventually divided the Ukraine among four countries--Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania.³

Modern Ukrainian nationalism began in 1798 with the publication of Ivan Kotlyarevsky's Eneida, a travesty of

¹Michael Hrushevsky, "Preface," A History of Ukraine (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), pp. x-xii.

²Ibid.

³Stephen Shumeyko, Ukrainian National Movement (New York: United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States, 1939), pp. 32-35.

the old Latin epic of Virgil, depicting a band of Zaporozhian Kozaks fleeing the destruction of the fortified border lands called the Sich in 1775 on orders of Catherine the Great of Russia.⁴ Eneida also introduced the vernacular Ukrainian into literature. Previously, Church Slavonic, Polish, and Russian were the conventional written languages employed by noble and intellectual Ukrainians. Continuing in the nationalist vein set by Kotlyarevsky, many Ukrainian writers criticized the oppressive Russians and Poles through satirical and humorous poems and pamphlets on political and social problems. Ancient Ukrainian folklore--legends and dumy (rhapsodies)--were studied and collected, reminding Ukrainians of their glorious past.⁵

Various other prominent writers enflamed the spirit against the oppressors. The genius of the Ukrainian national movement was the poet and patriot, Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861). Martyred by the Russian regime, he envisioned an independent Ukrainian state built on democratic ideals. Poet Ivan Franko (1856-1916), successor to Taras Shevchenko, took up the cause of the peasants. In Western Ukraine, Marian Shashkevich (1811-1884) urged closer cooperation among the fragmented parts of the

⁴Clarence A. Manning, Twentieth Century Ukraine (New York: Bookman Associates, 1951), pp. 13-14.

⁵Walter Dushnyk, The Quest of Freedom (1918-1958) (New Jersey: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1958), pp. 7-12.

Ukraine. Maria Markovich (1834-1907) deplored the tragic existence of the peasants. (Turgeniev later translated her works into Russian.) Poetess Lesya Ukrainka (1871-1913) deplored enslavement and condemned weakness and indecision. Finally, Michael Hrushevsky (1866-1934), who presided over the brief post-war Ukrainian National Republic (1918-1919), achieved prominence as a historian of the Ukrainian nationalist movement.⁶

After World War I, Ukrainian nationalism struggled desperately to keep alive in Eastern Ukraine occupied by Russia under the Treaty of Riga of March 18, 1921.⁷ Millions who resisted died when an artificial famine was created by forcible farm collectivization (1930-1933).⁸ In 1939 at the Eighteenth Party Congress, Stalin reported victories over nationalist deviations. Conflict had emerged between the developing national consciousness of nationalities and increasing centralization of the Soviet state. Linguistic, political, economic, and religious self-determination were eliminated. Stalin's Russification program attacked the intelligentsia, professionals, and administra-

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Stephen Shumeyko, Ukrainian Nationalist Movement (New York: United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States, 1939), p. 41.

⁸ Adam B. Ulam, Expansion and Coexistence (New York: Praegers Publishers, 1971), p. 325.

tors in the nationalities. Thousands were sent to other parts of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev was directed to the Ukraine with orders to destroy leaders of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Local nationalism was suppressed, and only the nationalism of the Soviet Union remained. Furthermore, national parties among the nationalities were not to be tolerated. The Communist Party in Moscow was to be the only centralized political organization.⁹

In this climate of terror and fear of complete annihilation, Ukrainian nationalists abroad decided to organize. The result was the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America representing 1,425 organizations. Founded May 24, 1940 in Washington, D.C., it appealed for world support in the cause of Ukrainian salvation and independence.¹⁰

With the Yalta Conference in February, 1945, Western Ukraine fell under Russian rule.¹¹ Now all of the Ukraine was subject to Russian domination. In April, 1945, Stalin proceeded to devastate the Ukraine exiling Cardinal Slipyj

⁹Louis J. Snyder, The New Nationalism (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), pp. 279-99.

¹⁰The Story of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (New York: The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1951), p. 6.

¹¹Adam B. Ulam, Expansion and Coexistence (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), pp. 367-68.

to Siberia. Upon his release in 1963, he appealed to the Ecumenical Council for a Ukrainian Patriarchate, but was refused because of interference from Moscow. That same year committees in support of the Patriarchate sprang up throughout the world. In November, 1971, the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy elected, without Vatican approval, a five-man Synod to govern the Ukrainian Catholic Church.¹² The work of the Patriarchate Committee was the second major effort to save not only the church, but the nation as well.

The third effort was academic. Because the pressure of Communist ideology and anti-Ukrainian discrimination sharply circumscribed the scope of scholarly research in the humanities in the Ukraine, the Ukrainian-American community decided to fill the gap with a Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard University. The movement started in 1957 with a group of students. By 1968, one professorship was installed.¹³ By January 19, 1973, with a total national collection of \$1,800,000 there were three professorships-- in literature, history, and language.¹⁴

¹²"Woes and Triumphs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church: Birth of Autonomy," Ukrainian Quarterly, (Spring, 1972), pp. 7-10.

¹³The Harvard Bulletin, Cambridge, Mass., 4 May 1970, pp. 1-4.

¹⁴"Ukrainians in U.S., Buoyed by Harvard Project Accomplishment, Mark 55th Anniversary of Ukraine's Independence," Svoboda, 27 January 1973, p. 1.

Within this historical context, the role of the Ukrainian Community of Pittsburgh in promoting human rights and the movement of independence of the Ukraine will be analyzed starting with immigration.

CHAPTER II
MIGRATION TO PITTSBURGH

Records of American history reveal that Ukrainians were on the North American continent early in the 17th century. The English colonist Captain John Smith wrote of one Lavrenty Bohoon (Bohun) in his memoirs. Smith had visited the Ukraine and later brought Bohoon to Jamestown, Virginia.¹ Among the Russian sailors who discovered Alaska there were also some Ukrainians who eventually established a settlement called Fort Ross in California in 1812. In 1865, a political immigrant from Kiev, Rev. Ahapius Honcharenko, arrived in San Francisco. There he edited Freedom and Alaska Herald, frequently attacking the tyrannies of the Russian government. Small groups of Ukrainians fought in both the Revolutionary and Civil Wars.²

Large scale Slav migrations began later than that of Western Europeans. The Czechs and Poles, the first of the Slavic groups to come to America began migrating during

¹Myron B. Kuropas, Ukrainians in America (Minneapolis, Minn.: Lerner Publications Company, 1972), p. 37.

²Wasył Weresh, Guide to Ukrainian-American Institutions (New York: Carpathian Star Publishing Company, 1955), pp. 5-6.

the first half of the 19th century.³ Mass migration of Ukrainians to the United States, generally, and to Pennsylvania, specifically, began in 1877. The exact number that came from 1877 to 1899 is not known, because the nationality given at Ellis Island was that of the dominating country. Reportedly, fifty percent headed for Pennsylvania. In 1899, the federal government began to record the number according to nationality. Of the 268,311 Ukrainians who entered the United States from 1899 to 1930, 144,179 quoted Pennsylvania as their destination.⁴

Most of the Ukrainians who came to the United States were from Eastern Galicia and Ruthenia, which were parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918. Foreign domination of this area led to an economic depression because of the government's neglect, among other reasons, in developing natural resources. Commercial enterprises were conducted by Jewish merchants. Due to lack of industries, the rural population turned to farming at poverty wages. Due to over-population and subdivision of farms among children, poverty increased. Tax moneys were sent to Vienna or Budapest. No attempt was made to improve education, and compulsory school laws were not enforced. Consequently,

³Myron B. Kuropas, Ukrainians in America (Minneapolis, Minn.: Lerner Publications Company, 1972), p. 37.

⁴Wasył Halich, "Ukrainians in Western Pennsylvania," The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, 18 (1955), p. 140.

about one half of the Ukrainian immigrants who came to America were illiterate. In addition to economic hardships and educational deficiencies, the Ukrainians endured religious, cultural, and political discrimination from their enemies, the Poles and the Magyars, who were minority groups in the Ukrainian provinces. Also, Russian Pan-Slav propaganda engulfed the country in an attempt to get Russian sympathizers to further imperialist plans.⁵

Circumstances changed for these oppressed Ukrainians when in Pennsylvania, in 1877, coal mining companies were undergoing strikes. An agent representing a Pennsylvania coal company went to poverty-stricken Western Ukraine to recruit mine laborers promising steady employment and high wages. Many left with high hopes, having despaired of adverse conditions under Austria-Hungary. The first group arrived in Shenandoah and Shamokin, in the eastern part of Pennsylvania. However, life proved to be difficult here, also. Working as strike-breakers and ignorant of conditions, the Ukrainians aroused the hatred of the striking Irish immigrants. Frequent riots occurred and many died "accidentally" in the mines.⁶

Eventually, after gaining an economic foothold, a group of Ukrainians in the coal mining area in Shenandoah,

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., p. 141.

Pennsylvania, managed to collect enough money to pay for the passage to America of Ukrainian Greek Catholic priests. Nationalistic, as well as religious, the immigrants were reluctant to attend Roman Catholic churches where mass was conducted in Latin.

Appointed by Sylvester Cardinal Sembrayovych, Metropolitan of Lwiv, Rev. John Voliansky (1856-1926), proceeded to Shenandoah to establish a church. There, in St. Michael's Church, on April 19, 1884, he celebrated the first Ukrainian Greek Catholic mass in America. After organizing other Ukrainian parishes in the United States, he proceeded to Pittsburgh in 1891 to help found the first Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church--St. John the Baptist at Seventh and Carson Street on the South Side.⁷

⁷Luke Myshuha, "Early Ukrainian Immigration," Jubilee Book of the Ukrainian National Association, 1894-1934, ed. Luke Myshuha (Jersey City, N.J.: Svoboda Press, 1936), pp. 34-35.

CHAPTER III

CHURCHES

A. ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST UKRAINIAN GREEK

CATHOLIC CHURCH I

The history of Ukrainian Americans and of St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church on the South Side began in 1880 when the first Ukrainian immigrant arrived in Pittsburgh--Andrew Andreyczyn, one of the founders of the church. Shortly thereafter, he was followed by two other Ukrainians--Julian and Leon Washnowsky. In 1888, other Ukrainian immigrants arrived from the villages of Lanczova, Lysova, and Klymkiwka. By 1890, twenty-five families reportedly settled on the South Side. All came from the northeastern section of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire within the northern and southern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains. In the Pittsburgh area, they worked in the steel mills and mines. The average worker was paid thirteen and a half cents an hour.¹

¹Nick Kostiuik, "History of St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church," Jubilee Book: 1891-1966 (Pittsburgh, Penna.: Typecraft Press, Inc., 1967), p. 1. (Author of this thesis recalls that in order to supplement the husband's income, many wives kept roomers and boarders. Most of the young women worked as servants in prosperous homes on the east side of town. Eventually, some of the men procured work with the railroads and hotels. With more prosperous times, various commercial enterprises were

Not having their own church, the early immigrants attended mass in the rectory of St. Adalbert's Polish Catholic Church on the South Side. Later, services were held in the parish school building. On major feast days, Rev. Theophany Obushkevich, pastor of the Transfiguration of Our Lord Parish in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, officiated. Ukrainians came from a radius of twenty-five miles of Pittsburgh--many on foot--to attend his services and have him perform at baptisms and marriages. In 1889, on Easter Sunday, Father Miskiewicz of St. Adalbert's allowed services in the church, and many cried from sheer happiness as they sang: "Christos Voskres" or "Christ is risen."²

Understandably, the Ukrainians were not totally satisfied with the Polish Church and its Latin Rite. Although it had united with Rome in 1596, the Ukrainian Church practiced the Byzantine Rite with the following differences: the Ukrainians permitted the clergy to marry, bowed rather than genuflected, generally stood during services, made the three signs of the cross from right to left, received Communion with bread and wine (not just bread), and

established in the South Side and downtown area: four grocery and butcher shops, one confectionery store, two tailor shops, one bakery shop, two restaurants, one flower shop, two book stores, and four bars. Of these sixteen, only six remain: two book stores, one grocery and butcher shop, one flower shop, one barber shop, and three bars. Recently, a beauty shop was added.)

²Ibid., p. 2.

confirmed immediately after baptism. There was only one mass (no high and low masses) and they rejected the use of organs and statues. The Ukrainians preferred their own liturgical music, considering it more melodic than that of the Latin Rite.³

Finally, the Pittsburgh Ukrainians purchased their own church on September 1, 1891. Father Theophany Obushkewich, a trustee of the congregation, bought a wooden frame hall for \$11,500 from the Grace Evangelical English Lutheran Church at Seventh and Carson Street. The property received its first charter of incorporation on October 5, 1891. The title of the property was transferred to the Greek Catholic St. John the Baptist Church, a corporation in the state of Pennsylvania, on October 20, 1891. The church and property were signed over to the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese on November 19, 1907. In 1912, the church was renovated and blessed by the Most Reverend Ortynsky, the first Ukrainian Catholic Bishop of the United States.⁴

Among the early priests, Rev. Nicholas Stepanovich, an ardent nationalist, was the most outstanding. He was largely instrumental in the construction, in 1895, of a

³Myron B. Kuropas, Ukrainians in America (Minneapolis, Minn.: Lerner Publications Company, 1972), p. 49.

⁴Nick Kostiuik, "History of St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church," Jubilee Book: 1891-1966 (Pittsburgh, Penna.: Typecraft Press, Inc., 1967), p. 1.

brick church (\$75,000) and a rectory (\$20,000). He also purchased land for a parish cemetery, located at Church-view Avenue and Glass Run Road in Carrick. In 1900, because of Russian Orthodox infiltration, a political crisis developed during his pastorate between two factions--the Carpathians and the Galicians. As a result, a second church was founded--St. John the Baptist II.⁵

Rev. Michael Kindey, with the longest pastorate on record--1931-1955--proved to be the true savior of the church. During the depression, the parish was deeply in debt and in danger of losing its property. Rev. Kindey reduced his salary, served as janitor, taught in the elementary school which he established in 1933 with the help of the sisters of the Order of St. Basil the Great, forestalled closure, and eventually paid off the debt.⁶

By World War II, the assimilative process--a force stronger than the depression--caused a drop in membership jeopardizing continuation. After World War II, the political refugees increased membership. However, the process of assimilation was repeated. Currently, there are over four hundred families, or about one thousand members, in the parish. Sixty-seven students attend

⁵Ibid., p. 2. (Author will explain this political division in the next chapter.)

⁶Ibid., p. 3.

the elementary school, but fewer each year. The rate of baptisms and marriages in the last ten years has dropped by one half. Because of less emphasis on native linguistics, three masses are conducted in English and one in Ukrainian.⁷

In its early history, St. John the Baptist played an important role in the lives of Ukrainian immigrants--educationally, socially, culturally, and politically. The church, after the family, was the center of existence. In the church hall on Sundays, members presented concerts and amateur plays depicting life in Ukrainian villages. Bazaars featured embroidery work and pysanky (intricately designed Easter eggs). There was social dancing every Saturday night. Lectures and political meetings on the Ukrainian question were eagerly attended. During the middle 1930's, cultural assimilation almost completely terminated such functions within the church. However, by World War II, when Stalin's sphere of influence included all of the Ukraine, the concerned nationalist church under the stimulus of World War II political refugees reactivated by organizing nationally and internationally. Political activity was taken over by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Because interest in Ukrainian education was fading at the

⁷Monsignor Michael Poloway, in a private interview held in the rectory of St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church, Seventh and Carson Street, 12 September 1972.

local level, such pursuits were projected to the highest academic level. At Harvard University a Ukrainian Studies Chair was established. The Patriarchate Committee of the parish, in conjunction with other committees throughout the world, proceeded to work for full restoration of an autonomous Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church to save the church and ultimately the nation.⁸

On November 1-5, 1971, the Synod of Ukrainian Greek Catholic Bishops met in Rome and officially decreed without Vatican recognition the autonomy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Roots of this autonomous re-establishment lie deep in history. In 1596, in the presence of official representatives of Pope Clement VIII, the Ukrainian bishops and archimandrites headed by Metropolitan Michael Rohoza of Kiev announced the desire of the Ukrainian Church to unite with the Apostolic See. On February 7, 1596, Pope Clement VIII accepted the Ukrainian bishops' petition. In October, 1596, a Synod took place in the city of Brest consummating in the Union of Brest. In 1646, fifty years later, the remaining Ukrainian diocese of Carpatho-Ukraine (Transcarpathian Rus), headed by Bishop Basil Tarasovich, joined the Holy See with the Union of Uzhorod. As a result, the entire Ukrainian Church, with

⁸Author, who is a lifelong member of the church.

autonomy, was brought under the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See.⁹

Some Ukrainians opposed the Union of Brest and Uzhorod and preferred to remain under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople. In 1688, one of the Patriarchs in Constantinople delivered the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to the Moscow Patriarchate. In the meantime, the Polish and Russians tried to wipe out the Ukrainian Catholic Church for nationalistic reasons. By the turn of the twentieth century, the Ukrainian Catholic Church survived only in Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine, both of which were under Austrian rule. From World War I to World War II, it managed to survive despite harassment from the Polish government. However, in April, 1945, when Stalin felt assured of victory over Germany, he proceeded to destroy the Ukrainian Catholic Church. He ordered the arrest of the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy, including Cardinal Slipyj, and abrogated the Union of Brest and Uzhorod. When Cardinal Slipyj was released from Siberian exile in 1963, he appealed to the Ecumenical Council for a Patriarchate. On July 7, 1971, in a formal letter, the Pope refused saying Moscow did not recognize the legitimacy of the Ukrainian Church in the Ukraine.

⁹"Woes and Triumphs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church: Birth of Autonomy," Ukrainian Quarterly, (Spring 1972), pp. 1-13.

Because of this letter, the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy in Rome, in November, 1971, formed a Synod to govern the Ukrainian Catholic Church--autonomously, but still under jurisdiction of the Holy See. The Vatican did not recognize this act. In the meantime, committees supporting the Synod organized throughout the Ukrainian world community.¹⁰

The Patriarchate Committee of Saint John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church was organized on April 13, 1970. On February 22, 1971, it held a general meeting with Rev. George A. Maloney. A Jesuit priest, ordained in the Byzantine Rite and head of the John XXIII Ecumenical Center at Fordham University,¹¹ Rev. Maloney urged the Pittsburgh Ukrainians to follow the patriarchate proposal of the Second Ecumenical Council and to proceed with the constitution and by-laws.¹² At subsequent meetings in Pittsburgh (October 1, 1972 and January 2, 1972), the five-man Synod and the Union of Brest (1596) and Uzhorod (1646) were honored with speakers and appropriate

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹See "Eastern Churches Still Await Fruits of Vatican II," Svoboda, 18 November 1972, p. 2.

¹²Michael Tymiak, chairman of the Western Pennsylvania Branch of the Patriarchate Committee, in a private interview in his home, 8558 Ridgmont Road, Pittsburgh, Penna., 15 November 1972.

music.¹³ On October 22, 1972, the committee sponsored at Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall a celebration of the eightieth birthday of Cardinal Slipyj and the first anniversary of the permanent Synod. The honorary chairman was the Most Rev. Basil Losten, auxiliary Bishop of the Byzantine-Ukrainian Rite of the archdiocese of Philadelphia. After several speakers, a Ukrainian choir from Cleveland appeared on the program.¹⁴ Within a period of two and a half years (June 14, 1970 to December 22, 1972), the Pittsburgh Patriarchate Committee sent Cardinal Slipyj \$5,438.31. It also underwrote, with other branches, the cost of a constitution and by-laws and the establishment of an administrative body.¹⁵

However, a crisis occurred in the fall of 1972 after Cardinal Slipyj sent out a draft of the Archiepiscopal constitution of the Ukrainian Church to all the Ukrainian Rite bishops throughout the world. On November 4, Frederico Alessandrini, head of the Vatican Press Office, confirmed that Cardinal Villot sent a signed document to apostolic nuncios and delegates in countries in which

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴"Ukrainians Plan Double Festival," Pittsburgh Press, 21 October 1972, p. 3.

¹⁵Michael Tymiak, chairman of the Western Pennsylvania Branch of the Patriarchate Committee, in a private interview in his office, Room 801, Chamber of Commerce Building, Pittsburgh, Penna., 28 December 1972.

Ukrainian Rite bishops reside. The document pointed out that the Ukrainian Church was not structured as a Patriarchate and was still under the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See. The Vatican explained that since Cardinal Slipyj could not occupy and govern his See, which is in the Soviet Union, his jurisdiction as major archbishop of Lviv was automatically suspended under the terms of canon law. The Vatican Press office avoided allusion to the contested constitution but the implication was obvious. In denial of the Vatican's contention, the constitution which Cardinal Slipyj sent out states in Article 3, Paragraphs 1 and 2, that the Ukrainian Catholic Church claims from the ancient metropolitan see of Kiev jurisdiction over all Catholic Ukrainians everywhere, including the Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Presov (now Czechoslovakia), Bucovina (on the Soviet border of Rumania), and Ukrainian Catholic emigrants from these areas currently in central, southern, and western Europe, North and South America, Africa, Asia, and Australia.¹⁶

Supporters of the patriarchal system in the Ukrainian Catholic Church maintain vehemently that the Vatican wishes to improve relations with the Soviet Union. For this reason it has refused a Patriarchate, refused to recognize synods of the Ukrainian bishops as canonical synods, and

¹⁶"Latest Ukrainian Bid for Patriarchate Slowed by Vatican Veto," The Way, 26 November 1972, p. 2.

refused to acknowledge the right of the cardinal to publish a constitution for the Ukrainian Church. In 1971 at a session of the Synod of Bishops, Cardinal Slipyj himself deplored the Vatican's rapprochement with Communist countries while Moscow was pushing Ukrainian Catholics back to the catacombs. In other words, Ukrainian Catholics were now a nuisance to church diplomats.¹⁷

When the Pittsburgh Patriarchate Committee learned from the press that the Apostolic delegate to the United States, the Most Reverend Raimondi of Washington, D.C., had sent a letter to Ukrainian bishops forbidding them to accept for review, comments, and approval the Archiepiscopal Constitution sent out by Cardinal Slipyj, the executive committee reacted immediately with a strong letter in protest. It read, in part:

We, on behalf of members of our Society and of all concerned laity of Western Pennsylvania (covering Pittsburgh and Johnstown deaneries), wish to express to your Excellency our disbelief and apprehension concerning this letter which we firmly believe encroaches upon the sacred rights of our Eastern Rite Ukrainian-Ruthenian Catholic Church solemnly guaranteed by His Holiness, Pope Clement VIII in 1596 and solemnly reaffirmed by Vatican II and His Holiness, Pope Paul VI in 1964. Our Church has a clear mandate and a duty for self-rule in accordance with our proper and individual procedure which is now being implemented by the Primate of our Church, His Beatitude Archbishop Major Joseph VII, the Permanent Synod, and finally the full Synod of our Hierarchy. Your action we consider as one of interference and of meddling in the internal affairs of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which in no way will change our goal to achieve self-rule for our martyred Church.

¹⁷Ibid.

We are enclosing for your information a program book covering the Jubilee Concert and Banquet to celebrate the 80th Birthday Anniversary of His Beatitude Archbishop Major Joseph VII and the First Anniversary of the Permanent Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which took place on October 22, 1972 in Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall in Pittsburgh, Penna. The resolution adopted at this celebration unanimously supports the efforts of His Beatitude Archbishop Major and of the Permanent Synod. We urge them to adopt and to implement the Archiepiscopal Constitution at the earliest possible time to insure our autonomy and full participation by clergy, religious, and laity as was promised by Vatican II.¹⁸

The Pittsburgh Patriarchate Committee, which has increased its membership from six in 1970 to two hundred in 1972, has vowed to redouble its efforts financially to aid Cardinal Slipyj and the Ukrainian Synod of Bishops in their administrative task. The "cold war" with the Vatican is expected to endure for many years.¹⁹

Early in 1973, Pittsburgh Ukrainians extended an invitation to Cardinal Slipyj to visit here in May on his world tour of Ukrainian communities. The first stop upon departure from Rome was Australia, the second, Canada, and the third, the United States. The Cardinal's first world

¹⁸Letter to Most Reverend Luigi Raimondi, 3339 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. Letter signed by Michael Tymiak, Andrew Germansky, Volodymyr Mazur, members of the executive staff of the Patriarchate Committee of Pittsburgh, Penna., 19 November 1972.

¹⁹Michael Tymiak, chairman of the Western Pennsylvania Branch of the Patriarchate Committee, in a private interview in his office, Room 801, Chamber of Commerce Building, Pittsburgh, Penna., 28 December 1972.

tour to urge Ukrainian Catholic unity occurred in 1968.²⁰

Upon his arrival at the Pittsburgh airport, May 17, 1973, the Cardinal declared in the presence of television and news media: "I come to your fair city...to remind Ukrainian Catholics to remain loyal to their rite, traditions, and church."²¹ A crowd of five hundred greeted the Cardinal at the airport, and an hour later at the City-County building Mayor Flaherty presented him with the keys to the city. That night the Cardinal was the honored guest at a banquet attended by Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant leaders, including Bishop Vincent M. Leonard of the Pittsburgh Catholic Diocese and Archbishop Stephen J. Kocisko of the Byzantine Catholic Archdiocese of Munhall.²²

During the banquet, the prelate, in his message to the Ukrainian people, considered it his mission to unite the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its members scattered throughout the world. He declared it was his goal to obtain a Vatican ruling for the Patriarchate which would grant him sole jurisdiction over policies and allow him to deal directly with the Pope in all church-related matters.²³ Further in his message, the Cardinal, leader

²⁰Peter Worthington, "Cardinal Slipyj's Long War," Toronto Sun, 1 May 1973, p. 2.

²¹"Prelate Urges Ukrainian Loyalty," Pittsburgh Press, 18 May 1973, p. 2.

²²Ibid.

²³Translation from the tape by Louise Misko, author.

of 5,000,000 Ukrainian Catholics,²⁴ and the inspiration for the hero of Morris West's novel and movie Shoes of the Fisherman,²⁵ urged the Pittsburgh Ukrainian community with other Ukrainians in America to retain and develop its identity by building libraries, museums, archives, and universities.²⁶ (To date, the Cardinal's particular accomplishments for religious and cultural preservation include: establishment of a Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome; construction of the St. Sophia Church in Rome, a replica of the historic St. Sophia in Kiev, the Ukraine's capital; re-purchase and restoration of the Church of St. Sergius and Bacchus, the one-time seat of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Rome; and convening, without Vatican approval, five synods to establish the autonomy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.)²⁷ When, at the close of the banquet, the Cardinal was presented with a Ukrainian hand-carved wooden box enclosing the keys to the city, he suggested, in gratitude, that the Ukrainian community fill the box with money--a reminder that power must be bought.²⁸

²⁴See "Persecution of Ukrainian Catholics under Soviet Rule," Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of Philadelphia Newsletter (Philadelphia, Penna.: American Printing Press, 1972), p. 1.

²⁵Bondan Hodiak, "Ukrainian Catholics Hail 'Convict Priest'," Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 18 May 1973, p. 21.

²⁶Translation from the tape by Louise Misko, author.

²⁷Mike Anderson, "Ukrainian Prelate to Visit City," Pittsburgh Press, 13 May 1973, p. 5.

²⁸Translation from the tape by Louise Misko, author.

Pittsburgh Ukrainians, at the urging of the Cardinal, continue in vain to petition the Vatican for a Patriarchate. It appears "that the Roman Curia cherishes a vain hope of rapprochement with the Russian Orthodox Church and even dreams of the 'conversion' of that church to Catholicism."²⁹ The Ukrainians would not be adverse to the realization of such dreams. However, the Ukrainians do object to being used as pawns in the Rome-Moscow alliance. The Roman See has attempted, unsuccessfully, to establish a friendly relationship with the Russian Orthodox Church. Ukrainians conclude that the Russians wish to make Moscow the third Rome and, undoubtedly, this is the reason that the Russians will never arrive at any agreement with the Catholic Church.³⁰ Annoyed by the hypocritical honeymoon of the Vatican and Moscow, Ukrainian Catholics cite Alexander Solzhenitsyn's description of the Moscow Patriarchate as "a Church ruled by atheists."³¹

Communist-controlled radio Kiev, accelerating its anti-religion drive in the Ukraine, has recently attacked both Cardinal Slipyj and his predecessor Andrew Sheptytsky (d. 1944). Both were accused of Nazi collaboration during

²⁹Michael Tymiak, "The Cardinal and Quest for the Patriarchate," Memorial Book, (Pittsburgh, Penna.: Slavia Printing Press, 1973), p. 19.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Daria Kuzyk, Death Verdict for a Church (Trenton, N.J.: Society for the Patriarchate, 1972), p. 5.

World War II. One Moscow report declared the Cardinal could not return to his Lwiw diocese because of a very strong anti-Slipyj group--including priests. Still another Moscow broadcast claimed the Cardinal ordered the murder of Dr. Havril Kostelnik, a leader of the separatist movement within the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Finally, radio Kiev condemned the Cardinal for mobilizing supporters all over the world, especially in the United States and Canada, to petition the Pope for a patriarchate. But, according to Moscow, "no matter what the Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalist followers of the Vatican do in order to resurrect the Uniate Treaty, all their attempts will end in failure..."³²

On the other hand, an editorial comment in The Way, Ukrainian Catholic Weekly, of May 20, 1973, lamented the fact that the admirable efforts of the Cardinal, Metropolitan Ambrose, and hundreds of other Ukrainian priests may come to naught unless Ukrainian youth enter professional religious life. The Major Seminary in Washington, D.C. has a total of five students. It will be several years before even one can be ordained. The editorial castigated the older generation for not cultivating religious values in its children and for educating too many doctors and engineers. It urged support equal to the millions of

³²"USSR Radio Bitterly Damns Cardinal Josyf and the Ukrainian Church," The Way, 3 June 1973, p. 2.

dollars sent to Harvard to educate the world relative to the Ukrainian problem. Finally, it reminded the Ukrainian community that the life of the church was at stake. With less support for the church, the nationalist movement would also suffer.³³

³³"Editorial," The Way, 20 May 1973, p. 2.

B. ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST BYZANTINE CATHOLIC CHURCH II

The crisis that developed in 1900 in St. John the Baptist I, resulting in the founding of St. John the Baptist II, was precipitated by attempts to proselytize on the part of a group of Russian Orthodox within the parish.¹ The origins of this crisis were in Europe. This particular movement was financed by the Russian government and the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg. The goal was not only religious but political as well--to Russify Ukrainian immigrants and neutralize anti-Russian attitudes in the Austrian homeland. Those most active in the movement were: Russophile priests from Russian-occupied Ukraine, various lay individuals from Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine, and even a few Ukrainian nationalist-minded priests.²

That segment of Ukrainian clergy in the United States loyal to the Catholic Church was torn by internal strife. Priests from Carpatho-Ukraine outnumbered those from Galicia and opposed the nationalist efforts of the Galician priests. Politically and culturally, priests from Carpatho-Ukraine identified themselves as Magyarophiles and spoke or preached in Hungarian or Slovak. The

¹Nick Kostiuik, "History of St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church," Jubilee Book: 1891-1966 (Pittsburgh, Penna.: Typecraft Press, Inc., 1967), p. 2.

²"Religion and Churches," Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyc (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), II, 1109-10.

majority of the Galician clergy shared democratic and populist views, and tried to instill Ukrainian national consciousness in the Ukrainian masses through cultural and social activities. Consequently, Galician priests stood firm against Galician Russophilism and Carpatho-Ukrainian Magyarophilism on the part of the clergy. The nationally conscious element helped develop a dynamic Ukrainian ethnic group in the United States. However, it also resulted in alienation and opposition to the Ukrainian national movement. Frequently, the same ethnic group of Ukrainian people splintered into several communities. By the 1890's Ukrainian unity terminated. The Russian Orthodox Church gained most from the internal turmoil. Some Ukrainians even joined protestant denominations.³

Specifically, St. John the Baptist I felt the effects of this complex political and religious atmosphere. In January, 1900, because of the Russian Orthodox element, Michael Fedorko, Stephen Paczak, Basil Walko, John and Joseph Guydon speaking for some two hundred families petitioned the Court of Allegheny County for a separate charter. On February 24, 1900, the second St. John the Baptist Greek Catholic Church was incorporated. Originally renting at Twelfth and Carson Street, then at Tenth and Carson Street, the congregation later (April 26, 1901),

³Ibid.

bought the former St. Casimir's Lithuanian Catholic Church for \$20,000 at 613 East Carson Street on the South Side.⁴

There was almost immediate dissension. In 1902, St. John the Baptist II's parishioners were dismayed when the members residing on the North Side decided for various reasons to organize a separate parish on Superior Avenue under the patronage of the Holy Ghost Order. In 1905, the three principal remaining groups of the parish residing in the Soho, Frankstown, and South Side districts purchased three bells as a symbol of solidarity and resolved to continue as a tight spiritual unit. Eventually, a struggle for power and arguments with the pastor reached a crucial level. On Pentecost Sunday, in 1907, several men barricaded themselves in the church refusing admission to the pastor, Rev. John Szabo, while hundreds of parishioners milled about in the street. After this sad event, two groups seceded--one founded the Holy Ghost parish in Oakland, and the other, the Holy Ghost parish in McKees Rocks.⁵

On December 8, 1907, all was peaceful as the Rt. Rev. Soter Ortynsky, the first Ruthenian bishop in the United States, dedicated the church in the full splendor and pomp of the Byzantine liturgy. However, in time, the Ruthenian clergymen and laity voiced their opposition to

⁴"After Fifty Years," Golden Jubilee of Saint John the Baptist Catholic Church of the Byzantine-Slavonic Rite (Pittsburgh, Penna.: St. Joseph's Protectory Print, 1950), p. 1.

⁵Ibid., p. 2.

Rev. Ortynsky because of his Ukrainian ancestry. He was accused of Ukrainian nationalistic policies at the expense of the Ruthenians. During this dissension, there was intense proselytizing by the Russian schismatic church. Fearing chaos as sentiment against Bishop Ortynsky and his administration mounted, St. John the Baptist II's parish drew up a letter addressed to all Ruthenians in the area pleading for unity. With peace restored, the parish proceeded in 1909 and 1910 to repair the church structure. Two towers were added, the interior was remodeled and decorated in accordance with the traditions of the Byzantine Rite, and an iconostasis was installed--a distinct feature of the Byzantine Church. In 1923, a ten acre farm was bought in Castle Shannon for burial purposes.⁶

In the 1930's, another religious revolt occurred--against Bishop Basil Tkach, a Ruthenian bishop (not Galician), because of the papal decree of celibacy. Previously, the priests of the Ukrainian and Ruthenian Rite were permitted to marry. The radical element was so vehement that by 1946 the matter was taken to court. In the meantime, many left the church. With the restoration of peace, the parish bought South Side's famous Lutheran Rooster Church at 1720 Jane Street for \$23,500.⁷ Renovation and addition of a rectory required a total investment

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

of \$334,000. All debts were cleared by 1966.⁸

Like St. John the Baptist I, St. John the Baptist II expressed its group identity and culture with bazaars, concerts, amateur plays, dances, and picnics. From 1927 to 1934, under the direction of Rev. Michael M. Staurovsky, St. John the Baptist II became the center of the Duchnovich Symphonic Choir gaining city-wide recognition for its achievements in the field of choral work.⁹ However, by 1935, these cultural pursuits ended because of assimilation. Membership again dropped in 1954 when the majority of the parish voted to adopt the Gregorian calendar with Christmas on December 25 instead of January 7 as in the Julian calendar. Seventy families left. The majority returned to St. John the Baptist I, and the rest joined St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Church at 18th and Sidney Street on the South Side. No World War II refugees sought membership at St. John the Baptist II. Today, one hundred six families (six hundred fourteen paying members) belong to the parish. Three families are from Carpatho-Ukraine, one from Hungary, and the others from three provinces in Slovakia. Very few young people are members.

⁸Monsignor Ernest Dunda, in a private interview in the rectory of St. John the Baptist II, 1720 Jane Street, South Side Pittsburgh, Penna., 1 October 1972.

⁹"After Fifty Years," Golden Jubilee of St. John the Baptist Catholic Church of the Byzantine-Slavonic Rite (Pittsburgh, Penna.: St. Joseph's Protectors Print, 1950), p. 4.

In 1971 and 1972, there were seven baptisms and six marriages. Three masses are celebrated--two in English and one in Ukrainian. Ruthenian bishops, since Basil Tkach, continue to administrate. The present bishop, Stephen Kocisko, was appointed in 1968.¹⁰

The turbulent history of St. John the Baptist II mirrors the tragedy of a people whose identity abroad was fragmented by proximity to other nationalities and other political and religious persuasions. Lacking singular roots, their loyalties were divided. Thus, they advanced a concept of ethnic-linguistic individuality which was distinct from that of the Ukrainians. The masses lacked political consciousness and became isolated from other Ukrainians.

¹⁰Monsignor Ernest Dunda, in a private interview in the rectory of St. John the Baptist Greek Catholic Church II, 1720 Jane Street, South Side, Pittsburgh, Penna., 1 October 1972.

C. FIRST RUTHENIAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

In 1903, a second group, numbering almost one hundred, separated from St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church I to escape political issues precipitated by the influx of proselytizing Russian Orthodox parishioners. Anxious for a more simple service and a closer study of the Bible, they chose Dimitry Halenda (1878-1968), a graduate of the Western Theological Seminary of Pittsburgh, as their minister. At first, services were held in a small building across the street from St. John the Baptist.¹ Later, in 1913, after acceptance into the Presbytery of Pittsburgh, the group moved into the First Ruthenian Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh at 1005 Carson Street on the South Side. The building, Greek Byzantine in architecture, was a gift of Mrs. Wm. McKelvey of the East Liberty Presbyterian Church.²

The Ruthenian Presbyterian Church, like the Ukrainian Catholic Church, was the center of all social and cultural activities, featuring quiet gatherings, amateur plays, and a church choir. Although proud and aware of their ethnic background, the congregation avoided political activities,

¹Katherine Halenda, widow, in a private interview in her home at 2400 Saranac, Beechview, Pittsburgh, Penna., 27 August 1972.

²George W. Montgomery, "First Ruthenian Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh," Presbyterian Banner, 20 October 1913, p. 1.

concentrating on Bible study. By 1948, when Rev. Halenda retired from the ministry, about twenty-five members remained in the congregation. The majority then joined the American Presbyterian Church at 2000 Sarah Street, and the rest merged with the Ukrainian Baptist Church at 130½ South 18th Street--both on the South Side.³

³Katherine Halenda, widow, in a private interview in her home at 2400 Saranac, Beechview, Pittsburgh, Penna., 27 August 1972. (The author has in her possession Rev. Halenda's book--What Must I Do To Be Saved--a gift from Mrs. Halenda.)

D. UKRAINIAN BAPTIST CHURCH
DOM MOLOTVI (HOUSE OF GOD)

The first Ukrainian Baptist groups were organized in Pennsylvania in the vicinity of Scranton where Pastor Kolesnikov preached. Eventually, the Ukrainian Baptist groups (including Pittsburgh) formed the Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Convention--the second largest Ukrainian Protestant group in America. Headed by Pastor Oleksa Harbuziuk, this group today has twenty congregations in the United States and forty-five others in Canada, Latin America, and Australia.¹

The first Pittsburgh Ukrainian Baptists, alienated by dissension within the Catholic Church and influenced by American Protestants, organized in the early 1920's. They and their first minister, John Piruzuk, met downtown originally, later in a rented building on Twelfth Street on the South Side, and eventually in a Methodist Church on Sunday afternoons at 24th and Sarah Street. In 1957, the congregation bought an old building at 130½ South 18th Street (formerly a Ukrainian grocery and butcher shop) and remodeled it for purposes of worship. Peter Arcadimulko was the minister from 1957 to 1965. Peter

¹"Religion and Churches," Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyc (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), II, 1119-21.

Wislocki, the present minister, took over in 1965.²

Originally Greek Catholic, the Ukrainian Baptists, like the Ukrainian Presbyterians, directed their services toward simplicity and a profound study of the Bible. Financed by the Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Convention, this group, since 1953, has been conducting a religious radio program in Ukrainian every Sunday afternoon at two o'clock at Station WPIT in downtown Pittsburgh. There are no cultural pursuits except for the singing of religious hymns. Composed of about twenty elderly Ukrainians, the group is not attracting the young. As in the case of the other churches, the assimilative factor--intermarriage, moving to the suburbs, and the Americanization process--has reduced the group's numbers.³

On September 1-2, 1972, the Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Convention held its first meeting in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Although Pittsburgh was not represented at the national convention because of its modest financial situation, Ukrainian Baptists in the United States sent delegates from twenty-two communities. Choral ensembles from Chicago, Minneapolis, Toronto, and other communities

²Peter Wislocki, pastor, in a private interview in the rectory at 130½ South 18th Street, South Side, Pittsburgh, Penna., 16 September 1972. (Peter Wislocki was licensed for the ministry on the North Side by the Ukrainian branch of the Assemblies of God in 1952.) Written records of this congregation are not available.

³Ibid.

highlighted the convention with an impressive concert of religious songs. Finally, the Baptists took a strong stand in defense of Baptist and other religious denominations in the Ukraine who are persecuted by the Communist regime for loyalty to their faiths.⁴

⁴"Ukrainian Baptist Convention Meets in Minneapolis," Svoboda, 9 September 1972, pp. 1-2.

E. ST. VLADIMIR'S UKRAINIAN GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH

In 1926, thirty-five years after the founding of St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, another group separated from the mother church and founded the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church--St. Vladimir's at 1810 Sidney Street on the South Side.¹ The separation had its origins in the political rebirth of the Ukrainian state (1918), and as a result a national church movement developed. In December, 1917, in Kiev, an All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council challenged the authority of the newly restored Moscow patriarchate and the presence of Russian bishops in the Ukraine. It demanded Ukrainization of the church and complete independence from Moscow. By May 5, 1920, the council delivered a formal proclamation of the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. After 1922, the Soviet authorities began to impose increasingly severe restrictions upon the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church which they accused of nationalistic tendencies. In 1926, Soviet police ordered dissolution of the church's central body--the All-Ukrainian Church Council. By 1936, the last church was suppressed.²

¹Peter Misko (1890-1957), father of author, who helped financially to establish the orthodox church.

²B. R. Bociurkiw, "The Orthodox Church in the Ukraine," Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia, ed. by Volodymyr Kubijovych (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), II, 167-71.

Meanwhile, in the United States under the influence of the movement for church autocephaly in the Ukraine, a few Ukrainian Orthodox parishes were organized. Then, in 1920, a Ukrainian National religious convention founded an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church in New York. Shortly thereafter, this church organization proclaimed its unity with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Ukraine. In 1924, the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Rada in Kiev appointed Archbishop John Theodorovich (1887-1971) as administrator of the new religious body in the United States.³

It was under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Theodorovich that St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Orthodox Church on the South Side was organized. A church and hall were eventually purchased at 1810 Sidney Street for \$75,000. The first mass was celebrated April 4, 1926.⁴

As in the case of St. John the Baptist I and II, the Orthodox Church served as an educational, social, cultural, and political center. A Ukrainian school for children included grammar, history, and literature. In 1928, folk-dancing was taught by a renowned and gifted artist,

³V. Markus, "Orthodox Church in the US," Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovych (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), II, 1116-17.

⁴Wasył Shabatura, original church member, in a private interview in his office at the Ukrainian National Aid Association, 527 Second Avenue, Downtown Pittsburgh, Penna., 15 August 1973. Wasył Shabatura recalls the following original investors in the church: Wasył Kotula (\$8,000), John Halewicz (\$3,000), Theodora Farbotnik (\$3,000), Peter Misko (\$1,000), Ivan Sliwka (\$1,000), and Harry Shabatura (\$500).

Vasile Avramenko.⁵ The church choir gave concerts regularly. The most prominent director was Constantine Orlyk (1932-1942), a member of the famous Alexander Koshetz Ukrainian Choir that won enviable reviews in Europe and America.⁶ Political topics on the Ukrainian question were an integral part of church life. National holidays were celebrated with speakers, the church choir, and the folk-dance group. Saturday night dances and Sunday picnics were popular. By World War II, again because of assimilation, membership and activities decreased. But during the post-war years the political refugees of World War II temporarily increased membership.⁷ In 1962, the older women of the parish started a perogi business to help defray rising costs of maintaining the church. However, this venture ended in 1971 because of the older womens' failing health and lack of support from the younger women. There is but one mass with a sermon delivered first in Ukrainian, then in English. Former political, cultural, and social interests have been replaced principally by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for the Ukraine, and the Ukrainian Studies

⁵ See Wasyl Halich, Ukrainians in the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 88-90.

⁶ See Nation, November 1922, p. 495.

⁷ Author, who has remained an active participant in South Side Ukrainian community life including this church. There are no available written records.

Chair at Harvard.⁸

There are no debts. Membership includes eighty families or two hundred paying members. Very few young people attend church services. In 1972, there were two baptisms and two weddings.⁹

⁸Rev. John Seneta, in an interview in the rectory of St. Vladimir's Orthodox Church, 1810 Sidney Street, South Side, Pittsburgh, Penna., 28 December 1972.

⁹Ibid.

CHAPTER IV
BENEFICIAL, EDUCATIONAL, YOUTH, CULTURAL, AND
POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

A. UKRAINIAN NATIONAL AID ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

After rooting themselves firmly in the church, Pittsburgh Ukrainians established a fraternal organization with life insurance protection to meet the hazards of a more complex economic existence. Built on nationalistic and religious ties, the organization was another miniature Ukrainian community. The organization helped its members to become culturally integrated and to adjust to Pittsburgh's industrial society.

The fraternal society dates back to the early 1900's when there were numerous Ukrainians in the Pittsburgh area working in the mines and steel mills. Their jobs involved risks. Many men experienced serious accidents and even lost their lives. Three Ukrainian fraternals functioned in the east--in Jersey City, Philadelphia, and Scranton. Since communication was inadequate, a fraternal organization located in Pittsburgh was considered an urgent need. Eight Ukrainians--Dmitro Parada, Sam KostECKi, Anton Kanai, Joseph Kosoby, John Bodak, Nicholas Fedorko, Michael Michaelyczyn, and Timothy Horoschak--founded the Ukrainian National Aid Association in 1914. Membership

numbered almost two hundred. The first president was Anton Kanai. Originally located in McKees Rocks, the organization moved in 1921 to 527 Second Avenue, in downtown Pittsburgh. The three-story building was purchased at a cost of \$25,000.¹

According to the by-laws as revised and adopted by the convention on May 12-14, 1966, in Detroit, Michigan, the aims of the Ukrainian National Aid Association are:

- a) to aid its members, their children and relatives in the event of misfortune, sickness and death by providing for payment of death and endowment benefits and extending them financial and friendly advice and consolation in the event of sickness, disability, old age and indigency;
- b) to promote education, the spirit of solidarity, organized effort and mutuality among its members;
- c) to promote enlightenment in civics among Ukrainians in America and help them to become good citizens of this country;
- d) to give every possible moral and material assistance to Ukrainian people in their struggle of liberation in the native country.²

The official organ Narodne Slovo (National Word), in its early publications, instructed members in ways the organization could help as to insurance, mortgages, loans

¹Paul Krawchuk, "History," Calendar of the Ukrainian National Aid Association (Pittsburgh, Penna.: Narodne Slovo [National Word] Press, 1954), pp. 37-44.

²"Aims," By-Laws of the Ukrainian National Aid Association of America (Pittsburgh, Penna.: UNAAA, 1966), p. 1.

sickness, location of jobs, etc. Articles on the structure of the new American industrial milieu helped overcome the feeling of fear and alienation. Assimilation was encouraged. News items included Ukrainian political, cultural, and social events in the Ukraine and throughout the world. To educate the immigrants in their native literature, there was serialization of literary works of outstanding Ukrainian writers such as Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Lesya Ukrainka, and others. After World War II, the four-page publication revealed strong political awareness urging a united effort to free the Ukraine of Soviet domination. Of the nine editors of Narodne Slovo, the most outstanding was Matthew Chandoha (1890-1947). Self-educated, he wrote in a style that appealed especially to the laboring class. For twenty-five years (1921-1946), his unusual talents as writer and speaker moved the Ukrainian community to closer ties with those abroad. His passionate oratory, especially as to ethnic unity, did much to stimulate the growth of the Ukrainian National Aid Association.³

The first crisis occurred in 1918 when almost two hundred members died during the worldwide flu epidemic. The second crisis occurred during the economic depression of the 1930's when the executive board considered merging

³Paul Krawchuk, "History," Calendar of the Ukrainian National Aid Association (Pittsburgh, Penna.: Narodne Slovo [National Word] Press, 1954), pp. 37-44.

with one of the other three Ukrainian fraternal organizations.⁴ However, after World War II, 3,462 Ukrainians settled in the Pittsburgh area and the organization was reborn.⁵ Membership increased and currently numbers 8,539 (in the United States and Canada). Assets are valued at \$2,549,583.37.⁶

Elected in 1964, the president, Wolodymyr Masur, who is an ardent nationalist and World War II political refugee, readily gained the support of those refugees who wanted to strengthen the Ukrainian National Aid Association to the financial and membership level of the other three Ukrainian fraternal organizations. Also, they wanted to participate through this organization in activities throughout the United States and Canada in promoting the movement for the liberation of the Ukraine. In other words, the Ukrainian fraternal organization was to serve also as a Ukrainian nationalist organization.⁷

In order to stimulate interest in the Ukrainian question and the organization, Wolodymyr Masur traveled to

⁴Ibid.

⁵U.S. Census of Population, 1960, Pennsylvania General Social and Economic Characteristics, PC (1), 40C, Pennsylvania, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Table 80, p. 441.

⁶"Auditor's Statement for the Year 1971," Narodne Slovo (National Word), 6 July 1972, p. 4.

⁷Wolodymyr Masur, president of the Ukrainian National Aid Association, in a private interview in his office, 527 Second Avenue, Downtown Pittsburgh, Penna., 2 September 1972.

a number of cities in the Western Hemisphere as a publicity agent. In the fall of 1969, he attended the blessing of the St. Sofia Cathedral in Rome, which was built with contributions sent to Cardinal Slipyj from the world Ukrainian community. In Munich, he visited the grave of Stephen Bandera, Ukrainian nationalist killed on October 15, 1959. In Paris, he placed a wreath on the grave of Simon Petliura, who headed the Ukrainian government in 1918. In Rotterdam, he paid his respects at the grave of Col. Konovaletz, a leader of the Ukrainian nationalist movement. In London, he assisted SUP (Circle of Ukrainians in Britain) in the commemoration of the anniversary of the death of Stephen Bandera.⁸ Two years later, on December 15, 1971, he flew to Buenos Aires, Argentina, where he witnessed the unveiling of another Taras Shevchenko monument.⁹ On June 24, 1972, in Toronto, Canada, he helped the Ukrainian Liberation Front celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which fought against the Nazis and Communists during World War II.¹⁰ Prior to President Nixon's visit in May, 1972 to the Soviet Union, Wolodymyr Masur headed a busload of Pittsburgh Ukrainians to Washing-

⁸"President Abroad," Narodne Slovo (National Word), 15 October 1969, p. 1.

⁹"President in Argentina," Narodne Slovo (National Word), 21 December 1971, p. 1.

¹⁰"UPA in Canada," Narodne Slovo (National Word), 1 July 1972, p. 1.

ton, D.C. to ask the president to intercede in behalf of imprisoned Ukrainian intellectuals. Approximately three thousand Ukrainians from the United States and Canada attended this demonstration in front of the White House.¹¹

The future of the Ukrainian National Aid Association depends on the economic status of the country. If inflation continues, the Ukrainian National Aid Association will have to consider merging with one of the three other Ukrainian fraternal societies. Competition with the mammoth American insurance companies is also creating a problem. However, nationalist activities will not diminish under such circumstances.¹² They may increase because of recent reports that the KGB is renewing its campaign of repression against the Ukrainian nationalists.¹³

¹¹"Ukrainians Protest in Washington," Svoboda, 20 May 1972, p. 1.

¹²Wolodymyr Masur, president of the Ukrainian National Aid Association, in a private interview in his office, 527 Second Avenue, Downtown Pittsburgh, Penna., 30 December 1972.

¹³See "Soviet Repression," The New York Times, 11 December 1972, p. 1:2-3.

B. UKRAINIAN BENEFICIAL UNION OR NATIONAL HOME

With the establishment of the church and fraternal society, the Ukrainian immigrant experienced a substantial degree of religious and financial security. He proceeded to focus attention on others within the Ukrainian community victimized by adverse circumstances. In order to include all political and religious persuasions, he created a secular organization called the Ukrainian Beneficial Union or National Home.¹ A microcosm of Ukrainian life, it became a community center for social, cultural, and political exchange. The help ethic included activities that promoted togetherness. There was dancing every Saturday night. Ukrainian national holidays were observed with speakers, choir, and dance groups. There were lectures on the Ukrainian question. In the late 1920's a school was conducted for children including grammar, history, literature, bandura lessons, and choral training. During this period a group of Ukrainian Communists gained membership and tried to impose their propaganda on the Ukrainian Beneficial Union. They were promptly ousted. All cultural activities ceased with the economic depression of the 1930's

¹Constitution and By-laws of the Ukrainian Beneficial Union of South Side, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Organized 1916, Incorporated, 20 August 1919, pp. 3-4. (Article II, Object. Section 1. The object of this organization is for the maintenance of a society for beneficial purposes and to give financial aid to unfortunate members. Section 2. No part or group of church sect shall use this organization or its estate for their purpose. This Section shall never be changed.)

with no attempt at revival.²

Sixteen members composed the nucleus of the Ukrainian Beneficial Union and the following four signed the charter: John Haniak, Michael Usyk, John Wolovick, and Paul Spikula.³ In 1919, the organization located at Eleventh and Bingham Street in a building that cost \$11,500. In 1960, the organization moved to 1113-1115 Carson Street on the South Side where it now serves only as a social vehicle for Ukrainian men. The debt on the \$75,000 structure amounts to \$21,000. Membership numbers one hundred fifty and is composed largely of World War II political refugees. Death benefit includes one hundred dollars for the bereaved and a wreath. Since nothing of significant value is offered, no young men seek membership.⁴

²Peter Misko, father of author, who was also president during the period of Communist penetration.

³Ukrainian Beneficial Union of South Side, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Charter, Number 2204, April Term, 1919.

⁴Michael Maynosz, president of the Ukrainian Beneficial Union, in a private interview at the Ukrainian Beneficial Union, 1113-1115 Carson Street, South Side, Pittsburgh, Penna., 13 September 1972.

C. UNIVERSITY UKRAINIAN CLUB

By 1931, the former European Ukrainian peasant, favored by broader economic opportunities in the Pittsburgh industrial area, produced a number of university students and professionals. Upon the suggestion of the Ukrainian National Aid Association, the group formed a University Ukrainian Club. Starting with only twenty, membership rose to fifty-one in 1934.¹ Although aware of their Ukrainian identity and the Ukrainian question, they showed definite signs of assimilation. Only English was spoken and there were no attempts to revive interest in Ukrainian cultural pursuits. Only occasionally was there a lecture on the Ukrainian problem.² Meetings were, for the most part, social.³

The official monthly publication, The Trident, edited by Roman Lapica, a journalism student at the University of Pittsburgh, covered accomplishments of members, club activities, and the Ukrainian question. The editor announced an ambitious goal in the first issue:

¹"Editorial," The Trident, October 1934, p. 2.

²Author, who was a member.

³Preamble: "The organization, being non-partisan and non-sectarian, has been formed for the purpose of promoting cultural and social activities among Ukrainian-Americans attending, or having attended institutions of higher learning." Constitution and By-Laws of the University Ukrainian Club, Pittsburgh, Penna., 1931, p. 3.

We dedicate this paper to the up-building of Ukrainian spirit among the members of this club.

We firmly believe that through it we may lead you to a fairer appreciation of your heritage.

We firmly believe also that with the proper support and faith we can lead you to a more just and equitable understanding of those millions of our Ukrainian forefathers who have fought so unsuccessfully for freedom through seven centuries.

In any case we shall have tried; and in this, the first issue of The Trident, we voice a hope that the University Ukrainian Club shall take on a new lease in life, that it shall begin in part to live up to its name, and that it shall result in helping to bring about in some small way the freedom of Ukraine.⁴

Subsequently, almost no political interest was manifested. The Trident collapsed in a couple years, and the group disbanded by World War II.⁵

⁴"Editorial," The Trident, October 1934, p. 2.

⁵Author, who was a member.

D. UKRAINIAN TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY

By 1970, a new group of educated Ukrainians emerged. They founded the Ukrainian Technological Society with a broader purpose than that of the University Ukrainian Club of 1931. The group that initiated this organization was composed of World War II refugees who felt the full destructive impact of Soviet domination. They reacted variously as to purpose:

The object of this society shall be: to improve professional skills of members; cultivate active interest in all aspects of Ukrainian heritage and its contributions to American society and culture; strengthen the values of the local Ukrainian ethnic group through active participation in community life; cooperate with other professional and civic associations, groups, or government agencies having similar goals; promote education within the Ukrainian community and aid students ¹ attending local universities and colleges.

To fulfill their goals in preserving Ukrainian identity, the society in 1972 announced the establishment of a Man of the Year Award. For the year 1972 the award was presented to His Eminence Metropolitan Mstyslav for his spiritual leadership as Head of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in the United States and for his lifelong devotion to the cause of the Ukrainian people. The

¹Article III, "Purpose," Constitution and By-Laws of the Ukrainian Technological Society, Pittsburgh, Penna., 1970, p. 3.

Metropolitan was also recognized for:

- 1 untiring efforts in achieving unification of all Ukrainian Orthodox Churches in the Free World;
- 2 strengthening the prestige of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church through personal worldwide contacts with the hierarchy of the Orthodox Churches and churches of other denominations;
- 3 cultivating the historic traditions of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, deeply rooted in our national heritage;
- 4 the foresight in establishing a monumental religious-cultural center at Bound Brook, New Jersey, founded exclusively by the contributions of thousands of faithful;
- 5 preserving the memory of our national history by inspiring the erection of the jewel-like Memorial Church, establishing a museum and a truly national Ukrainian pantheon;
- 6 acting as patron of Ukrainian art, literature and science, and for the continuation of Shevchenko's faith in the power of the Ukrainian printed word;
- 7 rekindling hopes among Ukrainians in the Ukraine for the rebirth of the church and religious life in our native land;
- 8 lifelong unselfish devotion to the cause of the Ukrainian people, first as a soldier, then as a member of parliament, and finally as a servant of God.²

In 1971, the honor was conferred upon Michael Maynosz in recognition of institutional contributions made by Ukrainian pioneers to the Pittsburgh community. In 1970, the

²"Awards," Newsletter, Ukrainian Technological Society, January 1972, pp. 1-4.

award went to Stephen Chemych, president of the Ukrainian Studies Chair Inc., for his efforts in the creation of the first permanent chair for Ukrainian Studies at Harvard University.³

Four Pittsburgh university students have benefited from a Scholarship Fund established in 1972.⁴

Founded by thirteen engineers, the organization currently includes forty-seven professionals.⁵

³Ibid.

⁴"The 1972 UTS Scholarship Winners," Newsletter, Ukrainian Technological Society, May-June 1973, p. 3.

⁵Michael Korchynsky, original member of the Ukrainian Technological Society, in a private interview in author's home, 4009 Dalewood Street, Brentwood, Pittsburgh, Penna., 1 September 1972.

E. RIDNA SHKOLA (SCHOOL OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES)

Another instrument for preserving identity and culture is the School of Ukrainian Studies founded in October, 1969 by a group of mothers anxious that their children retain their Ukrainian heritage. Classes were originally held in a building belonging to the Tamburitzans of Duquesne University. When the initial student enrollment rose from fifty to eighty-five, the school moved to larger headquarters at Robert Morris College, 610 Fifth Avenue, Downtown Pittsburgh. Instruction includes Ukrainian grammar, history, and folk art with emphasis on dancing, singing, and graphics. Classes convene every Saturday from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. Students are grouped according to age and command of language. The five graduates of June, 1971 received a two-volume set of a Ukrainian-English dictionary. In the fall of 1972, a seminar was conducted for college and high school students, presenting a comprehensive review of Ukrainian history.¹

On April 14, 1973, Ridna Shkola and the Ukrainian Technological Society, anxious to increase numbers in the Ukrainian professional group, sponsored their first vocational guidance conference for local youth emphasizing the importance of a college degree in a competitive society. Michael Fedora, one of five speakers and currently

¹"Ridna Shkola," Newsletter, Ukrainian Technological Society, May-June 1973, pp. 3-6.

employed at Westinghouse Electric Company revealed that twenty years ago, sixty percent of today's jobs had not been invented. Michael Fedora emphasized the need for Ukrainians to be flexible, imaginative, and knowledgeable so as to be able to participate effectively in decision-making.² On March 13 and April 13, 1973, Ridna Shkola, in order to encourage young Ukrainian artists, sponsored an exhibit of paintings of Ihor Turczyn at the Mellon Bank and the Pittsburgh Athletic Association.³

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

F. HARVARD STUDIES CHAIR

To preserve identity and cultural heritage, to reveal contributions to the growth of the United States in the process of integration, and to close the gap in scholarship in the humanities in the Ukraine as the result of anti-Ukrainian discrimination--these are among the goals of the Ukrainian Studies Chair Committee formed in 1957 by a group of Ukrainian-American students, members of SUSTA (Federation of Ukrainian Students Groups of all political and religious persuasions in the United States).¹ In December, 1967, a Ukrainian Studies Chair Fund Committee, headed by Stephen Chemych, and a Council of Academic Advisers, headed by Professor Omelyan Pritsak of Harvard University, adopted a plan to establish a Center for Ukrainian Studies at Harvard University. The proposed center consisted of three chairs in history, language, and literature, and a research institute. The three professorships would train young scholars in an integrated program, and the institute would include facilities for research and publication of scholarly works. On January 22, 1968, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Ukrainian independence, the President and Fellows of Harvard reached an agreement with the Harvard Ukrainian Studies Chair Fund

¹The Harvard Bulletin, Cambridge, Mass., 4 May 1970, p. 1.

for the creation of the first professorship in linguistics (the cost of which was \$600,000), and the adoption in principle of the entire Ukrainian center program.² By January 19, 1973, in commemoration of the fifty-fifth anniversary of Ukrainian independence, the Ukrainian community throughout the United States had collected over \$1,800,000. This amount completed the establishment of the other two professorships--in literature and history. With a total collection of \$3,600,000 the entire Ukrainian center program--three professorships plus the research institute--will have been established.³

Currently (December, 1972), the Ukrainian institute includes twelve students in productive scholarship and seven doctoral candidates. The Ukrainian section in Widener Library at Harvard contains 12,000 books. Scholarly activity has filled six volumes (Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies). A periodical of scholarly reviews (Recenzija), conducted by graduate students, is devoted to reviews of publications in Ukrainian humanities and social sciences appearing currently in the Ukraine. To date there have been four publications of Recenzija.⁴ In

²Harvard Ukrainian Studies Newsletter, August 1970, p. 1.

³"Ukrainians in U.S., Buoyed by Harvard Project Accomplishment, Mark 55th Anniversary of Ukraine's Independence," Svoboda, 27 January 1973, p. 1.

⁴Prof. Ihor Sevcenko, "Harvard Center Our Community's Commitment," Svoboda, 9 December 1972, p. 2.

1969, in an exchange agreement, Soviet libraries sent to Harvard microfilms and originals in exchange for United States publications. This agreement was between Harvard College Library and the libraries of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev and the Lenin Library in Moscow. Arrangements have also been made with Moscow and Kiev for giving, purchasing, or xeroxing private collections.⁵

In spite of productive scholarship and the Harvard-Soviet exchange, many in the Ukrainian community are disappointed that Harvard has issued no statement as to how the program relates to ethnic preservation and the Ukrainian question. Concerned TUSM (Youth Organization) members urged Dr. Dmitro Shtohryn, professor at the University of Illinois, to pose queries on the legal, financial, and academic stance of the Ukrainian Studies Institute. Following were some of the questions articulated in his book Lights and Shadows of Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard:

Why are outsiders teaching in the department? Why not Ukrainians? Why do other Ukrainian departments in other universities teach a greater variety of courses? Is there a constitution and by-laws? Doesn't the Ukrainian community have a right to know? In whose hands does our future lie?⁶

The Ukrainian Community awaits a pertinent response.

⁵Harvard Ukrainian Studies Newsletter, August 1970, p. 3.

⁶Dmitro Shtohryn, Lights and Shadows of Ukrainian Studies at Harvard (Chicago, Ill.: Hartur Printing Co., 1973), pp. 19-23.

Some critics also lament the remoteness of the subject of the first (April, 1970) doctoral candidate's dissertation in the Ukrainian program: the diplomatic activity of the Ukrainian exile Hetman Pylyp Orlyk (1709-1742) with the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Porte.⁷ Hoping for an extension of studies into the social sciences with emphasis on political science, many in the Ukrainian community are impatient with an erudite group that conducts research in history per se and does not concern itself with the analytical study of current political issues that relate to the Ukrainian question. A workable solution is expected.⁸

⁷Harvard University Gazette, 4 May 1973, p. 1.

⁸Author, who interviewed more than one hundred Ukrainians in the Pittsburgh community on the Harvard issue.

G. T.Y.M. (SOCIETY OF UKRAINIAN YOUTH)

T.Y.M. (Society of Ukrainian Youth) is also involved in preserving Ukrainian identity. Persons of Ukrainian descent between the ages of fifteen and thirty are eligible for membership. The purpose is:

...to unite all young people of Ukrainian ancestry, to enhance and propagate Ukrainian culture, and to inform the members and general public about Ukrainian problems. Although the organization is neither religious nor political, it may, nevertheless, concern itself with either problem when it concerns the Ukrainian community.²

As to accomplishments thus far, the group has demonstrated against the Siberian Dance Ensemble which performed at Heinz Hall, March 13, 1971; sponsored a lecture by Dr. Michael Pap of John Carroll University on the intellectual turmoil in the Ukraine; donated money to the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard University, the Ukrainian Patriarchate Fund, and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; and sent a protest to President Nixon and Secretary-General Waldheim at the United Nations in regard to the persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals by the Soviet Union. Originally organized with eight in April, 1970,

¹"Article II, Membership," T.Y.M. (Society of Ukrainian Youth) Constitution and By-Laws, Pittsburgh, Penna., 1970, p. 1.

²"Article I, Name and Purpose," T.Y.M. (Society of Ukrainian Youth) Constitution and By-Laws, Pittsburgh, Penna., 1970, p. 1.

the society now has twenty active members.³

³Anna Welgosz, History of T.Y.M. (Pittsburgh, Penna.), n.p., 1972, p. 1.

H. TUSM (UKRAINIAN STUDENT ORGANIZATION OF
MIKOLA MICHNOWSKY)

TUSM, a student group, organized in the name of Mykola Michnowsky, was founded on nationalist ideological convictions vis-a-vis the Ukrainian question. Formed originally in 1949 in Munich, Germany (seat of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations headed by Ukrainians), it became national and international in scope. The local branch was founded December 30, 1971, at the YWCA in Downtown Pittsburgh, Penna.¹ Its purpose is:

1. to study nationalist ideology for purposes of practical application
2. to encourage students to develop intellectually
3. to develop personalities for administrative work in government

To fulfill these goals members are urged to sponsor lectures, hold conventions, organize discussion groups, disseminate information through the press, and build libraries and archives.²

The Pittsburgh branch took part in various activities throughout 1972 to help achieve nationalist goals. On January 27, in the office of County Commissioner Leonard Staisey,

¹Anna Melnychuk, History of TUSM, (Pittsburgh, Penna.), n.p., 1972, p. 1.

²"Aims of TUSM (Ukrainian Student Organization of Mikola Michnowsky)," Educational Materials (Washington, D.C.): n.p., 1971, p. 5.

TUSM members witnessed the signing of a resolution declaring January 20 as Ukrainian Independence Day. After the ceremony TUSM members distributed flyers downtown condemning the persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals in the Ukraine. On January 30, the group assisted the local branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in the commemoration of Ukrainian Independence Day (1918) by sponsoring a lecture delivered by Dr. Jurij Kulchycky, a senior member of TUSM and a professor of Youngstown University. On January 31, several thousand leaflets condemning Russification in the Ukraine were distributed when the Russian poet Yevtushenko appeared at Heinz Hall.³ On March 12, after attending a regional officers' meeting in New York, the entire group congregated in front of the United Nations to protest repression in the Ukraine. On May 13, TUSM members traveled to Washington to demonstrate in front of the White House on the eve of President Nixon's trip to Moscow. On June 24, in Toronto, Pittsburgh's TUSM assisted Ukrainian Canadians in the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), which fought the Nazis and Soviets during World War II. On August 3, the members performed with a Lesya Ukrainka (Ukrainian poetess and nationalist) folk-dance group in McKeesport at International Village Night. On September 15-17, six members attended the

³Robert Voelker, "Red Poet Yevtushenko Enthralls 2,000 Here," Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 1 February 1932, p. 32.

Fifth Worldwide Congress and the Thirteenth National Convention of TUSM in Detroit. On November 2, at Heinz Hall, they picketed the Beryoska Dancers from the Soviet Union with flyers and a symbolic funeral procession.⁴ On November 8, TUSM members sponsored a lecture at St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Hall by Dr. John Kolasky, a former Ukrainian Canadian Communist and author of Two Years in Soviet Ukraine.⁵ On the second Sunday of every month, TUSM appears on WEDO's "Song of Ukraine," a radio program of nationalist persuasion, and urges the Ukrainian community to redouble its efforts for independence of the Ukraine by increasing political activity through its organizations.⁶

Mikola Michnowsky (1873-1924), in whose name the TUSM group was created, was a significant choice in promoting nationalism. A lawyer and ardent nationalist, he organized the first Ukrainian revolutionary party in Eastern Ukraine in Poltava (Dnieper area) in 1900. Unlike many in his party, he believed Ukrainians should liberate themselves politically before installing democratic socialism. Passionately opposed to Russian domination, he felt Ukrainians should seek no outside help in achieving independence. Any occupant of the Ukraine should be considered an enemy--the

⁴See "Russians Rapped Here," Pittsburgh Press, 3 November 1972, p. 27.

⁵See Bohdan Hodiak, "What's There to be Thankful for Today," Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 23 November 1972, p. 61.

⁶Anna Melnychuk, History of TUSM, (Pittsburgh, Penna.), n.p., 1972, pp. 1-2.

Ukraine for Ukrainians only. Once free and united, the Ukraine should be established as a democracy--representing the people and functioning in the interests of the people. As to language, only Ukrainian should be used. Spouses should be Ukrainian. Otherwise, children would be the enemies of parents. Friendship with outsiders would only strengthen outsiders. In 1924, while he was in Kiev, the Soviet police asked Michnowsky to renounce his political posture. He refused. The report was circulated later that he had committed suicide.⁷

⁷"Our Patron, Mykola Michnowsky," Educational Materials (Washington, D.C.), n.p., 1971, pp. 37-38.

I. DNIESTER--BOOK AND ART STORE

A major cultural institution--a link between the Ukraine and Pittsburgh--is "Dniester," Ukrainian Book and Art Store at 346 Third Avenue near Smithfield Street. It was originally located on the South Side at 1315 Carson Street (1946-1949). Items once popular included Ukrainian records, books, embroidered blouses, towels, tablecloths, ceramics, and pysanky (Easter eggs). Business now consists largely of sending packages to relatives in Europe. Television, among other factors, has reduced the numbers of readers. Interest in records is fading. Even pysanky which attracted a large clientele formerly are less in demand. Currently more outsiders than Ukrainians buy these masterpieces which represent folk art at the highest level. Pittsburgh's pysanky artists are also diminishing in number. Consequently, the owners must import from other cities in the United States, Canada, and Europe. Because Pittsburgh's 15,000 Ukrainians are being rapidly absorbed into the American cultural pattern, and the diminishing clientele is predominantly American, the owners, Inna and Paul Krawchuk, are anxious to sell.¹

¹"Pysanky--For a Unique Easter," Pittsburgh Press, 1 April 1971, pp. 4-5.

J. HOWERLA--BOOK AND ART STORE

The other Ukrainian book and art store, "Howerla," is located at 1307 Carson Street on the South Side. Originally, it was located at 1015 Carson Street (1956-1963). Here, too, the principal business consists of sending packages to relatives in the satellite countries, but volume is decreasing as the older generation dies off. At one time, the owner sold ten American, Canadian, and European Ukrainian newspapers each week to the Pittsburgh Ukrainian community. However, the demand became so low, he had to cancel all subscriptions. Religious items, books, and records will be removed from the shelves because of lack of interest. During the Easter season, pysanky and ceramics are still sold in considerable volume. The handmade pysanky are imported from Kolomyja, Ukraine. The owner will retain the store as long as packages continue to flow abroad.¹

¹Paul Krupnik, owner of "Howerla," Ukrainian Book and Art Store, in a private interview at 1307 Carson Street, South Side, Pittsburgh, Penna., 15 September 1972.

K. UKRAINIAN RADIO PROGRAM (WPIT)

Individuals as well as organizations in Pittsburgh have helped to promote the movement for national independence. One of the most prominent of the American Ukrainians is Michael Komichak of McKees Rocks, Director of the Ukrainian Radio Program at WPIT. Through his appeals on the air, thousands of dollars have been collected for the Ukrainian National Fund of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Ridna Shkola (native schools), orphans and disabled veterans outside the Soviet sphere, the Taras Shevchenko monument in Washington, D.C. (\$3,000), and the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard (\$53,000). Designed to attract the old immigrants, American-born Ukrainians, and new immigrants, the program includes announcements of anniversaries, births, weddings, deaths, and various activities of Ukrainians in the tri-state area and throughout the world. Popular Ukrainian folk-songs follow the announcements.¹

On July 16, 1970, on the twentieth anniversary of his radio program, Michael Komichak was cited in a resolution by the County Commissioners of Allegheny County for promulgating Ukrainian culture and traditions; for helping raise \$15,000 for the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard, \$1,000

¹WPIT Bulletin, Pick-Roosevelt Hotel, Sixth Street and Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Penna., January 1970, p. 1.

for Carnegie Library on the occasion of its seventy-fifth anniversary, \$1,000 for relief of Yugoslavia's Ukrainian earthquake victims; for his work as Secretary of Captive Nations Week; for helping displaced persons living in Allegheny County; and for his contributions to the principles and ideals underlying the basic freedoms of man.²

Early in 1968, when concern about the persecutions of intellectuals in the Ukraine was becoming acute, Michael Komichak sent an appeal to U.S. Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania asking that the United States government, through the United Nations, investigate the situation.³ The letter was referred to William B. Macomber, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations, whose reply to Senator Scott read, in part:

The Department of State cannot stress too strongly its disapproval of any repressive measures directed against the expressions of Ukrainians and other groups of intellectuals in the Soviet Union. In considering the question of initiatives at the United Nations, it is necessary to determine on a realistic basis whether the support required for the success of such initiatives would be forthcoming from other nations. A U.S. Government initiative which failed to achieve significant support might prove counter-productive and would be most unlikely to have any positive benefits for the Ukrainian intellectuals. We are, however, bringing this matter to the attention of our UN Mission, which will give Mr. Komichak's request appropriate consideration.

²Resolution by County Commissioners, Pittsburgh, Penna., 16 July 1970.

³Michael Komichak, in a private interview in his office at Station WPIT, Roosevelt Hotel, 607 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Penna., 3 September 1972.

With respect to the possibility of direct representatives by our Government to the Soviet Government, the Department believes that such representatives would not be effective nor would they be in the best interest of the Ukrainian intellectuals. We have found from past experience that government-to-government approaches to Soviet officials on such matters have not been helpful. The Soviets have merely brushed aside such approaches with claims that there is no persecution in the USSR and that the United States Government by raising the subject is attempting to interfere in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. It is our considered judgment that any official approach by the U.S. Government at this time would be most unlikely to help the cause of the Ukrainian intellectuals.

We continue to believe, however, that appeals by private organizations and individuals, especially when made on an international basis, are a highly useful procedure. Such appeals, in our opinion, are more likely to bring about a change in Soviet policies than official representations or censure by foreign governments. While dismissed by Soviet authorities as 'cold war initiatives' the expressions of concern by large numbers of private individuals from a variety of countries are more difficult to ignore. For this reason the Department is convinced of the importance of efforts of private American citizens and organizations to call the situation of the Ukrainians and other groups of intellectuals in the Soviet Union to the attention of world opinion, in order to help bring the weight of this opinion to bear on Soviet authorities. The Department does not wish to exaggerate the tangible effects such publicity would have on the Soviet authorities. Nonetheless, the Soviet government does exhibit at least some sensitivity to public criticism abroad of its internal policies and may be affected accordingly.⁴

In keeping with the suggestion in the letter that private organizations and individuals appeal, the Ukrainian community by this time had already created the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (1940) and the World

⁴Senator Hugh Scott's letter to Michael Komichak, Washington, D.C., 12 June 1968.

Congress of Ukrainians (1967) to arouse world opinion and temper Soviet actions.

The WPIT radio program continues to serve the Pittsburgh Ukrainian community covering religious, social, and cultural events, and political activity here and abroad relative to the Ukrainian question. However, generous financial contributions to sustain the program are diminishing.⁵

⁵Michael Komichak, in a private interview in his office at station WPIT, Pick-Roosevelt Hotel, 607 Penn Avenue, Pittsburgh, Penna., 3 September 1972.

L. SONG OF UKRAINE (WEDO)

The format of the "Song of Ukraine" is built on a fervent nationalistic base, ideologically opposed to Moscow, imperialism, and communism. Concentrating on political developments in the Ukraine, the director urges coordination of organized political activity relative to the independence of the Ukraine, especially within the local branches of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for the Ukraine, TUSM (Ukrainian Student Organization of Mykola Michnowsky), and Soiuz Ukrainok (Ukrainian Women's Organization).¹ In September, 1972, TUSM joined the program urging coordination of common activities between both the older and younger Ukrainians.²

Initiated in 1961, the program is currently receiving fewer financial contributions from Ukrainian subscribers.³

¹Wolodymyr Masur, director, in a private interview in his office, Ukrainian National Aid Association, 527 Second Ave., Downtown Pittsburgh, Penna., 28 December 1972.

²Anna Melnychuk, president of TUSM, in a private interview in author's home, 4009 Dalewood Street, Brentwood, Pittsburgh, Penna., 3 January 1973.

³Wolodymyr Masur, 28 December 1972.

M. SOIUZ UKRAINOK--UKRAINIAN WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION

In 1930, a branch of the national Ukrainian Women's Organization, Soiuz Ukrainok (founded in New York in 1925),¹ was formed in Pittsburgh at the church hall of St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church at Seventh and Carson Street on the South Side. Organized by Mary Beck, a young attorney, it functioned in the name of Olga Basarab, a young Ukrainian nationalist killed by the Poles in 1925.² Its purpose is:

1. to preserve ethnic identity
2. to preserve national cultural traditions
3. to help Ukrainians in need
4. to promote the movement for independence
5. to unite all women regardless of political and religious affiliations
6. to promote social activity according to the general will
7. to urge Ukrainian women to become members of the Ukrainian community
8. to help Ukrainians in the Ukraine achieve freedom and human rights³

¹V. Markus, "Organizations," Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia, ed. Volodymyr Rubijovic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), II, 1128.

²Stephenie Holubiak, president since 1962 of Soiuz Ukrainok, in a private interview at the home of the author, 4009 Dalewood Street, Brentwood, Pittsburgh, Penna., 1 October 1972.

³"Purpose," Constitution and By-Laws of Soiuz Ukrainok, New York, N.Y., 1925, p. 1.

Starting with twenty members, the Pittsburgh group directed its financial efforts towards those in the Ukraine such as disabled veterans, orphans, Ridna Shkola (native schools), and Prosvita (cultural centers). Since World War II, because of Soviet refusal of such aid, the organization has channeled its financial contributions to American projects such as the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard, the Taras Shevchenko Monument in Washington, D.C., the two Ukrainian radio programs in Pittsburgh (the Ukrainian Radio program at WPIT and the Song of Ukraine at WEDO), and TYM and TUSM (Youth Organizations). For several years, Soiuz Ukrainok has had a Ukrainian kitchen and display of ceramics and embroidery at the annual Festival of All Nationalities at the Civic Arena. There are twenty members. However, each year it is becoming increasingly difficult to get members to attend the meetings and support the organization and its activities.⁴

⁴Stephanie Holubiak, president since 1962 of Soiuz Ukrainok, in a private interview at the home of the author, 4009 Dalewood Street, Brentwood, Pittsburgh, Penna., 1 October 1972.

N. O.D.F.F.U.--ORGANIZATION FOR THE DEFENSE OF
FOUR FREEDOMS FOR THE UKRAINE

After World War II, the Ukrainian refugees in America reacted vigorously to the turn of political events in Europe which left Russia in control of the Ukraine. In order to promote the cause of liberation and to coordinate activity, they created the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for the Ukraine--the strongest and most active of all. It was founded in 1947 in New York under the stimulus of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and its leader Stephen Bandera. The Pittsburgh branch, Number 51, was established in 1951.² The purpose was "to defend for an integrated Independent Ukrainian State the principles of Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Conscience, Freedom from Fear, and Freedom from Want, as affirmed by the Atlantic Charter."³ Meetings are held every three months and all activities are directed by the Supreme Executive Committee

¹"Political and Civic Organizations," Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), II, 1125-26. (With youth, veterans and women's organizations, O.D.F.F.U. constitutes the Ukrainian Liberation Front.)

²"On the Twentieth Anniversary Celebration of the Defense of Four Freedoms for the Ukraine in Pittsburgh," Narodne Slovo (National Word), 11 November 1971, p. 3.

³"Chapter II," Constitution of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for the Ukraine, Inc., New York, N.Y., 1947, p. 1.

in New York.⁴ The local O.D.F.F.U. sponsored two outstanding events in Pittsburgh. On October 10, 1965, at Carnegie Music Hall, twelve hundred Ukrainians met in honor of Cardinal Joseph Slipyj to hear Governor Schaeffer laud the renowned Ukrainian Greek Catholic primate who was exiled to Siberia by the Soviets for eighteen years (1945-1963). Here, as is the custom at all such meetings, a Ukrainian choir performed as an emotional stimulus to nationalism. Although of religious character, this assemblage was a political act intended to remind Ukrainians that the spirit of independence cannot be destroyed. In October, 1969, a meeting protesting Soviet imprisonment of Ukrainian intellectuals was held at the Lithuanian Hall, 18th and Jane Street on the South Side, with Katherine Kachmo, professor of psychology at Clarion University, Clarion, Penna., as the principal speaker. Previous to the meeting, there was a protest march which started at St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Catholic Church (Seventh and Carson Street) and terminated at the Lithuanian Hall (Seventeenth and Jane Street). Future programs of O.D.F.F.U. will concentrate on retarding assimilation and accelerating the movement for independence.⁵ Originally,

⁴"Supreme Executive Committee of the O.D.F.F.U.," Constitution of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for the Ukraine, Inc., New York, N.Y., 1947, p. 4.

⁵"On the Twentieth Anniversary Celebration of the Defense of Four Freedoms for the Ukraine in Pittsburgh," Narodne Slovo (National Word), 11 November 1971, p. 3.

membership of O.D.F.F.U. in Pittsburgh numbered seventy; currently, there are twenty-five.⁶

⁶Paul Marinec, secretary of O.D.F.F.U., in a private interview in his office at the Ukrainian National Aid Association, 527 Second Avenue, Downtown Pittsburgh, Penna., 8 September 1972.

CHAPTER V

EARLY AND RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

A. EARLY POLITICAL MANIFESTATIONS IN PITTSBURGH AGAINST REPRESSION IN THE UKRAINE

Previous to the coordinated political action of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (organized in 1940), early immigrants who first arrived in Pittsburgh in 1880 did not neglect those in the Ukraine and took part in various political manifestations. Money flowed generously for the support of native schools, orphans, and invalids of wars, all of which were neglected by dominating governments--Austria-Hungary, Poland, and Russia. In 1911, alone, Pittsburgh Ukrainians sent \$1,200 to Ukrainian schools in Lviv (Western Ukraine). These contributions terminated during World War II when the Soviets refused such aid. In 1915, during World War I, when Soviet troops occupied Galicia, the Pittsburgh Ukrainian community held a protest meeting with 3,000 attending. The principal speaker was Dr. Demidchuk, professor at Lviv University. Again, in 1915, when Poland occupied parts of Western Galicia, 4,000 protested. At this demonstration, five men and three women were arrested.¹

¹Stephen Malevich, "Pittsburgh," Jubilee Book: 1894-1934, ed. Luke Myshuha (Jersey City, New Jersey: Svoboda Press, 1936), p. 726.

In July, 1919, when the Poles were invading the Ukraine by authority of the Allied Supreme Council, Ukrainians of Western Pennsylvania called a mass meeting at the Lyceum Theater in Downtown Pittsburgh. To quote, in part, from The Pittsburgh Post:

.....The mass meeting followed a parade through the South Side, the uptown and downtown districts, in which more than 10,000 Ukrainians sought to recreate a fleeting vision of their native customs, native dress and native atmosphere. The mass meeting adopted three resolutions, calling upon the peace conference to eject the Poles and Rumanians who are invading Ukrainian territory. A copy of the resolution was sent to President Wilson.

The parade was formed at the South Side Greek Catholic Church, South Seventh and Carson Streets. At its head were a great band of marchers, men and women, in the varied costumes that are indicative of the distinctive modes of different areas. They were in command of Harry Shabatura, the chief marshal, who was attired in the traditional costume of a hetman, the omnipotent ruler of the Ukrainian peoples during the period of the second Ukrainian republic.²

Again, in December of 1919, Pittsburgh Ukrainians reacted against the Poles--in prayer. To quote, in part, from the Pittsburgh Dispatch:

Thousands of black-garbed, crying and be-moaning men, women and children filled the twelve Ukrainian Catholic Churches of the Pittsburgh district yesterday morning in a protest of prayer against the domination of Poland over Eastern Galicia and Ukraine. The interiors and exteriors of the churches were draped in funeral crape and hundreds of the Ukrainian homes were decorated in black.

²"Pittsburgh's Ukrainians Hold Protest, Parade and Mass Meeting," The Pittsburgh Post, 21 July 1919, p. 1.

Scenes bordering upon frenzy burst into being occasionally in many churches as the pastors in the prayers mentioned the location of some event in history that was particularly potent in bringing to the minds of the mourners tragedies of loved ones. In St. John the Baptist's Ukrainian Church, South Seventh and Carson Streets, men sobbed along with their wives and children as the pastor, Rev. E. Sydoriak, pleaded for divine aid in obtaining liberty for the land of their birth.

A campaign started yesterday to raise \$50,000 in a month to be used to help force the Poles to release their hold on Eastern Galicia and Ukraine. The money is to be raised through voluntary contributions.

For the tenth time a petition of protest to be sent to the Senate, Congress and President Wilson, is being prepared. The petition will be completed when mass meetings of more than 25,000 Ukrainians will be held in the Ukrainian churches next Sunday. The mourning services held here yesterday were nationwide, and they will continue at intervals, it is announced, until relief has been obtained.

The Ukrainians declare that they were betrayed by the Allied Supreme Council which authorized Poland to establish a twenty-five year mandate over Ukrainian Galicia. The Ukrainians believe that America will not stand idly by and allow that mandate to be put into effect.³

In 1923, when the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris recognized the Polish claim to Western Ukraine, Ukrainians in Pittsburgh and surrounding areas again declared their ire sending resolutions and telegrams to Washington and the League of Nations in Geneva. In this demonstration, 6,000 participated.⁴

³"Frenzied Lamentations Characterize Services," Dispatch, 29 December 1919, p. 1.

⁴Stephen Malevich, "Pittsburgh," Jubilee Book: 1894-1934, ed. Luke Myshuha (Jersey City, New Jersey: Svoboda Press, 1936), p. 727.

The most vociferous protest in Pittsburgh occurred in 1931 against the "pacification" carried on by Poles in Western Galicia. Approximately 8,000 voiced heated discontent.⁵ Various incidents led to the "pacification." In the 1920's in Western Galicia, the Ukrainians under the Poles began asserting themselves. In 1925, a Ukrainian Scientific Society was opened in Warsaw. Also in 1925, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists was founded, the backbone of a revolutionary movement. In 1927, a Ukrainian Agricultural Fair was held in Strij. In 1928, Ukrainians participated in elections to the Polish parliament electing thirty-four representatives to the chamber wherein Dr. Dmytro Levitsky, chairman of the Ukrainian caucus, announced that the Ukraine must one day be free. In the meantime, the Poles conducted a drastic "pacification" program with the help of the police and the army. Ukrainian libraries and cooperatives were ruined. The Ukrainian Boy Scout organization was dissolved, the Ukrainian secondary schools (gymnasias) were closed, and thousands of Ukrainians were beaten, tortured, and imprisoned. "When the Ukrainian Uniate bishopric issued a letter of condemnation, the circular was confiscated by the Polish authorities. In England and in America protests mounted."⁶

⁵Ibid.

⁶Michael Grushevskij, "Recent Ukraine," A History of Ukraine (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), pp. 568-69.

From 1931 until 1940 (when the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America was organized in New York), political activity in the Pittsburgh Ukrainian community was limited among other factors, by the world wide economic depression, cultural assimilation, intermarriage, and the move to the suburbs. The fraternal insurance society, the national home, the churches, and schools had all dropped in membership. However, during and after World War II many Ukrainians managed to escape Soviet domination. They emigrated to America in great numbers, many coming to Pittsburgh where they revived local political efforts for the liberation of the Ukraine.⁷

⁷Author, who has been a member of the Pittsburgh community throughout her lifetime.

B. UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA

World War II was completing its initial phase by May, 1940. Nazi Germany had invaded Czechoslovakia, destroyed Poland, and overrun most of central Europe. Under the Non-Aggression Pact of 1939 between Hitler and Stalin, most of Western Ukraine fell within the sphere of Soviet influence. In Eastern Ukraine, the Soviets had long forced Ukrainian nationalist leadership underground by means of purges, executions, and the artificial famine of 1933. With Eastern Ukraine and most of Western Ukraine under Soviet domination, it appeared that the Ukraine was by 1940 a political corpse. Abroad, the Soviets propagandized that Ukrainians were Fascist tools or reactionaries. Thus, the Ukrainian community in the United States reacted under the crisis with a national organization--the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Convening in Washington, D.C., May 24, 1940, it represented 1,425 Ukrainian organizations and over a million Ukrainians and Americans of Ukrainian descent. The strongest political establishment at that time, it urged world support for the Ukrainian plea for independence.¹

The First Ukrainian American Congress (May, 1940) was spearheaded by the four outstanding Ukrainian

¹"Foreword," Story of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (1940-1951) (New York: The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1951), pp. 5-6.

fraternal organizations in America--the Ukrainian National Aid Association of Pittsburgh, Penna., the Ukrainian National Association of Jersey City, N.J., the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association of Scranton, Penna., and the Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics of Philadelphia, Penna. At this session, a memorandum was issued declaring to the world that the establishment of an independent Ukraine would serve as an obstacle to the aggressive policies of Russia, Poland, or Germany. As a stabilizing influence in Eastern Europe, her natural resources, agriculture, and industry would be available to all nations through free trade agreements instead of being exploited by a dominating power. On February 7, 1941, a special memorandum was submitted to the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee by a special delegation of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America regarding the Ukrainian question. On April 7, 1941, the UCCA sent a telegram to President Roosevelt upon the arrival of General Sikorski of Poland in the United States which read, in part:

The Ukrainian people resolutely resisted the incorporation of Western Ukraine into the Polish Republic at the end of World War I. They will, by all means at their disposal, again fight against all attempts to incorporate these territories into a future independent state of Poland in the same manner as they now fight against Soviet domination.²

²Ibid., p. 12.

The message was terminated with the observation that since the Ukrainians in their native land were not permitted to express their free will, the UCCA was their voice. However, in June, 1941, when Germany invaded Russia, American sympathies gravitated toward Russia--an American ally. Ukrainians were denounced before the Federal Bureau of Investigation and before the security authorities of the army and navy. Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn in Sabotage (published in 1942) represented a segment of the Ukrainians and their organizations as Fascists. (Irish, Italian, and German organizations were also denounced.) When the Ukrainian National Association of New Jersey instituted legal measures, the writers of Sabotage withdrew charges. Because certain quarters in Washington, D.C. were in sympathy with the writers, three of the four Ukrainian fraternal associations--members of the UCCA--withdrew (1941). Only the Ukrainian National Aid Association of Pittsburgh, Penna., remained.³

At the Second Congress of the UCCA (Philadelphia, Penna., January 22, 1944)--to which the three fraternal Ukrainian organizations decided to return--political work was resumed with vigor. Declaring Ukrainian-Americans an integral part of America, they pledged their aid to American victory in World War II by approving an American-Ukrainian war bond drive of five million dollars which was

³Ibid., p. 13.

oversubscribed. A war relief committee for Ukrainian war victims and refugees was established. Plans were set up for a magazine in English called the Ukrainian Quarterly. Resolutions for a free and democratic Ukrainian state were reaffirmed. Authorization was granted for a delegation to the first conference of the United Nations in San Francisco (May, 1945). A lengthy memorandum was prepared and submitted ultimately to the United States representatives, and various foreign representatives were informed of the Ukraine's quest for independence. It was emphasized that the representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic headed by Dimitri Z. Manuilsky did not truly represent the Ukrainian people, but were representatives of the Soviet government.⁴

The Third Congress of the UCCA (June, 1946) proceeded to warn the world of Soviet totalitarianism. It declared Soviet Russia a threat to world peace due to her annihilation of the Ukrainian National Republic after the revolution in 1917; her attack upon Finland; her occupation of Western Ukraine, Carpatho-Ukraine, and the Baltic states; the transformation of Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the Balkan States into satellites; and her designs upon Iran, Korea, and China. Attention was called to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic's denial of autonomous rights and persecution by the NKVD. Resistance to repression was

⁴Ibid., pp. 18-20.

especially strong on the part of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. "The Congress thereupon called for the universal application of the Four Freedoms and the principles of the Atlantic Charter, holding that without them peace and security in the world would remain unattainable."⁵

With the consolidation of Russia's power and territory after World War II and disquieting western reaction, Ukrainian nationalists were favored by the new international climate. In July, 1946 (one month after the Third Congress of the UCCA), the UCCA convened with the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (organized in 1940) in Winnipeg to unify further Ukrainian immigration in the western hemisphere. As a result of this unification, publicity relative to the Ukrainian question grew, a joint delegation was sent to the Peace Conference in Paris, and information centers were established for the resettlement of Ukrainian displaced persons in Europe. In the fall of 1946, the UCCA sponsored a mass meeting in conjunction with the United Ukrainian Organizations of New York City. The group sent a request to the General Assembly of the United Nations that a special commission be appointed to investigate Soviet domination of the Ukraine and that the Ukrainian people be guaranteed those rights as articulated in the United Nations Charter. Finally, at the end of 1947, the UCCA discussed the Ukrainian question with the United States delegation to the

⁵Ibid., pp. 20-21.

United Nations which included Arthur Vandenberg, George Warren, and L. Steinbauer.⁶

In May, 1947, when the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia concluded their mutual pact against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), resulting in "pacification" of Ukrainian areas in Western Ukraine, Carpatho-Ukraine, and to the west of the Curzon line in Poland, the UCCA sent a memorandum to Warren R. Austin, U.S. delegate to the United Nations, which read, in part:

The action of these three states against the Ukrainian population whose only crime is its desire of and aspiration to freedom and national independence under a democratic government, is contrary to the high principles of the United Nations. At the same time the occupation of the Ukraine by Soviet Russia seriously endangers world peace; therefore, the Ukrainian Congress Committee requests the American representative to submit to the Security Council a resolution calling for an international investigation of the lands inhabited by the Ukrainians.⁷

In November, 1947, the UCCA took another step in the unification of Ukrainians in the New World--two million in all. Representatives of Ukrainian organizations in the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Panama, and Uruguay created the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference the aims of which were:

1. Ever-increasing contributions by Ukrainians to the political, cultural and economic life of the countries of their choice;

⁶Ibid., pp. 22-24.

⁷Ibid., pp. 24-25.

2. The making of the cause of the Ukraine known to the citizens and governments of the countries of North and South America;
3. The cultivation of Ukrainian culture and customs and their integration into the cultures of the countries of this hemisphere;
4. The direction of all Ukrainian activities in the interest and development of the American countries, and the assistance of the Ukrainian people in their life-and-death struggle for liberation from the Russian yoke.⁸

In 1948, the UCCA sent a letter to the Polish-American Congress in Philadelphia, declaring that further designs of Poles on Ukrainian territory would be resisted by Americans of Ukrainian descent. That same year, to publicize the posture of Americans of Ukrainian descent in regard to relationships between the United States and the USSR, the UCCA sent representatives to the national conventions of the Democratic and Republican Parties in Philadelphia. In the spring of 1948, the UCCA requested that the State Department install a Ukrainian language section within the "Voice of America," America's propaganda apparatus. In June, 1948, the State Department agreed to the request.⁹

A Ukrainian-language broadcast with the "Voice of America" was a significant accomplishment for its psychological potential in behalf of the Ukrainian cause. The broadcasts started December 12, 1949. However, initial joy

⁸Ibid., p. 25.

⁹Ibid., pp. 26-27.

and hope turned eventually into resentment. The Ukrainian broadcasts were influenced by Russian emigre (anti-communist) propaganda. Accomplishments of Ukrainian civilization were mentioned, but Russian civilization was glorified accenting the contention that Russian civilization was common to both Ukrainian and Russian nations. Praise was heaped upon such Russian heroes as Alexander Nevsky, Ivan the Terrible, and Peter the Great. Taras Shevchenko was painted as a product of both Ukrainian and Russian peasantry. Consequently, reactions of protest on the part of Ukrainians to the Ukrainian-language broadcasts were surveyed in various Ukrainian newspapers in the United States, Canada, Australia, France, Germany, Britain, and Belgium. The results were translated and compiled in dossier form and presented, with a special memorandum, to the State Department and to the head of the International Broadcasting Division (Voice of America) in New York. Ultimately, improvement was achieved in the Ukrainian language broadcasts such as termination of the glorification of the Russian people. Ukrainian matters gained more attention. However, there is no reference to freedom or liberation on the Ukrainian-language broadcasts. United States officials explain that as long as the United States and Soviet Union recognize each other diplomatically, such references could be interpreted as interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. This would be contrary to United States foreign policy. Furthermore,

the Voice of America is not authorized to design programs to change the government or social structure of the Soviet Union. Such pronouncements must come from the President or Secretary of State or authorized political officers of the Department of State in Washington.¹⁰

Upon the tenth anniversary of the UCCA (1950), Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, president, defined the position of the Ukrainian people in regard to the Ukrainian question. Guiding principles and objectives in the crusade for truth for freedom are:

1. The undying defense of American democracy and of the Hebraic-Christian bases of Western Civilization against the force of moral and intellectual degradation embodied in world communism.
2. The materialization of effective psychological resistance by the satellite Eastern European peoples against their unwelcome Russian communist masters.
3. The thorough application of the basic American principles of self-determination to all peoples cherishing this right.
4. The unqualified dismemberment of the Soviet Empire and the permanent extirpation of the Russian imperialist mania which for centuries has been a menace to world peace.
5. The advocacy of the positive political and economic integration of all Eastern European peoples into a federated Europe and in the unity of European Society. We crusade for freedom not only on the basis of the actual truth of Soviet despotism, but also on the basis of the real possible truth of a democratically unified Europe.¹¹

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 33-36.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 60-61.

With its second decade (1950-1960), the UCCA formally extended administration by establishing branches throughout the United States. The Pittsburgh branch was founded in 1950, and like all others, coordinated political activities with the central office in New York. There were various other outstanding achievements during the second decade. The UCCA arranged for annual observances of Ukrainian Independence Day (January 22, 1918) in the United States Congress. A delegate, Walter Dushnyk, was sent to the Preparatory Conference for the World Anti-Communist Congress in Mexico City in March, 1958. The UCCA's "Captive Nations Week Resolution" was enacted into Public Law 86-90 by the United States Congress on July 17, 1959.¹²

The third decade (1960-1970) of activities was also significant. The UCCA organized mass protests and demonstrations against Khrushchev's second visit to the United States. The UCCA gained recognition of the Ukraine and the Ukrainian language in the U.S. Population Census. The UCCA sponsored the U.S. Congressional Resolution on the Shevchenko Statue which was enacted into Public Law 86-749 on September 13, 1960. Unveiling of the Shevchenko Monument took place June 27, 1964 in Washington, D.C. Over 100,000 participated in this ceremony and former President Dwight D. Eisenhower was the principal speaker. Pittsburgh's contribution to the \$250,000 monument amounted to more than

¹²Three Decades of UCCA: 1940-1970 (New York, N.Y.: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1970), pp. 8-9.

\$3,000 collected largely through appeals of the WPIT Ukrainian radio program.¹³ In the same year (1964), the UCCA passed a resolution in support of the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate. At the Ecumenical Council in Rome (1963-1964), the editor of UCCA publications, Walter Dushnyk, was the accredited correspondent. At the New York World's Fair in 1964 and 1965, the UCCA sponsored a "Festival of Ukrainian Dance and Music" and a fashion show of Ukrainian women's folk costumes. The president of UCCA, Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, participated in the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League Conferences in Taipei, Manila, Seoul, Saigon, Tokyo, and Bongkok. In the UCCA's display of church unity, three eminent Ukrainian clergymen extended greetings to the Ninth Congress (1964): Joseph Cardinal Slipjy, Archbishop-Major of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan John Theodorovich of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the United States, and Metropolitan Ambrose Senyshyn of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States. In November, 1967, the UCCA helped establish the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. The UCCA led protests against arrests and trials of Ukrainian intellectuals by the Communist regime in the Ukraine and sent a delegate, Walter Dushnyk, to the U.N. International Conference on Human Rights held in April-May, 1968 in Teheran, Iran. In July and August,

¹³Michael Komichak, director of WPIT Ukrainian radio program, in a note dated 17 August 1972.

1968, the UCCA hosted Joseph Cardinal Slipyj during the time of his visit in the United States. Finally, the UCCA protested against the renewed persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church upon the arrest and trial of Archbishop Vasyl Welychkovsky and other priests in the Ukraine in 1969. A protest was sent to the U.N. Secretary-General U Thant.¹⁴

Four Pittsburgh Ukrainians--Wolodymyr Masur, Ananey Nekonchuk, Walter Kowal, and Paul Marinec (members of the executive staff of the Ukrainian National Aid Association)--attended the Eleventh Congress of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America at New York's Commodore Hotel October 6-8, 1972. A total of five hundred two delegates (an increase of eighteen over the 1969 convention) from fifty-three national organizations and their local branches participated. Fifty delegates from student and youth organizations set a record for youth attendance. High on the agenda of the Congress was the political situation in the Ukraine--the current repression of intellectuals (Moroz, Chornovil, Svitlychny, Dzuba, and Dobosz, among others), the problems of Ukrainian churches, Ukrainian culture, and the Russification of the Ukraine.¹⁵

¹⁴Three Decades of UCCA: 1940-1970 (New York, N.Y., Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1970), pp. 8-10.

¹⁵"Eleventh Congress of UCCA in New York City," Svoboda, 14 October 1972, pp. 1-2.

Prior to formal deliberations of the Congress, Dr. Walter Dushnyck, on behalf of the Resolutions Committee proposed sending three telegrams: to U.S. Ambassador of the U.N. George Bush and U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, protesting political and cultural oppression in the Ukraine, and to Mrs. Clarence A. Manning upon the death of her husband, Prof. Manning.¹⁶ (Prof. Manning, formerly of Columbia University, made valuable contributions through his writings to Ukrainian history, politics, and literature.)¹⁷ A fourth resolution, proposed by Lev Futala, vice president of Pittsburgh's Ukrainian National Aid Association, urged that the Eleventh Congress be held in remembrance of the thirtieth anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the heroic resistance of the Ukrainian people against the Nazis and the Communists. All resolutions were unanimously accepted.¹⁸

The Congress was opened officially by President Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky reiterating the importance of the Congress if the Ukraine were to achieve independence. Ukrainian-American veteran and youth organizations then marched in with Ukrainian and American flags. Obviously charged to

¹⁶"UCCA and Its Eleventh Congress," Ukrainian Quarterly, (Winter 1972), pp. 385-86.

¹⁷See Walter Dushnyk, "Clarence A. Manning: A scholar in service of Freedom," Ukrainian Quarterly, (Winter 1972), pp. 398-405.

¹⁸"UCCA and Its Eleventh Congress," Ukrainian Quarterly, (Winter 1972), p. 386.

a high pitch of resentment over recent persecution of intellectuals in the Ukraine, no one in the Congress sang in accompaniment to the piano rendition of the American national anthem. However, when the pianist started the Ukrainian national anthem, (The Ukraine Has Not Yet Died), everyone joined in. Above the stage hung a sign--"Congress of Americans of Ukrainian descent." A delegate protested that the sign should have read: "Congress of Ukrainians living in the United States." Another delegate declared that primary allegiance should be pledged to the Ukraine. In both instances, criticism was followed by strong applause. A fourteen-member delegation of TUSM (youth organization), a branch of which exists in Pittsburgh, demanded changes in the UCCA's by-laws proposing a more vehement stance against the U.S. State Department's detente posture and Russia's continued persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals. One of the TUSM members also suggested that Nixon explain his pronouncement during his trip to the USSR that Kiev (capital of the Ukraine) was the mother of all Russian (emphasis mine) cities. Still another protested the UCCA's president's (Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky) exclusive use of the English language. He (TUSM member) maintained only Ukrainian should be employed. The young people offered aggressive criticism, but no workable solution to the Ukrainian question. Equilibrium was achieved by the older, conservative element urging that

the UCCA function within the context of United States foreign policy which does not sanction intervention in USSR internal matters.¹⁹

The proceedings of the Eleventh Congress were conducted in plenary session and working committees with discussions on specific issues and aspects relative to the Ukrainian question. The committees also prepared resolutions. The fourteen working committees reveal the wide scope of activities emphasizing, among other items, ethnic cohesion in promoting the cause of Ukrainian independence:

- 1 Committee on Review of Present State of the Ukraine and Defense of Human Rights
- 2 Committee on School and Pre-School Education
- 3 Committee on Coordination of Youth and Student Organizations
- 4 Committee on External Affairs
- 5 Committee on Internal Affairs
- 6 Committee on Church Affairs
- 7 Committee on Scholarship and Culture
- 8 Committee on Coordination of Women's Activities
- 9 Finance Committee
- 10 By-laws Committee
- 11 Credentials Committee
- 12 Banquet Committee
- 13 Resolutions Committee

¹⁹Author, who attended the convention.

14 Nominating Committee²⁰

At a meeting of the Committee on External Affairs, President Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky outlined a series of immediate objectives relative to the Ukrainian question to be implemented by the UCCA:

1. a continuous and expanded propagation of our truths through the Ukrainian Quarterly, the Congressional Record, our newspaper organs, more books and pamphlets so that our enemies will continue to know that with their tactics they might fool some Americans but they can never fool us;
2. a continuous involvement in the new Ethnic Heritage Studies program, which we testified and battled for;
3. steady pursuit of the Congressional resolutions calling for the resurrection of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches, which the Department of State has been studying since last May;
4. application of our poltrade concept to the USSR, which our fellow American Jews have seized upon for the exit of Jews from the USSR but which could apply also for the exit of Ukrainians, Balts, and others in controlled measure and the cessation of Russian cultural repressions in Ukraine;
5. celebration of the 10th anniversary of the unveiling of the Shevchenko statue in Washington and the resumption of efforts toward a Shevchenko stamp and cognate goals on the occasion;
6. continued participation of UCCA in international and national organizations, such as WACL, the ACWF, NCNC and so forth;
7. a progressive entry of UCCA in preparations for our American bicentennial in 1976; and

²⁰Ivan Bazarko, "Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and its XIth Congress," Ukrainian Quarterly, (Winter 1972), pp. 387-91.

8. continued effort to influence the '76 Olympics for greater accuracy of national designation in the USSR participation.²¹

At the banquet (Friday, October 7, 1973) the Hon. Frank Shakespeare, Director of the United States Information Agency (USIA) and President Nixon's personal representative, was the principal speaker. Mr. Shakespeare concentrated on nationalism and defined it as the "desire of people to form a nation and rule themselves." This force, he maintained, contributed to the disintegration of many world empires--except that of the Soviet Union. No power would stop this process of self-determination. Mr. Shakespeare cited the mass media as a stimulant and accelerant to the movement. The Voice of America, he said, was especially instrumental in projecting the truth behind the Iron Curtain and starting in November, the Ukrainian section would be doubled from the current two hours a day to four hours.²²

During the banquet the Hon. Frank E. Shakespeare was one of nine outstanding leaders who received the "Shevchenko Freedom Award" plaques in recognition of their efforts to achieve independence for the Ukraine and human rights throughout the world. The other two non-Ukrainian recipients included the Hon. Walter H. Judd, former U.S.

²¹Lev E. Dobriansky, "We Know Where We're Going," Ukrainian Quarterly, (Winter 1972), pp. 368-69.

²²"Eleventh Congress of Ukrainians in U.S. Held in New York City," Svoboda, 14 October 1972, pp. 1-3.

Congressman and honorary president of the American Council for World Freedom, and the Rt. Rev. Msgr. John Balkunas, honorary president of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. The remaining six were Ukrainians: Ivan Bazarko, UCCA Executive Director; Anthony Dragan, editor-in-chief of Svoboda; John H. Roberts, Esq., UCCA General Counsel; Roman Huhlewych, president of the United Committee of Ukrainian Organizations of Greater New York; Stephen Kuropas, veteran Ukrainian American leader; and Dr. Anthony Zukowsky, president of the UCCA North Dakota Branch.²³

The convention revealed differences, but of intensity rather than kind--especially between the younger and older generation. Both were motivated by a desire to improve the lot of those here and abroad. The speeches articulated the spiritual bond between the two communities--those in the Ukraine struggling for liberation and those here determined to help. Great stress was placed on preserving spiritual and cultural heritage, enhancing identity, cultivating consciousness, and strengthening bases of organization. The larger representation of delegates among the young, who revealed obvious concern for more effective methods for freeing the Ukraine, left its impact in that many secured positions on the governing organs of the UCCA. The establishment and the young will have to compromise in order to achieve harmony in modus operandi

²³Ibid.

and modus vivendi. The success and development of the UCCA will depend to a large extent on the financial support the Ukrainian community will provide.²⁴ As revealed by

President Dr. Dobriansky:

...for a national organization with international goals we have been operating on an annual shoestring. A Hadassah branch garners in one weekend what we nationally manage in one year. Broad aspirations can be easily verbalized, but for an organization to work for them with progressive success demands more than wordy support.²⁵

Comrads in Kiev, it appears, are not impressed with the UCCA and scathingly attack the organization for bestowing the "Shevchenko Freedom Award" on the Hon. Frank Shakespeare, Director of the USIA. Radyanska Ukraina on October 20, 1972 called the UCCA the "scum of the bourgeois nationalist sycophants, who have been specializing for some time in the treason of the Ukrainian people...." This same Communist paper condemned the UCCA for attempting to "deprecate the gigantic achievements of Soviet Ukraine on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the USSR and sow discord among the brotherly socialist republics...." Communist Ukraine on November 3, 1972 maintained that the UCCA was an adjunct of "American imperialists," trying to instigate a "cold war" against the Soviet

²⁴"UCCA's Eleventh," Svoboda, 14 October 1972, p. 2.

²⁵Lev E. Dobriansky, "We Know Where We're Going," Ukrainian Quarterly, (Winter 1972), p. 366.

Union. In Moscow, Novosti Press Agency printed an article ("I am a Ukrainian myself"), by Nikolai Maksimovich, Rector of Lviv Agency, wherein he attacked an article on the captive nations by President Dobriansky of the UCCA and denied that the Ukraine was a captive nation. He cited statistical data on the amazing growth of Ukrainian culture. He declared that the Ukrainian people are "happy" and can do without the interference of the "traitors of the Ukrainian people..."²⁶

Conversely, the UCCA is not impressed with News from Ukraine published in Kiev. The UCCA refers to the newspaper as "reptilian....published by the so-called Society for cultural ties with Ukraine beyond the boundary--a propagandistic organ of the KGB for infiltration to Ukrainian emigrants in countries of the free world, which systematically attempt^s to divide the leaders of Ukrainian organizations and institutions." In issue No. 37, September 7, 1932, authors Dr. M. Oleksiuk, director of the Kiev Institute of Social Sciences and I. Petriv, chairman of the Lviv Regional Committee, state, among other things, that the UCCA is composed of bourgeois organizations whose members, after World War II, were fascist collaborators and affiliated with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. The writers maintain, also, that the United States

²⁶"UCCA Intensifies Fund-Raising Campaign for 1972," America, 14 December 1972, p. 1.

is actively involved in all the Congresses held by the UCCA. However, the writers claim, because the organization must accommodate American imperialism, the UCCA does not satisfy the expectations of many of the members. Furthermore, the UCCA does not meet the needs of Ukrainian emigration in the United States, and the president, who is inadequate for the position, petitions American imperialists to liberate the Ukraine from the communists.²⁷

A manifestation of protest in Washington, D.C., May 26, 1973, commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the Kremlin-made famine in the Ukraine was the first major project of the UCCA following the convention in New York in October, 1972. In 1932-33, Ukrainians resisted forced collectivization of farms. Moscow then sent thousands of Communist agents, Komsomol members, and detachments of the Red Army and GPU into the Ukrainian countryside, raiding, arresting, and executing at random. Reputedly, 7,000 perished from starvation and the reign of terror. At the manifestation in Washington, a group of more than one hundred from the Pittsburgh area joined more than 3,000 others from various parts of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Florida, and Minnesota.²⁸

²⁷"KGB Attacks Prof. Lev Dobriansky," America, 2 September 1972, p. 3.

²⁸"Moscow Scored for Genocide," Svoboda, 2 June 1973, pp. 1-4.

The protest manifestation began Saturday, May 26, at 1 p.m. at the Shevchenko Monument. A large rectangular sign proclaimed "Day of Solidarity with the Oppressed 50 Million Ukrainians." Archbishop-Metropolitan Ambrose Senyshyn and Bishop H. Losten of Philadelphia joined in the invocation. One of the principal speakers was Prof. Mykola Stepanenko, vice-president of the Ukrainian National Rada (Council), who urged a stronger effort in educating Americans as to the "meaning and blessing of freedom." Congressman Derwinsky of Illinois exhorted the assemblage to alert Americans on the threat of communism. Ivan Wowchuk, president of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for the Ukraine, condemned Moscow's genocidal policies, repression of intellectuals, and erasure of Ukrainian identity. In reference to the pending visit of Leonid Brezhnev, Prof. Wowchuk declared: "Let this manifestation be a prologue to the meeting with Brezhnev." Mrs. Kochno, whose husband (a Ukrainian Orthodox priest) died in a Siberian concentration camp, related various hunger scenes--including cannibalism. After Philadelphia's "Prometheus" choir rendition of Shevchenko's "Testament" and the closing prayer by Archbishop Mark of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the crowd marched thirteen blocks to the Russian embassy where shouts of "Free Ukraine" and "Russians, go to hell," etc. rang out. During the afternoon, the UCCA distributed

leaflets and buttons commemorating the event.²⁹ Both the "Voice of America" and "Radio Liberty" carried reports of the Manifestation in their Ukrainian-language broadcasts to the Ukraine.³⁰

This protest against the artificial famine revealed a mood of indignation and determination to continue informing the world about the Ukrainian problem until repression in the Ukraine ceases.³¹ The Ukrainian community then embarked upon plans to speak in a voice louder and clearer on the then pending visit of Brezhnev to the White House on June 18-26 seeking trade concessions.³²

Editorializing on the famine protest in Washington, D.C., Narodna Volya (National Will), official organ of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association with a Pittsburgh membership of 2,500,³³ expressed chagrin because of the small representation at the rally--approximately 2,000. Questions posed were:

What is happening to the Ukrainian people in the free world? Are they becoming apathetic

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰"Over 4,000 Attend Mass Famine Manifestation," America, 7 June 1972, p. 4.

³¹Ibid.

³²See "U.S. Knows What Brezhnev Wants," U.S. News and World Report, 11 June 1972, p. 34.

³³Leo Yawny, Chairman of Western Pennsylvania Branch of Ukrainian Workingmen's Association, in a telephone interview, Pittsburgh, Penna., 1 June 1973.

toward a cause that should be rejuvenated every year? Or is it that in this great nation of ours, where freedom is taken for granted, our people are beginning to draw back into their shell and are willing to forget the past? How can anyone of Ukrainian extraction forget the past? Or is it that the young are not indoctrinated into the history of the Ukraine and know nothing about the land of their grandfathers and grandmothers?³⁴

Narodna Volya regretted that the American press covered the occasion sparsely. Furthermore, the editorial expressed hope that in the future the Ukrainian Congress Committee, who planned the manifestation, would exert more effort in involving the younger generation. Those who attended were repeaters. A suggestion was made that notices be sent to American newspapers assuring coverage in English. The final appeal was to do things in the Jewish manner in promoting the Ukrainian cause--that is, to publicize in English.³⁵

As to the local (Pittsburgh) branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, organized in 1950 and one of the ninety-three throughout the United States, it implements all decisions of the central office (New York)--such as observing Ukrainian Independence Day (January 22, 1918), Captive Nations Week (third week in July), and planning political protests and demonstrations. The branch contacts U.S. legislators, local press, radio, and TV media and collects funds for the Ukrainian National Fund (the UCCA

³⁴"We're Losing Ground," Narodna Volya (National Will), 21 June 1973, p. 8.

³⁵Ibid.

treasury).³⁶ From 1950 to 1956, first generation Ukrainian-Americans in Pittsburgh lead the branch in its various activities. Michael Komichak, attorney Albert Paslow, and Alexis Holubiak were among the presidents. By 1956, when the World War II political refugees excelled in numbers, they dominated the local branch of the UCCA. The incumbent chairman of the Pittsburgh branch is Ananey Nekonchuk, who assumed the office in 1967.³⁷

In January, 1973, Pittsburgh's branch of the UCCA achieved a singular event in Ukrainian-American history when the Allegheny County Board of Commissioners proclaimed January 22 through February 21 as "Ukrainian Independence Month" on the occasion of the observance of the 55th anniversary of Ukrainian independence. Commissioners Leonard C. Staisey, Thomas J. Foerster, and Dr. William R. Hunt issued the proclamation in ceremonies at the Pittsburgh, Penna., Court House on the eve of the January 22nd anniversary.

³⁶"UCCA Branches," Three Decades of UCCA: 1940-1970 (New York, N.Y.: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1970), p. 16.

³⁷Wolodymyr Masur, Vice President of the UCCA, in a private interview in his office, 528 Second Avenue, Downtown Pittsburgh, Penna., 11 June 1973. (Wolodymyr Masur maintains that 6,000 of the 8,000 members of the national organization are followers of Bandera, a revolutionary who lead the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. In 1959, Bandera was killed by a KGB agent in Munich. The Banderivtsi formed the United Liberation Front with other organizations, such as the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for the Ukraine and TUSM [Youth Organization]).

Wolodymyr Masur, vice-president of the UCCA, and Ananey Nykonchuk, president of the UCCA's Western Pennsylvania branch, accepted the proclamation. Pittsburgh's Mayor Peter F. Flaherty also issued a proclamation marking January 22 as Ukrainian Independence Day in Pittsburgh. Later, at a commemorative concert, on February 4, 1973, TUSM (Youth Organization) members, Anna Melnychuk and Pauline Soroczak, read both proclamations. Civic leader State Supreme Court Justice William F. Circone attended the event, and the principal address was delivered by Leonid Poltava, a writer and an associate editor of Svoboda, Ukrainian Daily.³⁸

Events took a dramatic turn for the Ukrainian Community with Brezhnev's anticipated visit to the United States (June 16-23, 1973) for a summit talk with Nixon on trade agreements. On June 6, 1973, a directive from the central office of the UCCA was sent to all branches and member organizations entitled Brezhnev the Unwelcome Visitor with instructions as to the most effective protest:

- 1) Contact your Mayor and ask him to write to President Nixon and let him know your feelings about the Brezhnev visit;
- 2) Write to your Governor, and ask him to write to the President, expressing to him your protest over the visit of the Russian Communist dictator;

³⁸"Ukrainian Independence Month in Pittsburgh," Svoboda, 24 February 1973, pp. 1, 3.

3) Write your U.S. Senators and Congressmen and ask them not to support any legislation in Congress favoring the liberalization of our trade with the USSR;

4) Contact your local newspaper offices, television and radio stations, and provide them with material on what Brezhnev is doing in the Ukraine;

5) Organize peaceful protest demonstrations, even small ones, if Brezhnev visits your city or state.³⁹

Reflecting the fear of the Ukrainian community in regard to the growing economic rapprochement between Brezhnev and Nixon which could eliminate all hopes of the Ukraine's survival, the directive is critical of Nixon's invitation to Brezhnev to visit the United States. Brezhnev, it relates, is seeking U.S. credits, American grain, and American science and technology to strengthen his unsteady economy. Seeking political accommodation and peaceful coexistence, he asks all but only on the Kremlin's terms. A query is posed: Who is Brezhnev? Brezhnev is not a president, not a prime minister, not even a minister, yet he wields tremendous power in the world today. According to the Soviet political structure, he is the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. First, he is dictator not only of the USSR, but master of more than 234 million people in the USSR, controlling the satellite governments of Poland, East Germany, Hungary,

³⁹Directive: Brezhnev the Unwelcome Visitor, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., New York, N.Y., 6 June 1973, p. 3.

Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Bulgaria, and his political power extends to North Korea, North Vietnam, and Cuba. Second, as undisputed master of the Politburo of the CPSU, he controls and directs the Soviet General Staff and the entire Soviet armed forces; he directs and supervises the dreaded Soviet secret police, the KGB, with its concentration camps, jails, and psychiatric wards; he controls the Soviet courts and all investigating agencies; he controls the economy of the USSR exploiting the Ukraine and other non-Russian countries of the USSR; he directs the cultural, literary, and scientific life of the Russian and non-Russian peoples; he is totally responsible for the suppression of cultural and literary movements in the USSR; and he is wholly responsible for the destruction of all religions in the USSR: the Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant, Judaic, and Moslem. Finally, the Ukrainians must not receive such a visitor, must not trust his plea for peaceful coexistence, and must not forget his crimes of cultural and religious genocide.⁴⁰

The directive goes on to state that in regard to crimes against the Ukrainian people, Brezhnev has committed the following acts of tyranny, barbarism, and cultural genocide:

- 1) He has ordered arrests, trials, and severe sentences upon Ukrainian intellectuals: writers, poets, literary critics, professors,

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 1-2.

artists, museum personnel, engineers, play-rights, stage actors, students, librarians, journalists, television, and radio script writers. Their "guilt?" They demanded the right of the Ukrainian language and they resisted the enforced Russification, aimed at destroying Ukrainian national identity and blotting out Ukrainian national consciousness;

2) He is directly responsible for the colonial exploitation of the Ukraine, bringing the country, a land rich in natural resources, to perennial economic crises and hunger;

3) He is responsible for the virulent Russification policy in the Ukraine, the forcible imposition of the Russian language upon all institutions, schools and universities in the Ukraine; the burning of Ukrainian libraries and archives, such as the Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and the library at the Vydubitsky Monastery, both in Kiev, in which were destroyed priceless documents of Ukrainian history, a rich source of Ukrainian antiquity;

4) He is equally responsible for the persecution of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church and the trial and deportations of Ukrainian priests; he is also guilty of supporting the Kremlin-backed Russian Orthodox Church, which had previously absorbed the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, and which has now become an instrument of the Soviet Russian totalitarian government in the Ukraine!⁴¹

For almost a decade, since the ouster of Krushchev in 1964, the directive continues, Brezhnev has been an absolute dictator. The Ukrainians must not forget that the USSR is still sending sophisticated arms and weapons to North Vietnam and the Viet Cong. Brezhnev must not be permitted to deceive President Nixon and the U.S. Congress.⁴²

⁴¹Ibid., p. 2.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 2-3.

In a pleading tone, the directive continues:

No more loans, no more grain or technical equipment for the USSR until Brezhnev stops the persecution in the Ukraine and in other countries forcibly absorbed and subjugated by Moscow; until Brezhnev permits Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel; until all Ukrainian Intellectuals are freed and allowed to live in peace and continue their intellectual creativities; until he shows respect for the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and demonstrates his government is truly worthy of respect by the civilized world.⁴³

In compliance with the directive, Wolodymyr Masur, vice president of the UCCA and director of the Ukrainian radio program (Song of Ukraine, WEDO), on June 3, 1973, dedicated the entire thirty minutes to a denunciation of Brezhnev's pending visit. He urged the Pittsburgh Ukrainian community to protest Brezhnev's political and cultural stance against Ukrainians in the Ukraine. The following Sunday, June 10, 1973, on the same station, TUSM (Youth Organization) reiterated the message.⁴⁴

On June 13, 1973, still in compliance with the UCCA's directive against Brezhnev's visit to the White House, Wolodymyr Masur, speaking for Pittsburgh's Ukrainian National Aid Association, wrote the following letter to President Nixon:

⁴³Ibid., p. 3.

⁴⁴Author, who listens to the program regularly.

Dear Sir:

As an active, freedom-loving citizen of the USA, surely you must be aware of the fact that Leonid Brezhnev, boss of the Russian Communist Party, is visiting America in hopes of getting our powerful, sometimes gullible and unsuspecting leaders to help him make life in America as miserable as it is in Russia.

Ask any Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Bylorussian, Esthonian, etc. exactly what Brezhnev means by "peaceful coexistence." These people know through experience, such as:

1. the massive artificial famine in 1932-1933 which murdered 7,000,000 Ukrainian men, women and children through starvation;
2. the torturing of thousands of Ukrainian intellectuals by throwing them into concentration camps, prisons, and asylums;
3. continuous cruel Russification of the Ukraine and other enslaved nations.

Please bear in mind that Brezhnev is determined to fulfill the plans of his predecessors-- Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev--who publicly declared, "We will bury you."

The Ukrainian National Aid Association and its membership of almost 10,000 appeal to you at this time for assistance. Don't propose or approve of legislation in Congress favoring liberalization of our trade with the U.S.S.R. Don't give him the tools he needs to accomplish his goal--continued enslavement of all Captive Nations and destruction of democracy in America.

At this time, we wish to express our disappointment in regard to your visit to Russia. Please review and then compare your comments as Vice President with those you made as President. Our hopes were elevated tremendously on your first visit. But this latest visit really turned the tables. We cannot understand this.

Also, when Mr. Kissinger was leaving for his trip, he was asked to investigate the matter

of imprisonment of intellectuals. This he accomplished for the Jewish people for which we praise and congratulate him. But what about the Ukrainian intellectuals? How about consideration on this matter also?

Most respectfully yours,

Wolodymyr Masur⁴⁵

On June 14, 1972, for the first time in the history of Narodne Slovo (National Word), official organ of Pittsburgh's Ukrainian National Aid Association of America, the last of the four-page publication appeared in English and was devoted in its entirety to Brezhnev's visit appealing to the U.S. Government and the political and intellectual leaders of the United States to stand in defense of the national and political freedom of the statehood of the Ukraine and other captive nations. The article demanded that Brezhnev, the oppressor, release all Ukrainian political prisoners--intellectuals condemned to imprisonment without due process of law (in camera and no jury).⁴⁶

On June 17, 1973, the UCCA inserted a \$13,000 ad relative to Brezhnev's visit in the New York Times (Section E, page 16) entitled: "An Open Letter to the American People." It expounded the violations of human rights in the Ukraine, the case of the Ukrainian intellectuals

⁴⁵Wolodymyr Masur, vice president of UCCA, and president of UNAAA, in a letter to President Nixon, 13 June 1973.

⁴⁶"Appeal," Narodne Slovo (National Word), 14 June 1973, p. 4.

resulting in cultural annihilation, and the destruction of Ukrainian identity through Russification. Grievances also included the Stalin-produced famine in the Ukraine in 1932-1933; the destruction of the Orthodox Church in the 1930's; the destruction of the Catholic Church in 1945-1946; the liquidation in 1945-1950 of the anti-Nazi and anti-Soviet Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA); the mass deportation of Ukrainians to Siberia and Central Asia, many of them sent by "administrative order" without benefit of trial, never by choice; and the expulsion in 1969 of 7,000 students from universities, technicums and other higher institutions of learning in the Ukraine for "ideological disloyalty." The ad maintained Brezhnev ousted Politburo Peter U. Shelest from the Ukraine for fostering Ukrainian nationalism. "There is national consciousness among Ukrainians," the ad admitted, "but the widespread resistance is a reaction to a totalitarian onslaught upon human rights."⁴⁷

The ad closed with a plea:

Mr. Brezhnev comes here ostensibly to seek a bettering of relationships with the United States. His main thrust will no doubt be at short-term gains. But should not our President engage him in a transcending dialogue that presupposes man and nation to be worthwhile in themselves? If benefit to all mankind is the goal, then repression and persecution of large segments of mankind surely must

⁴⁷"An Open Letter to the American People," New York Times, 17 June 1973, p. 16.

be inimical, if not fatal, to that goal. A system, however inspired, must cater to the man, never he to the system.

Join with us, Fellow Americans, in urging President Nixon to communicate and emphasize this fundamental belief to his Soviet guest.⁴⁸

On the afternoon of Sunday, June 17, 1973, at 1 p.m., Michael Komichak, director, called attention to the ad on the Ukrainian Radio Program (WPIT). He commented on the news media coverage that week-end of the arrest of four Jews in Washington protesting Brezhnev's visit. Simultaneous Ukrainian protests went unnoticed.⁴⁹

On June 18, 1973, TUSM (Youth Organization) distributed 4,000 flyers (Who Is Brezhnev and Why Is He Coming Here?) from 12 to 1 p.m. and from 6 to 9 p.m. in the downtown Pittsburgh area. Again, the grievances were repeated, stating, among other things, that giving aid to Brezhnev would result in the captive nations' losing faith in the United States.⁵⁰

Svoboda, Ukrainian Weekly, also voicing Ukrainian public opinion against Brezhnev's visit, came forth on June 16, 1973, with its boldest inch and a half headlines which read: "Ukrainian Victims of Brezhnev." Below were pictures of twelve--Moroz, Chornovil, Svitlychna-Shumuk,

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Author, who listens to the program regularly.

⁵⁰Who Is Brezhnev and Why Is He Coming Here? Ukrainian Organizations of Western Pennsylvania, 17 June 1973, p. 1.

Karavansky, Dzyuba, Svitlychny, Sverstiuk, Stasiv-Kaly nec, Shukhevych, Kaly nec, Shabatura, and Shumuk. To the right in bold captions: "Watch Out, Tyrant at the Door!" The article declared, among other things, that Brezhnev is reverting to the use of Stalinist methods to save his anemic economy and hopes to recapture Russia's lost position as world leader of the Communist movement. This will ultimately increase the threat to the security of western countries. Also, the honeymoon between Brezhnev and Nixon will destroy the hopes of America's allies--the captive nations. It is possible, the article continues, that in time the orthodox Stalinists will accuse Brezhnev of conspiring with the American imperialists. Since new waves of terror are taking place in the Ukraine and other non-Russian republics of the USSR, the Ukrainian community protests the policy of coexistence and Brezhnev's visit.⁵¹

A week before Brezhnev's arrival in the United States, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, addressed a letter to President Nixon pleading for those arrested in the Ukraine. Dr. Dobriansky

⁵¹"Watch Out, Tyrant at the Door!," Svoboda, 16 June 1973, pp. 1-2. (Svoboda is the official organ of the Ukrainian National Association. According to Charles Sachko, chairman of the Western Pennsylvania Branch, 5,000 Ukrainians in the Pittsburgh area are members. National membership numbers 90,000).

understood that President Nixon invited Mr. Brezhnev in good faith by way of promoting world peace. Americans, he continued, enjoy the right to petition the President's intercession in the matter of Ukrainian intellectuals whose only crime was resistance to Russification. He reminded the President that the Soviet constitution and the UN Declaration of Human Rights guarantee Soviet citizens basic rights and freedoms regardless of ethnic background and religious persuasion. On numerous occasions and prior to President Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union in May, 1972, Dr. Dobriansky wrote to President Nixon but received no reply. The letter, in part, states:

We effect that you and our government listen to the voices of a portion of your constituency. Presumably, the matter of the Kremlin's repression of the Ukrainian Soviet government and the United States cannot and should not interfere in such "internal matters." Yet, we are fully cognizant that our government has intervened and presently does intervene in the internal matters of many nations, including the USSR in the case of crass discrimination of certain groups in the Soviet Union that are fortunate to have strong advocates and spokesmen in the United States.

Why then is there discrimination against the Ukrainians?⁵²

Finally, Dr. Dobriansky asked that President Nixon, in the name of humanity and justice, convey the message to Mr. Brezhnev--that he discontinue mass arrests and that

⁵²"Letter to President Nixon," Svoboda, 16 June 1973, p. 2.

he release all imprisoned intellectuals.⁵³

On June 1, 1973, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, in testimony on the Trade Reform Act of 1973 by the UCCA, delivered a message before the Committee on Ways and Means, United States House of Representatives. Advocating a realistic poltrade policy, he asked that the most favored nation treatment be denied at this time to the Soviet Union because in the broad politico-economic context the United States would be at a disadvantage in contributing to Moscow's aggressive designs. If there are trade agreements, then a congressional watchdog committee should check execution. Grain deals of 1972 proved there was a lag in governmental surveillance. Furthermore, there are too many human rights violations, such as emigration and extortion of Soviet duty taxes on relief packages sent by Americans to the USSR. In 1972, Dr. Dobriansky concluded, the United States gave political parity to Moscow, and this year the United States in return for economic parity should extract reciprocal concessions.⁵⁴

In Pittsburgh, on Sunday, June 24, 1973, at 3:30 p.m., Wolodymyr Masur, director of the Song of the Ukraine (WEDO) radio program, revealed his disappointment in Nixon and the red carpet treatment accorded Brezhnev. World opinion, he remarked, has always regarded the United States as a

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Lev E. Dobriansky, "U.S.-USSR Trade: At What Politico-Economic Price?" Svoboda, 16 June 1973, pp. 2-4.

symbol of freedom whereas Soviet Russia is a state half-free, half-slave. The Ukrainians never succeeded in promoting democratic principles by dealing with the Czar, and no benefits would ensue from deals with Soviet Russia. Why were such costly presents offered Brezhnev? He is not a king! At this very moment, the Ukrainian community in the free world is disheartened by letters from compatriots in the Ukraine who are imploring that no more packages be sent because of resultant discrimination. Mr. Masur's concluding remark was that the ruthless tactics of Stalin had returned--thanks to Brezhnev.⁵⁵

Dubious about the agreements to avoid nuclear clashes, accords for increased commerce and cultural exchanges, cooperation in studies of the oceans, an agreement in principle of further negotiations on limiting nuclear arms and fortifying cooperation in peaceful uses of atomic energy,⁵⁶ Svoboda, Ukrainian Weekly, in an editorial, took a dim view in regard to mutual benefits and mutual advantages. Declaring incompatibility in the cultural exchange, Svoboda pointed to the current abuse of culture in the Soviet Ukraine--one of the worst abuses since the inception of the Red Empire. "Comrad Brezhnev has placed thousands of people behind bars. . . whose sole crimes are truth and

⁵⁵Wolodymyr Masur, Director, Song of the Ukraine (WEDO), McKeesport, Penna., 24 June 1973.

⁵⁶"Key Agreements of Arts...Taxes...Food...the Oceans," U.S. News and World Report, 2 July 1973, pp. 72-4.

enrichment of human culture," the editorial recalled. Svoboda concurred with the Washington Post (editorially speaking) which looked upon the agreement as adding legitimacy to the Kremlin's cultural controls. These controls, Svoboda added, resulted in "repressive measures that were, in fact, crimes against culture and humanity."⁵⁷

It appears that Kiev's perception of Brezhnev differs from that of the Ukrainians on this side of the Atlantic. On April 19, 1973, the International Lenin Prize for "Promotion of Peace Among Nations," was conferred upon Brezhnev. "The news. . . was met by Soviet people with sincere satisfaction." Brezhnev's devotion to the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence, according to News from Ukraine, "won him the great respect of the working people of the world." Brezhnev is the epitome of the Peace Program adopted by the Communist Party which "is a program of life, of the creative development of nations, and of the strengthening of the world public forces in their struggle for the bright ideals of mankind."⁵⁸

⁵⁷"An Incompatible Agreement," Svoboda, 23 June 1973, p. 2.

⁵⁸"Ardent Peace Champion," News from Ukraine, Kiev, Ukraine, May 1973, p. 1.

A cross-section of attitudes of 100 Ukrainian-Americans
relative to ethnic preservation and the promotion of the
cause of Ukrainian independence.

CHAPTER VI
OPINION SURVEY

In the following opinion survey on the movement for promoting the cause of Ukrainian independence, one hundred Pittsburgh Ukrainians born here or abroad were selected at random at various meetings to reply to pertinent questions.

Because of the limited scope of the thesis, there is no attempt at sophistication in the study of the Ukrainian movement for independence. Evaluation of questions was limited for the most part to: yes, no, undecided. Replies of respondents were divided into four categories according to age, sex, education, and occupation or profession.

Compared to five other major metropolitan areas in the United States, Pittsburgh has the least number of Ukrainians. Following are estimates of the Ukrainian population in six major cities of the United States as of 1970:

1. New York.....75,000
2. Chicago.....60,000
3. Philadelphia.....50,000
4. Detroit.....45,000
5. Cleveland.....35,000
6. Pittsburgh.....15,000¹

¹Myron Kuropas, Ukrainians in America (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Lerner Publications, Company, 1972, p. 46. (These figures are based on Ukrainian Fraternal organization membership, church membership, other organization membership and Ukrainian press estimates.)

The Ukrainian community is promoting three major projects towards the preservation of its identity and the cause of Ukrainian independence--the Patriarchate, the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. In the opinion survey the following questions were asked which include related aspects of these three projects:

1. Are you Catholic, Orthodox, other?
2. Which is uppermost in your mind? Family, job, school, politics, religion?
3. Do you think the Ukrainian church is losing membership?
4. Are you in favor of a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate?
5. Do you read and write Ukrainian?
6. Do you support the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard University?
7. Do you support the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America?
8. Do you think the United Nations is an effective instrument for resolving problems such as Moscow's oppression of the Ukraine?
9. Would you accept the Ukraine in a Pan-Slav federation?
10. Do you think there will be an independent Ukraine in our lifetime?
11. If the Ukraine were to become independent, would it be able to sustain that independence?
12. Do you think Ukrainian-Russian coexistence is possible under present conditions?
13. Do you think we are becoming one world, with one language, religion, race, and government?

14. Would you serve in the army to free the Ukraine?
15. Do you take an active interest in American politics?
16. Have you ever tried to run for office in local, state, or national politics?
17. Do you think we should melt into the American pot and forget the Ukraine?
18. Did you approve of Nixon's trip to Moscow and Kiev in 1972?
19. For whom did you vote for president in 1972? If too young to vote, please state preference.
20. Are you a Republican, Democrat, other?

To gain deeper insight into the attitudes vis-a-vis the major projects promoting the Ukrainian cause, the following questions were asked in the interviews:

1. How do you think the Patriarchate will help the Ukrainian cause?
2. How do you think the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard will help the Ukrainian cause?
3. How do you think the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America will help the Ukrainian cause?

Since the Ukrainians have always considered the church the center of all social, cultural, and political participation, the respondent was asked his denomination to determine to what extent he had changed his affiliation--if at all. Living in a pluralistic, industrialized society and exposed to other religious persuasions may have diversifying effects.

Originally, most of the Ukrainian immigrants came from

that area of Western Austria-Hungary dominated by the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Consequently, most of those who settled in Pittsburgh were Catholic. Since a smaller number came from Orthodox Eastern Ukraine, few in Pittsburgh were Orthodox. By 1926--forty-six years after the arrival of the first immigrant in 1880--five churches were established; two Catholic, one Presbyterian, one Baptist and one Orthodox. In other words, only two other denominations were added--one Presbyterian and one Baptist. So far, only the Presbyterian Church has closed (1948).

The question in regard to denomination was:

1. Are you Catholic, Orthodox, other?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Catholic</u> (70)	<u>Orthodox</u> (23)	<u>Other</u> (7)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	15	4	1
22 to 35 years (12)	11	0	1
36 to 50 years (35)	22	11	2
51 to 64 years (27)	21	4	2
65 and over (6)	1	4	1
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	29	14	1
Male (56)	41	9	6
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	6	1	1
Incomplete secondary (7)	5	2	0
Secondary (27)	21	4	1
Incomplete higher education (21)	13	7	1
Business training beyond high school (5)	5	0	0
Technical training beyond high school (1)	0	0	1
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	13	4	2
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	1	0	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	5	5	1
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	7	3	0
Skilled (2)	2	0	0
Housewives (16)	12	4	0
Students (15)	10	4	1
Clerical (11)	11	0	0
Sales (3)	3	0	0
Service (3)	2	1	0
Professional/managerial (40)	23	11	6

Results reveal that the majority are predominantly Catholic at 70% or Orthodox at 23%; other rates at 7%.

Since the tenth century when the ruler of the Kievan State, Vladimir the Great, adopted Christianity, religion, next to the family, has played a major role in the life of the Ukrainians--especially at the lower economic levels. Church and state were always allied. To determine what value the Ukrainian places on religion compared with other interests in a newly adopted industrial milieu, the following question was asked:

2. Which is uppermost in your mind? Family (I),
job (II), school (III), politics (IV),
religion (V)?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>I</u> (72)	<u>II</u> (9)	<u>III</u> (5)	<u>IV</u> (5)	<u>V</u> (9)
<u>By Age</u>					
16 to 21 years (20)	8	3	5	1	3
22 to 35 years (12)	8	2	0	1	1
36 to 50 years (35)	30	3	0	1	1
51 to 64 years (27)	21	1	0	2	3
65 and over (6)	5	0	0	0	1
<u>By Sex</u>					
Female (44)	34	5	0	1	4
Male (56)	38	4	5	4	5
<u>By Education</u>					
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	5	0	0	1	2
Incomplete secondary (7)	5	0	1	1	0
Secondary (27)	21	5	2	0	0
Incomplete higher education (21)	13	2	1	1	4
Business training beyond high school (5)	4	0	0	1	0
Technical training beyond high school (1)	1	0	0	0	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	13	1	1	1	3
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	1	0	0	0	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	10	1	0	0	0
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>					
Unskilled (10)	7	1	0	1	1
Skilled (2)	1	0	0	0	1
Housewives (16)	14	0	0	1	1
Students (15)	6	1	4	1	3
Clerical (11)	8	3	0	0	0
Sales (3)	3	0	0	0	0
Service (3)	3	0	0	0	0
Professional/managerial (40)	30	4	1	2	3

The family rates first at 72%. Religion rates above politics by 9% to 5%. Job rates above school by 9% to 5%. As in Europe, Ukrainians in Pittsburgh still rate religion above politics.

Studies reveal that in the United States institutionalized religion is weakening.² To measure the attitude of the Ukrainians in regard to their own church, the following question was asked:

²"Religious Reawakening in America," U.S. News and World Report, 23 July 1973, p. 41.

3. Do you think the Ukrainian Church is losing membership?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Yes</u> (60)	<u>No</u> (33)	<u>Undecided</u> (7)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	9	9	2
22 to 35 years (12)	8	3	1
36 to 50 years (35)	20	11	4
51 to 64 years (27)	18	9	0
65 and over (6)	5	1	0
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	20	21	3
Male (56)	40	12	4
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	5	3	0
Incomplete secondary (7)	3	4	0
Secondary (27)	17	8	21
Incomplete higher education (21)	12	9	0
Business training beyond high school (5)	3	2	0
Technical training beyond high school (1)	1	0	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	11	4	4
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	1	0	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	7	3	1
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	7	3	0
Skilled (2)	1	1	0
Housewives (16)	8	7	1
Students (15)	10	5	0
Clerical (11)	4	6	1
Sales (3)	3	0	0
Service (3)	2	1	0
Professional/managerial (40)	25	10	5

Results reveal that the majority--60% to 33%--feel the organized Ukrainian church is weakening; 7% were undecided. This indicates a significant trend because Ukrainians have regarded the church as central to their existence and have traditionally allied church with state. This may indicate a trend of absorption into the Anglo-Saxon and American political and religious culture, resulting in separation of church and state and secularization of political institutions.

A major religious issue currently facing the Ukrainian community is the Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate, the reconstruction of which is to serve as an instrument for preserving identity and ultimately promoting the cause of Ukrainian independence. The majority of the interviewees on the Patriarchate felt the church would be the most effective spokesman for independence. When the first Ukrainian immigrant arrived in Pittsburgh in 1880, his nationalist church was not in jeopardy in the Ukraine under Austria-Hungary. The policy of the government was one of benign neglect. The Hungarian Catholic clergy did attempt to exert some influence over the Ukrainian church, while the Russian intellectuals tried to gain Ukrainian adherents. Here, in the United States, the Ukrainians enjoyed constitutional freedom of worship. In 1891 in Pittsburgh, they established their own church of the Byzantine Rite, leaving the Polish Roman Rite. However, after World War I, when the

Ukraine was divided among four powers (Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania), Ukrainians feared for survival of their church and nation. The Pittsburgh Ukrainians protested vehemently in 1919, when the Allied Supreme Council authorized Poland to establish a twenty-five-year mandate over Ukrainian Galicia, and again, in 1923, when the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris recognized Polish claims to Western Ukraine. After World War II, Ukrainians feared complete annihilation of both church and nation under Soviet Russia. Upon Cardinal Slipyj's release from Siberia in 1963, committees were organized throughout the world to implement the work of the Cardinal for a Patriarchate. The Patriarchate issue was posed to determine the extent of support among Ukrainians. The question asked was:

4. Are you in favor of a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate?

<u>Total (100)</u>	<u>Yes</u> (80)	<u>No</u> (10)	<u>Undecided</u> (10)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	15	3	2
22 to 35 years (12)	11	0	1
36 to 50 years (35)	25	4	6
51 to 64 years (27)	23	3	1
65 and over (6)	6	0	0
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	32	6	6
Male (56)	38	4	4
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	8	0	0
Incomplete secondary (7)	5	0	2
Secondary (27)	22	2	3
Incomplete higher education (21)	18	3	0
Business training beyond high school (5)	4	1	0
Technical training beyond high school (1)	1	0	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	14	2	3
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	1	0	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	7	2	2
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	9	1	0
Skilled (2)	2	0	0
Housewives (16)	11	2	3
Students (15)	11	3	1
Clerical (11)	10	0	1
Sales (3)	3	0	0
Service (3)	3	0	0
Professional/managerial (40)	31	4	5

The Ukrainian community supports the Patriarchate by a predominant 80% to 10%, with 10% undecided. Since the majority, 53% to 40%, feel the Ukrainian institutionalized church is weakening, one may assume that the Ukrainian community is more interested in saving the nation through the Patriarchate than supporting and fortifying its own organized church.

Because the Patriarchate, the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard, and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America are the three major projects for retaining identity and promoting the cause of independence, interviews were conducted to gain deeper insight into attitudes. Comments were predominantly expressions of hope. Strategy has not yet been developed. The hope of independence appeared stronger than the awareness of problems that will have to be resolved to achieve independence. The chief problem appeared to be that of achieving unity within the Ukrainian community. This was admittedly difficult because of political, religious, and social fragmentation imposed on the Ukraine by neighboring powers for seven centuries. The question asked was:

How do you think the Patriarchate will help the Ukrainian cause?

Housewife--age 47.

The Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate by uniting all Ukrainians--no matter what their religious or political persuasions may be--can help free the Ukraine. We must have a united front. Through the church, where we have

always been most effective, our dreams will materialize.

Ukrainians have always contributed generously to the church. Now they are contributing to the Patriarchate Committee. With the money collected, we'll build a strong administrative body. The bishops will direct the work of the autonomous church and promote the Ukrainian cause. We must be ready to sacrifice, because this project will require millions.

After meeting the Cardinal here in Pittsburgh, I'm sure he's the man we need. He was born to lead. I hope now, since his visit, all Pittsburgh Ukrainians will become more enthusiastic and rally behind him. It seems to me that the priests should say more in the pulpit about supporting the Cardinal and his efforts to rebuild the raped church and nation.

Lady senior accountant--age 50.

I am definitely opposed to a Ukrainian Catholic Patriarchate. I was brought up to believe that the Pope is head of the church--forever. On the rock in Rome a church was built. And should that church collapse, so would the world. The Patriarchate Committee will not save the Ukraine. A church is a church. It exists for religious purposes. It should not be a medium for nationalistic activity. The agitation for a Patriarchate is the work of the Ukrainian political refugees of World War II. The refugees feel that the Ukraine should get prime consideration and the church second. The Orthodox, also, place the nation first.

I have told these D.P.'s (Displaced Persons) or Banderivtsi (revolutionaries) to go back to Europe and let us live in peace. They make me tired.

As for Cardinal Slipyj, I respect him. But I really think he's too old for the work that the Patriarchate would require. Yet, I do want to see an independent Ukraine. It achieved freedom three times previously, and should be able to achieve it again. But how to regain that freedom is a question I can't answer.

Secretary--age 25.

It's a matter of organization and unity. If we work together, we can implement more effectively the work of the Patriarchate Committee and the Synod of Bishops in self-government. With that government set up, we can lay plans for an independent Ukraine--through funds and diplomatic contacts, principally. Actually, we need someone like

Kissinger. Because we are still very religious, we must work through the church to promote the Ukrainian cause. In the meantime, Slipyj will have to be our statesman.

Cosmetician--age 51.

I am Orthodox and like most Orthodox, I feel that Ukrainian Catholics--5,000,000 strong--should be granted a Patriarchate. It ought to be religious only, but it will play politics. I don't believe Cardinal Slipyj can unite the Ukrainians to achieve independence because of the strong Orthodox group in the United States--almost 100,000. Frankly, the only way we'll gain independence is by saving our money and buying it.

Orthodox Priest--age 50.

Yes, I'm for the Patriarchate, but the Union of Brest and Uzhorod was the most stupid act ever committed by our remarkable Ukrainian people. Politics! That's all it was.

No doubt about it! We can perpetuate our nationalist aspirations through the church. And the Patriarchate will help. The church will speak for the people. Our fraternal societies can't speak for us. They lack something. Right now, the Ukrainian National Association, the largest fraternal society, is building a skyscraper. Why not a university?

Our salvation lies with the church. Take it away and we're in a vacuum. How, precisely, the church will fulfill our nationalist hopes, I don't know. However, we're all praying for an independent Ukraine.

If the church fails, we should communicate with the Ukrainian government-in-exile in Munich. Perhaps they have some ideas.

Engineer--age 48.

How will the Patriarchate help regain independence? By preserving identity through church unity and keeping church money in the community. We'll buy the Ukraine in time.

Student--age 23.

How we'll proceed through the Patriarchate to win independence I don't know. I do think the church should be the instrument. The average Ukrainian functions best through the church.

Incidentally, the Patriarchate means more to me nationalistically than religiously. I'm not that religious. In fact, I don't go to church very often. I just feel that the church does not relate to my existence. School and politics are more important to me than religion.

Artist--age 24.

We'll build a free Ukraine by propagandizing through the church. In the meantime, we must acquire wealth and wait for the hour of liberation. If we study Jewish strategy, we'll become powerful and independent. We'll never succeed a la Ukrainian. Our efforts will have to be a la Jewish.

President of fraternal society--age 52.

Cardinal Slipyj has religious and political contacts throughout the world. I think these contacts will help build a free Ukraine.

Actually, I think we should have two Patriarchates--one for the Orthodox and one for the Catholics. There are 30,000,000 Orthodox Ukrainians within a population of almost 50,000,000 in Soviet Ukraine, according to the underground. The Orthodox outnumber the Catholics, so they deserve a Patriarchate.

When Yaroslaw Stetzko, head of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in Munich, visited with Cardinal Slipyj last year, he urged the Cardinal to function de jure. Moscow's abrogation of the treaty of Brest and Uzhorod was unilateral and illegitimate. I agree with Stetzko.

Since the Ukrainian government-in-exile is currently undergoing a crucial period because of factionalism, it's imperative that we promote the Patriarchate movement. A free Ukraine can be built through the Patriarchate and its contacts.

While supporting the church and currently the Patriarchate as the voice of the people in promoting the cause of independence, the Ukrainian community in Pittsburgh has also tried to retain its linguistic and cultural identification through its schools. The Catholic and Orthodox churches conducted schools for children concentrating on grammar,

history, and literature. The National Home also had its school. Since 1933, only the Catholic Church has retained a full-time elementary school. Since 1968, Ridna Shkola (Native School) has been holding classes at Robert Morris from the elementary to the college level. To measure Ukrainian literacy, the following question was asked:

5. Do you read and write Ukrainian?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Yes</u> (76)	<u>No</u> (24)
<u>By Age</u>		
16 to 21 years (20)	14	6
22 to 35 years (12)	9	3
36 to 50 years (35)	26	9
51 to 64 years (27)	21	6
65 and over (6)	6	0
<u>By Sex</u>		
Female (44)	31	13
Male (56)	45	11
<u>By Education</u>		
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	6	2
Incomplete secondary (7)	6	1
Secondary (27)	14	13
Incomplete higher education (21)	18	3
Business training beyond high school (5)	3	2
Technical training beyond high school (1)	1	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	17	2
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	1	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	10	1
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>		
Unskilled (10)	6	4
Skilled (2)	2	0
Housewives (16)	9	7
Students (15)	9	6
Clerical (11)	9	2
Sales (3)	2	1
Service (3)	3	0
Professional/managerial (40)	36	4

Of the total surveyed, a predominant number--76% to 24%--are literate. It's possible the next generation as a result of assimilation will be less literate in Ukrainian, thereby contributing to lessening of ethnic identity.

Functioning de facto since 1971, the Patriarchate supporters have combined their efforts with the Harvard Studies Chair at Harvard University to preserve cultural identity. In order to insure academic studies in perpetuity, three chairs were established at Harvard University by 1973. The movement was launched by the children of World War II refugees. Motivation also stemmed from suppression of Ukrainian scholarship and culture in the USSR. To determine how many in the Pittsburgh Ukrainian community supported the project which was to promote the Ukraine cause, the following question was asked:

6. Do you support the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard University?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Yes</u> (75)	<u>No</u> (22)	<u>Undecided</u> (3)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	10	8	2
22 to 35 years (12)	10	2	0
36 to 50 years (35)	30	5	0
51 to 64 years (27)	19	7	1
65 and over (6)	6	0	0
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	33	10	1
Male (56)	42	12	2
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	7	1	0
Incomplete secondary (7)	4	3	0
Secondary (27)	17	9	1
Incomplete higher education (21)	17	2	2
Business training beyond high school (5)	4	1	0
Technical training beyond high school (1)	1	0	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	15	4	0
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	1	0	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	9	2	0
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	9	1	0
Skilled (2)	2	0	0
Housewives (16)	11	5	0
Students (15)	5	8	2
Clerical (11)	10	1	0
Sales (3)	2	1	0
Service (3)	3	0	0
Professional/managerial (40)	33	6	1

Exactly three-fourths--75% to 22%--revealed support; 3% were undecided. It is significant in comparing the support of the Patriarchate at 80% with that of the Ukrainian Studies Chair at 75% that the Patriarchate won more support. One may conclude that the Ukrainians are more religious than cultural and place more faith in their church than in their culture as an instrument for achieving independence.

To gain deeper insight into what extent the Ukrainian community relies upon the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard University in the preservation of cultural heritage and promoting the Ukrainian cause, interviews were conducted. Comments revealed the Ukrainian community felt the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard had publicity value through its course work and publications in gaining world recognition. However, many expressed disappointment that courses offered did not relate adequately to immediate political issues in regard to the independence of the Ukraine. The question asked was:

How do you think the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard will help the Ukrainian cause?

Medical technologist--over 40.

Ultimately, I'm sure that the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard will be the agent in freeing the Ukraine because everybody will know of our problem and we'll gain world support.

I've given \$100.00 and I intend to give more. However, I lament the fact that Harvard demanded an exorbitantly high price--\$1,800,000 for three chairs. For our Ukrainian people who are not wealthy, it was quite a sacrifice.

It's unfortunate that they don't reveal more about what is going on at Harvard. I'd like to know how many students are attending and if they are going to enlarge the curriculum.

Housewife--age 65.

I have contributed to the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard. However, I place no value on it now, because I don't know if any Ukrainians are pursuing courses up there. It's vital that Ukrainians enroll. How else will our Ukrainian heritage survive?

The average person gets no information as to enrollment or what's going on in the course work. A committee should send out reports regularly. The professors seem too remote. Probably what they should do is modernize and relate to the Ukrainian question through pertinent courses. Just language, literature, and history are not getting through to us. We're all part of the program.

Harvard will not help us free the Ukraine. The Ukraine is too rich a country and the Russians are going to keep it. No, Harvard is not the answer.

Teacher--age 29.

By educating the world in regard to the Ukrainian problem, the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard University will help our cause. Publications on the Ukrainian question will also be of great value. However, the Ukrainian community should be informed as to what they're doing up there in that Ukrainian department. I'd appreciate a monthly report. Once in a while, I get a Newsletter, but it's not adequate.

As of now, the Ph.D.'s in the Ukrainian Institute at Harvard University better get together and start relating to us on the Ukrainian question. We want tangible results for our money. Otherwise, they'll be in for a setback.

Retired policeman--age 65.

The academic program at the Ukrainian Institute at Harvard will help free the Ukraine by informing the world of our problem, which, in turn, will result in world support. What bothers me is the lack of communication between the professors and ourselves. We want them to talk to us about our investment. Are they getting through to the world community and winning sympathetic understanding and support?

Student--age 22.

No, I haven't contributed because I don't feel the Ukrainian Studies Chair answers our purposes. I prefer to see something set up in Pittsburgh--like a library. Probably 99% of us will never go to Harvard.

Just think--Pittsburgh donated over \$50,000 to Harvard.

I was told courses this summer would be taught by outsiders--not Ukrainians. A few of my friends who have been there say the courses are not that great in history and literature. Then, too, most of the students are not Ukrainians.

Furthermore, what are they doing with all that money--\$1,800,000? It seems strange that nobody offers explanations.

Lawyer--age 56.

The Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard is a step in the right direction. It is constructive in that it is promoting interest in the Ukrainian language, literature, and culture. It's a most valuable endeavor and eventually will help resolve the Ukrainian problem by educating the world community. We'll achieve human rights through intellectual application.

Housewife--age 39.

Yes, I think the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard has great value. It's one way to perpetuate our culture, our language, our nationality. Non-Ukrainians will be offered an opportunity to learn more about us. However, I doubt Harvard will help us achieve an independent Ukraine. In fact, I don't think we'll ever win independence, because the people over there seem content with what they have under the Soviets.

Housewife--age 56.

The Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard University will definitely help. I've contributed \$300.00 because I think it's essential for us to educate the world and gain support in our efforts to achieve human rights and independence. I'm afraid all ethnic groups will disappear, if we don't institutionalize to sustain our heritage.

Student--age 25.

The Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard University is very important because it's the strongest instrument for truth. The Ukraine will survive and become free by educating the world about our problem. Also, the Ukrainians will grow stronger in trying to resolve their problem in regard to independence. I plan to go to Harvard eventually to study. The academic and spiritual atmosphere will elevate me. I'll gain strength and rededicate myself to the Ukrainian cause.

Steelworker--age 48.

The Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard is a sound project as a public relations institution and it should have been established years ago. Most publications put out by Ukrainians are biased. Undoubtedly, what comes out of Harvard will be objective and help promote the cause of Ukrainian independence by teaching and printing the truth. Incidentally, I think the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard is more readily supported because it doesn't arouse the emotions as does the Patriarchate or the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

Retired teacher--age 82.

The Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard can help us win independence by relating to the Ukrainian question and publicizing it. We are already in danger of extinction as a result of Brezhnev's visit. The academic program must concentrate on current political issues. Also, the committee promoting the Ukrainian Studies Chair must heighten Ukrainian prestige and publicize the Ukrainian question in order to arouse sympathy with our goals. The average Ukrainian who contributed--8,000 in all--should know how his money was invested. A financial report would relieve anxiety. With more communication between the Harvard professors and the Ukrainian community, our cause will gain momentum.

Student--age 17.

The Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard can help us win independence by exerting every effort to publicize our problem. It's the strongest Ukrainian instrument for accenting political issues--truthfully. I can't understand why they don't add political science courses to language, history, and literature. Since Brezhnev's visit we need Harvard more than ever. I intend to enroll at Harvard for a few Ukrainian courses after I get my degree here in Pittsburgh.

Engineer--age 50.

Our strategy for achieving independence will have to be through the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard. The world will know of our problem through the course work and publications. We cannot destroy the Soviet regime, but we can change it through education that emphasizes man's desire and need for human rights.

The third instrument promoting the cause of independence is the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Organized in 1940 during World War II, when the Ukraine was threatened with annihilation, the UCCA spoke for their compatriots under Soviet domination. Branches began functioning in 1950 implementing the work of the central committee in New York. The chief purpose of the organization was "to establish a free, independent and democratic state of Ukraine."³ In one of its resolutions, the newly-founded UCCA stated:

We again declare to America and to the whole world that Ukraine wants to be, can be, and must be an independent state; that recognition of its rights to self-determination and independence on an equal footing with other people is in the interest of its people and in the interest of peace in Europe...⁴

To evaluate support of the organization, the following question was asked:

³Article I, "Name and Objects," Constitution and By-Laws of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, New York, N.Y., 1953, p. 4.

⁴"Founding of UCCA," Three Decades of UCCA: 1940-1970, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, New York, N.Y., 1970, p. 3.

7. Do you support the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Yes</u> (41)	<u>No</u> (37)	<u>Undecided</u> (22)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	9	5	6
22 to 35 years (12)	1	8	3
36 to 50 years (35)	13	16	6
51 to 64 years (27)	13	7	7
65 and over (6)	5	1	0
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	19	13	12
Male (56)	22	24	10
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	5	0	3
Incomplete secondary (7)	6	1	0
Secondary (27)	11	9	7
Incomplete higher education (21)	9	7	5
Business training beyond high school (5)	3	1	1
Technical training beyond high school (1)	0	1	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	4	12	3
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	1	0	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	2	6	3
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	8	1	1
Skilled (2)	1	0	1
Housewives (16)	5	6	5
Students (15)	5	5	5
Clerical (11)	7	2	2
Sales (3)	2	1	0
Service (3)	1	1	1
Professional/managerial (40)	12	21	7

The majority revealed confidence in the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America--41% to 37%, with 22% undecided. It appears that the organization with definite political consciousness evokes least confidence in the Ukrainian community.

Extensive interviews were conducted to gain insight into attitudes. Comments revealed that the UCCA was considered a valuable source of mass communication. (It publishes the Ukrainian Quarterly and various books on the Ukrainian question.) Its contacts were also considered valuable because of the appearances of the UCCA president in Congress and attendance at anti-Communist meetings around the world. The Ukrainian Community's knowledge of the UCCA's activities were gained, for the most part, from the local branch and from the four fraternal newspapers--Svoboda, America, National Word, and Narodna Volya. No definite strategy has yet evolved within the context of the UCCA as to how it can help free the Ukraine. However, there are hearings and testimonies in the United States Congress in matters of concern to the UCCA and memoranda are sent to the United Nations.⁵ The question asked was:

How do you think the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America will help the Ukrainian cause?

⁵XIth Congress of Ukrainians in U.S.A., Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, New York, N.Y., 1972, pp. 11-17.

Engineer--age 37.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee is helping significantly through its activities in Washington. President Dobriansky may not be able to sway the State Department. However, his efforts in Congress for human rights for the Ukraine which appear in the Congressional Record are creditable. The Captive Nations Week Resolution enacted by Congress into Public Law 86-90 may help liberalization of policies in the Ukraine. Russia is certainly aware of the law. President Dobriansky's emphasis on poltrade policy--trade with Russia contingent on political concessions on their part--should help not only the Ukrainians and the Jews, but all fifteen republics. In time, this organization will help free the Ukraine, but we must support it. How? I don't know. The international situation will have to change. Pittsburgh's Ukrainians are still in the elementary stage politically. That's our big problem here.

Consultant--age 41.

As a public relations agency, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America has done a splendid job. It is certainly promoting the movement for independence effectively. How independence will materialize, I don't know.

I think the letter Dr. Dobriansky, president of UCCA, wrote to President Nixon in regard to Brezhnev's visit is a fine document--cool, rational. It's something one can't dismiss readily. Letters are certainly more acceptable than protests or demonstrations, which can be detrimental. It appears that the UCCA is becoming more sophisticated now in its approach to the Ukrainian problem.

The Ukrainians, I would say, are still not yet adequately oriented politically and haven't been able to develop leaders equal to those of Western Europe. An oppressive history may account for that. Being more culturally and religiously oriented, they are more readily attracted to the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard and the Patriarchate.

Medical Assistant--age 21.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America is a potent force and our only hope for a free Ukraine. How the UCCA will do it, I don't know. However, here in Pittsburgh, the local branch leaves something to be desired. If we don't reactivate with full support so as to be heard, we'll be helping the Communists. Pettiness between two personalities here is the root of the trouble.

Everyone wants to see the Ukraine liberated, but few make the effort to demonstrate, to march, and so on.

TUSM (Youth Organization), of which I'm a member, is trying to unite the community behind the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. When Brezhnev arrived, the local TUSM branch passed out more flyers than any other branch in the country. He is our Waterloo. For that reason, I'd like to see everybody in the Pittsburgh area and the world rise up and strengthen the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

Student--age 20.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee is a great human rights organization that works within the establishment. I don't believe in violence; quiet reason will get us further. It's unfortunate that the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America is not more powerful. They did their best to inform Nixon about Brezhnev.

I hope Brezhnev gets absolutely nothing from the United States. I want him to become as weak as a fly. He's responsible for the resumption of persecution of intellectuals in the Ukraine. It's all very depressing. The only thing left for Ukrainians to do is to continue supporting the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Someday we'll have a free Ukraine. How? I don't know. I don't think the UCCA does, either, but it is helping to promote the movement through its publications in Congress and in the United Nations.

Executive of fraternal society--age 40.

I have a tremendous amount of faith in the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. It keeps our hopes alive by promoting the movement through continuous publicity and worldwide contacts. No one knows when or how the Ukraine will be free, but we are all working towards that goal.

Retired clerk--age 65.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee and its publications are an absolute necessity. Without publicity, there's no future for us as an independent nation. The trouble is that some of the Banderivtsi in the organization are extremists in their nationalist fervor and offend. The Melnykivtsi try to assume a more moderate stance. In any event, the door of the Ukrainian Congress Committee must remain open. How, when, and where independence will come about, I don't know. We must never give up hope.

Housewife--age 52.

Let me make this one point clear--money buys everything. I don't care how many contacts the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America makes. Those contacts will not help unless we have billions to sway those decision-makers. Nobody ever arrived anywhere without money. We must buy the Ukraine.

Retired executive--age 65.

Brezhnev or no Brezhnev, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America must continue publicizing. Otherwise, no Ukraine! Brezhnev wants those computers and in the process he's robbing the United States taxpayers. That old boy should stop spending so much on Soviet war weapons, then he'd have a few spare pennies in his pocket. How we'll achieve a free Ukraine, I don't know. I wish I had the answer.

Teacher--age 49.

If we eliminate the Ukrainian Congress Committee, what shall we substitute? We must sustain it. It's the voice of the people. However, I don't think we should liberate the Ukraine. Only Ukrainians in the Ukraine have the right to set up a legitimate government. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America can help free the Ukraine by publishing more and more on the Ukrainian question. I'm sure everybody is wondering how, when, and where that day will arrive. It's such a complex, difficult problem.

Steelworker--age 47.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America is the most forceful instrument of all in helping to fulfill our hopes because of its publications that prove we're an ethnic group that deserves independence. Dr. Dobriansky's attendance at anti-communist meetings around the world are a great help, too, because with contacts we win support. Since our young people are becoming involved, we can expect to gain momentum. With Brezhnev's visit which lessens U.S. support for an independent Ukraine, our only hope lies with the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. As treasurer, I'll continue collecting funds to sustain the organization. Pittsburgh has contributed over \$50,000 since 1950. I must add that as a group the Ukrainian Congress Committee conducts itself harmoniously. We're composed of Banderivtsi (revolutionaries), conservatives, socialists, Catholics, Orthodox, and Baptists.

Business man--age 67.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee is all we have to speak for us in the U.S. Congress, so we'd better cultivate it. The United States is our strongest moral support. Also, the UCCA keeps us on our toes with its information as to what is happening in the Ukraine. However, I think the Ukraine will not be free until she acquires some allies who are willing to fight with her. The Ukrainians have always been used as pawns among the stronger powers because of lack of allies. Since Brezhnev's trade agreement with Nixon, the Ukrainians are worse off than ever. So, we must hold on to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. It will not free the Ukraine, but it can help. How? By talking about it constantly. Someone will listen eventually.

Grave Digger--age 49.

I am one of the original members of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. I think the organization is useful because of its publications which have great publicity value. The Ukrainian question must be kept alive indefinitely. Unfortunately, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America at the moment is at dead center. The international situation is such that there's nowhere to go. How we're going to win independence with the current detente policy, I don't know. But I do think the UCCA will be the only organization capable of helping to achieve it.

Last week a woman from my village in the Ukraine came to visit me. She said at times the agitation of the UCCA actually hurts the Ukrainians over there. You have to dance the way the government plays.

Support of the Ukrainian Congress Committee continues, even though well-defined strategy is non-existent. The Brezhnev-Nixon trade and cultural agreements, and lack of financial resources and allies worsen the currently insurmountable problems. History is not on the side of the Ukraine.

Analysis thus far reveals that the rate of support for the three major projects falls into this order:

	Patriarchate	Harvard	UCCA
Yes.....	80%.....	75%.....	41%
No.....	10%.....	22%.....	37%
Undecided.....	10%.....	3%.....	22%

In other words, the Ukrainian community reacts religiously (80%), culturally (75%), and politically (41%) to the Ukrainian problem.

In all three areas there was a lack of in-depth knowledge. Most of those interviewed were knowledgeable about the church and its religious, cultural, and political development but on a superficial level. Cardinal Slipyj, known to all, was a symbol of faith and national unity.

Most Ukrainians knew that there were three Ukrainian chairs at Harvard University in language, literature, and history. Few knew that there were 12,000 books in the Ukrainian section at the Widener library at Harvard University. Very few knew that the Ukrainian Department had published two scholarly works: Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies and Recenzija (a review of Ukrainian humanities and social sciences in the Ukraine). Only one knew that there was an exchange agreement with the Universities at Moscow and Kiev relative to publications and microfilms.

Most knew of the appearances of the UCCA president in Congress in regard to the Ukrainian question, accounts of which appeared regularly in the four fraternal newspapers. Few knew about the multifaceted structure with its official

organ, the Ukrainian Quarterly, its books, pamphlets, and Congressional reprints (disseminated throughout the world), its Educational Council with jurisdiction over 75 Ukrainian schools, and its Youth Department.

The Ukrainian Institute at Harvard and the UCCA were considered valuable media of mass communication in promoting the movement for liberation. Considerable concern was expressed that Harvard did not relate adequately to the current Ukrainian political problem.

Traditionally religious and cultural, the Ukrainians do not respond readily to the predominantly political organization--the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. As a result, some enmity has developed within the local Patriarchate Committee and the Ukrainian Studies Chair Committee against the local Ukrainian Congress Committee. The fact that most of the members of the Ukrainian Congress Committee are followers of Bandera, a revolutionary, has heightened ill feelings.

Resentment has developed between the pre-World War II and post-World War II immigrants because of difference in philosophical attitudes rooted in Europe. Pre-World War II immigrants were rural, fervently religious, limited in education. Post-World War II immigrants were urban, less religious, better educated to the extent of boasting a large professional class of lawyers, doctors, and engineers. The early immigrants prayed while organizing. The recent immigrants

prayed less while organizing and politicizing more. They carried bitter resentment against a Soviet regime that forced them to abandon their homeland. Many an older immigrant not fully comprehending the political refugees' background and attitudes nurses a desire that this "different breed" leave the community.

In spite of differences, all factions unite in a crisis. From time to time, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America has submitted memoranda to the United Nations on the political oppression in the Ukraine. On May 29, 1973, four days after the Mournful Manifestation in Washington, D.C., the UCCA Executive Committee sent a memorandum to Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the UN, on the subject of the artificial famine in the Ukraine in 1933-34 and the current persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals. Letters, including the memorandum on the famine, were sent to Secretary of State Rodgers and US Ambassador to the UN John Scali with the hope that the historical background would be of some guidance in negotiations with Brezhnev during his summit visit with Nixon in June, 1973.⁶ Nothing of substance developed to assure the Ukrainians that their political problem was being considered.

To evaluate the attitudes of Ukrainians in Pittsburgh

⁶"UCCA Presents Memorandum to UN on 40th Anniversary of Famine," Svoboda, 16 June 1973, p. 4.

in regard to the UN's ability to resolve the Ukrainian problem, the following question was asked:

8. Do you think the United Nations is an effective instrument for resolving problems such as Moscow's oppression of the Ukraine?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Yes</u> (35)	<u>No</u> (60)	<u>Undecided</u> (5)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	7	11	2
22 to 35 years (12)	2	8	2
36 to 50 years (35)	11	23	1
51 to 64 years (27)	12	15	0
65 and over (6)	3	3	0
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	22	19	3
Male (56)	13	41	2
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	3	4	1
Incomplete secondary (7)	5	2	0
Secondary (27)	11	14	2
Incomplete higher education (21)	6	14	1
Business training beyond high school (5)	3	2	0
Technical training beyond high school (1)	1	0	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	4	15	0
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	0	1	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	2	8	1
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	4	6	0
Skilled (2)	1	1	0
Housewives (16)	10	6	0
Students (15)	5	8	2
Clerical (11)	5	5	1
Sales (3)	2	1	0
Service (3)	0	3	0
Professional/managerial (40)	8	30	2

A substantial majority voted negatively at a ratio of 60% to 35%; 5% were undecided.

The opinion, generally, seems to coincide with the traditional tendencies of nations to negotiate directly rather than through an intermediary.

Since the Ukrainian community opines that the UN is an ineffective instrument for resolving international problems, a Pan-Slav federation was posed as an alternative to independence. Pan-Slav movements date back to the nineteenth century in Russia.⁷ However, since the Ukraine has been oppressed throughout most of its history--seven centuries out of ten--efforts have always been projected towards liberation and independence. The question asked was:

⁷Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, A History of Russia (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 500.

9. Would you accept the Ukraine in a Pan-Slav federation?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Yes</u> (28)	<u>No</u> (54)	<u>Undecided</u> (18)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	4	11	5
22 to 35 years (12)	3	8	1
36 to 50 years (35)	10	7	8
51 to 64 years (27)	8	15	4
65 and over (6)	3	3	0
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	18	21	5
Male (56)	10	33	13
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	4	3	1
Incomplete secondary (7)	4	3	0
Secondary (27)	9	12	6
Incomplete higher education (21)	4	14	3
Business training beyond high school (5)	2	3	0
Technical training beyond high school (1)	0	1	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	2	12	5
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	0	1	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	3	5	3
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	5	5	0
Skilled (2)	0	2	0
Housewives (16)	10	4	2
Students (15)	4	8	3
Clerical (11)	1	8	2
Sales (3)	0	3	0
Service (3)	0	3	0
Professional/managerial (40)	8	22	10

The opinion of the majority was negative at a ratio of 54% to 28%; 18% were undecided. Fervent nationalism is probably obstructing a more rational consideration of regional cooperation that could be directed toward promotion of human rights and economic betterment. Most interviewees feared Russia would only repeat domination.

Since the Ukrainian community rejects a Pan-Slav federation, an attempt was made to determine to what extent the community nurtures hopes for an independent Ukraine. The question asked was:

10. Do you think there will be an independent
Ukraine in our lifetime?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Yes</u> (33)	<u>No</u> (53)	<u>Undecided</u> (14)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	4	12	4
22 to 35 years (12)	2	9	1
36 to 50 years (35)	9	20	6
51 to 64 years (27)	16	8	3
65 and over (6)	2	4	0
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	19	21	4
Male (56)	14	32	10
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	4	4	0
Incomplete secondary (7)	4	3	0
Secondary (27)	8	16	3
Incomplete higher education (21)	8	10	3
Business training beyond high school (5)	2	3	0
Technical training beyond high school (1)	1	0	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	4	9	6
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	0	1	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	2	7	2
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	5	5	0
Skilled (2)	1	1	0
Housewives (16)	9	7	0
Students (15)	4	8	3
Clerical (11)	3	8	0
Sales (3)	2	1	0
Service (3)	1	1	1
Professional/managerial (40)	8	22	10

The majority replied negatively at a ratio of 53% to 33%; 14% didn't know. Most interviewees revealed that because of the Nixon-Brezhnev trade agreements and detente policy, Ukrainian hopes are low.

In 1918, among the factors reputedly contributing to the collapse of the Ukrainian free state was lack of education, administrative personnel, and financial resources. Education is now compulsory in the Soviet Union. Variety in occupation and earning power have increased. However, educational, administrative, and financial advancement are not sufficient. The free Ukrainian community ignores the need of cooperation among Slavic states, among other factors, to sustain independence. Also, the free Ukrainian community is assuming that Ukrainians in the Ukraine still desire independence--a variable that needs to be measured. It is not known if Chornovil, Svitlychny, Moroz, Dzyuba, and other writers reflect the common will.

Pessimism on the part of Ukrainians does not preclude the possibility of independence. Should international events precipitate a liberated Ukraine, one may speculate on the traditionally divided Ukrainian's ability to unite and sustain that newly-founded freedom. The question asked was:

11. If the Ukraine were to become independent,
would it be able to sustain that independence?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Yes</u> (67)	<u>No</u> (22)	<u>Undecided</u> (11)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	11	5	3
22 to 35 years (12)	8	2	2
36 to 50 years (35)	21	11	3
51 to 64 years (27)	23	2	2
65 and over (6)	4	2	0
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	29	10	5
Male (56)	38	12	6
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	8	0	0
Incomplete secondary (7)	4	2	1
Secondary (27)	17	8	2
Incomplete higher education (21)	15	4	2
Business training beyond high school (5)	4	0	1
Technical training beyond high school (1)	0	0	1
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	12	5	2
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	1	0	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	6	3	2
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	9	0	1
Skilled (2)	2	0	0
Housewives (16)	12	4	0
Students (15)	10	4	1
Clerical (11)	5	3	3
Sales (3)	2	1	0
Service (3)	2	0	1
Professional/managerial (40)	25	10	5

A substantial majority voted affirmatively at a ratio of 67% to 22%; 11% were undecided. Most of the interviewees felt that since Ukrainians in the Ukraine are now better educated, especially administratively, sustaining independence would not pose a difficult problem. Other factors were minimized.

Since the Ukrainian community rejects a Pan-Slav federation and does not foresee independence in the near future, coexistence was offered as an alternate consideration. The question asked was:

12. Do you think Ukrainian-Russian coexistence is possible under present conditions?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Yes</u> (43)	<u>No</u> (44)	<u>Undecided</u> (13)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	10	8	2
22 to 35 years (12)	1	9	2
36 to 50 years (35)	15	14	6
51 to 64 years (27)	13	11	3
65 and over (6)	4	2	0
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	19	21	4
Male (56)	24	23	9
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	4	2	2
Incomplete secondary (7)	3	3	1
Secondary (27)	16	9	2
Incomplete higher education (21)	7	11	3
Business training beyond high school (5)	1	4	0
Technical training beyond high school (1)	0	0	1
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	7	10	2
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	0	1	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	5	4	2
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	5	5	0
Skilled (2)	1	1	0
Housewives (16)	7	6	3
Students (15)	8	4	3
Clerical (11)	3	8	1
Sales (3)	3	0	0
Service (3)	1	2	0
Professional/managerial (40)	15	19	6

By a narrow margin, the majority voted negatively at a ratio of 44% to 43%; 13% were undecided. Even with hopes at low ebb as to achievement of independence because of the unfavorable international climate, the Ukrainians reject coexistence. Most of the interviewees revealed they prefer impasse to compromise.

The coexistence policy and technological changes accelerating assimilation may result in one world government. Political and legal uniformity may weaken ethnic cohesion but promote global striving for human rights and advance social progress. Ukrainian reaction to one world was measured. The question asked was:

13. Do you think we are becoming one world with one language, religion, race, and government?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Yes</u> (12)	<u>No</u> (85)	<u>Undecided</u> (3)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	2	18	0
22 to 35 years (12)	1	11	0
36 to 50 years (35)	5	29	1
51 to 64 years (27)	4	22	1
65 and over (6)	0	5	1
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	7	36	1
Male (56)	5	49	2
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	1	5	2
Incomplete secondary (7)	2	5	0
Secondary (27)	5	22	0
Incomplete higher education (21)	1	20	0
Business training beyond high school (5)	0	5	0
Technical training beyond high school (1)	0	1	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	2	17	0
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	0	1	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	1	9	1
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	1	8	1
Skilled (2)	0	2	0
Housewives (16)	4	12	0
Students (15)	3	12	0
Clerical (11)	0	11	0
Sales (3)	0	3	0
Service (3)	0	3	0
Professional/managerial (40)	4	34	2

An overwhelming majority felt there was no evolution towards one world--85% to 12% with 3% undecided. Perhaps romantic nationalism at this point still persists too strongly. It appears that the Ukrainian community cannot accede to ultimate global homogeneity and to rational acceptance of social changes in an electronic age.

Analysis so far reveals that while the majority of the Ukrainian community supports instruments to promote liberation such as the Patriarchate, the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard, and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, it reacts negatively to the possibility of independence in the near future, a Pan-Slav federation, the UN as an instrument of resolution, coexistence, and evolution towards one world. However, the majority feel equal to sustaining independence.

Although opposed to alternatives to independence, the Ukrainian community in the process of being Americanized, might be unwilling to take up arms to aid its compatriots in the Ukraine. By quirk of fate a change in international alignment could be favorable to the Ukrainian problem resulting in armed intervention. To measure this attitude the question asked was:

14. Would you serve in the army to free the Ukraine?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Yes</u> (49)	<u>No</u> (35)	<u>Undecided</u> (16)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	11	6	3
22 to 35 years (12)	7	3	2
36 to 50 years (35)	14	16	5
51 to 64 years (27)	12	10	5
65 and over (6)			
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	23	19	2
Male (56)	26	16	14
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	4	2	2
Incomplete secondary (7)	6	1	0
Secondary (27)	11	11	5
Incomplete higher education (21)	12	8	1
Business training beyond high school (5)	4	1	0
Technical training beyond high school (1)	0	1	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	9	6	4
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	0	0	1
Complete graduate degree (11)	3	5	3
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	6	2	2
Skilled (2)	1	1	0
Housewives (16)	9	7	0
Students (15)	7	5	3
Clerical (11)	8	2	1
Sales (3)	1	1	1
Service (3)	3	0	0
Professional/managerial (40)	14	17	9

The majority would fight at a ratio of 49% to 35%; 16% were undecided.

Thwarted on all sides in regard to independence, the Ukrainian community, nevertheless, resists compromise in regard to coexistence and the one world concept of intercommunication, interaction, and interdependence. Perhaps with more exposure to political education and participation in a definitely politically-oriented country such as the United States, the Ukrainian community will think more in terms of global politics.

In the opinion survey, results indicated limited involvement in American politics as compared with Ukrainian politics. To determine the extent of participation the following question was asked:

15. Do you take an active interest in American politics?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Yes</u> (40)	<u>No</u> (60)
<u>By Age</u>		
16 to 21 years (20)	8	12
22 to 35 years (12)	7	5
36 to 50 years (35)	14	21
51 to 64 years (27)	10	17
65 and over (6)	1	5
<u>By Sex</u>		
Female (44)	20	24
Male (56)	20	36
<u>By Education</u>		
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	1	7
Incomplete secondary (7)	3	4
Secondary (27)	8	19
Incomplete higher education (21)	12	9
Business training beyond high school (5)	0	5
Technical training beyond high school (1)	1	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	11	8
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	1	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	3	8
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>		
Unskilled (10)	2	8
Skilled (2)	1	1
Housewives (16)	5	11
Students (15)	5	10
Clerical (11)	7	4
Sales (3)	2	1
Service (3)	3	0
Professional/managerial (40)	15	25

The majority revealed no active participation in American politics at a ratio of 60% to 40%. Involvement in regard to seeking office was of significant interest since active political participation was low. The question asked was:

16. Have you ever tried to run for office in local, state or national politics?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Yes</u> (3)	<u>No</u> (97)
<u>By Age</u>		
16 to 21 years (20)	0	20
22 to 35 years (12)	0	12
36 to 50 years (35)	0	35
51 to 64 years (27)	2	25
65 and over (6)	1	5
<u>By Sex</u>		
Female (44)	0	44
Male (56)	3	53
<u>By Education</u>		
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	1	7
Incomplete secondary (7)	0	7
Secondary (27)	0	27
Incomplete higher education (21)	0	21
Business training beyond high school (5)	0	5
Technical training beyond high school (1)	0	1
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	1	18
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	0	1
Complete graduate degree (11)	1	10
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>		
Unskilled (10)	0	10
Skilled (2)	0	2
Housewives (16)	0	16
Students (15)	0	15
Clerical (11)	0	11
Sales (3)	0	3
Service (3)	0	3
Professional/managerial (40)	3	37

Results revealed that 97% as against 3% have made no attempt to seek office. The local Ukrainian is still involved politically within his own ethnic group. Most of the interviewees revealed participation in American politics has been limited because of a deeply rooted concern and quest for Ukrainian national independence.

Since limited involvement was revealed in United States politics, attachment for the Ukraine was measured. The question asked was:

17. Do you think Ukrainians should melt into the American pot and forget the Ukraine?

<u>Total (100)</u>	<u>Yes</u> (4)	<u>No</u> (95)	<u>Undecided</u> (1)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	1	19	0
22 to 35 years (12)	0	12	0
36 to 50 years (35)	1	33	1
51 to 64 years (27)	2	25	0
65 and over (6)	0	6	0
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	2	42	0
Male (56)	2	43	1
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	0	8	0
Incomplete secondary (7)	0	7	0
Secondary (27)	2	25	0
Incomplete higher education (21)	1	20	0
Business training beyond high school (5)	0	5	0
Technical training beyond high school (1)	0	1	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	1	18	0
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	0	1	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	0	10	1
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	1	9	0
Skilled (2)	0	2	0
Housewives (16)	1	15	0
Students (15)	2	13	0
Clerical (11)	0	11	0
Sales (3)	0	3	0
Service (3)	0	3	0
Professional/managerial (40)	0	39	1

An overwhelming majority of 97% to 3% resist the melting process; 1% is undecided. Attachment to the Ukraine is still strong.

When President Nixon traveled to Kiev and Moscow in 1972 to thaw the cold war, the Ukrainian community reacted favorably. The question asked was:

18. Did you approve of Nixon's trip to Kiev and Moscow in 1972?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Yes</u> (70)	<u>No</u> (17)	<u>Undecided</u> (13)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	19	0	1
22 to 35 years (12)	8	2	2
36 to 50 years (35)	24	4	7
51 to 64 years (27)	14	10	3
65 and over (6)	5	1	0
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	35	4	5
Male (56)	35	13	8
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	5	2	1
Incomplete secondary (7)	6	0	1
Secondary (27)	17	4	6
Incomplete higher education (21)	16	4	1
Business training beyond high school (5)	3	2	0
Technical training beyond high school (1)	0	1	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	15	2	2
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	1	0	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	7	2	2
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	6	3	1
Skilled (2)	0	1	1
Housewives (16)	12	1	3
Students (15)	13	1	1
Clerical (11)	8	3	0
Sales (3)	1	1	1
Service (3)	3	0	0
Professional/managerial (40)	27	7	6

An overwhelming majority voted approval by a ratio of 70% to 17%; 13% were undecided. Interviews revealed that the Ukrainians hoped Nixon would intercede in their behalf in his communication with Brezhnev. Communication for the sake of peaceful coexistence and trade and cultural agreements was of secondary consideration.

During the 1972 presidential election, Ukrainian votes favored Nixon. The question in regard to the election was:

19. For whom did you vote for president in 1972?
If too young to vote, please state preference.

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Nixon</u> (55)	<u>McGovern</u> (17)	<u>Other</u> (28)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	10	2	8
22 to 35 years (12)	6	2	4
36 to 50 years (35)	21	3	11
51 to 64 years (27)	15	8	4
65 and over (6)	3	2	1
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	26	4	14
Male (56)	29	13	14
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	5	1	2
Incomplete secondary (7)	5	0	2
Secondary (27)	10	8	9
Incomplete higher education (21)	15	1	5
Business training beyond high school (5)	3	1	1
Technical training beyond high school (1)	1	0	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	10	4	5
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	1	0	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	5	2	4
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	5	4	1
Skilled (2)	0	1	1
Housewives (16)	10	1	5
Students (15)	7	1	7
Clerical (11)	7	2	2
Sales (3)	2	0	1
Service (3)	2	0	1
Professional/managerial (40)	22	8	10

A substantial majority favored Nixon over McGovern at 55% to 17%; 28% voted other. Interviews revealed that Ukrainians supported Nixon because of his anti-Communist record. Voting for the man who could serve his country more effectively was of secondary consideration.

As to party affiliation, the Ukrainians were predominantly Democrats. In the opinion survey, the following question was asked:



20. Are you a Republican, Democrat, other?

<u>Total</u> (100)	<u>Republican</u> (31)	<u>Democrat</u> (52)	<u>Other</u> (17)
<u>By Age</u>			
16 to 21 years (20)	4	7	9
22 to 35 years (12)	4	5	3
36 to 50 years (35)	11	19	5
51 to 64 years (27)	10	17	0
65 and over (6)	2	4	0
<u>By Sex</u>			
Female (44)	14	25	5
Male (56)	17	27	12
<u>By Education</u>			
Elementary and incomplete elementary (8)	2	6	0
Incomplete secondary (7)	2	3	2
Secondary (27)	5	17	5
Incomplete higher education (21)	10	7	4
Business training beyond high school (5)	1	4	0
Technical training beyond high school (1)	0	1	0
Complete higher education (B.A.) (19)	6	8	5
Incomplete graduate degree (1)	1	0	0
Complete graduate degree (11)	4	6	1
<u>By Occupation/Profession</u>			
Unskilled (10)	2	8	0
Skilled (2)	1	1	0
Housewives (16)	5	11	0
Students (15)	4	5	6
Clerical (11)	4	5	2
Sales (3)	0	3	0
Service (3)	1	1	1
Professional/managerial (40)	14	18	8

Results revealed that the majority were Democrats at 52% as against Republicans at 31%. Other responses rated 17%. In the interviews Ukrainians felt that the Democrats related better to the common man, but the Republicans were anti-Communist and could possibly serve the Ukrainian cause more effectively.

In its fervent hope for independence, the majority of the local Ukrainian community will not compromise vis-a-vis the Ukrainian question and at times gives its adopted country secondary consideration in the game of politics.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, the nationalist church, the Ukrainian Institute at Harvard, and the Ukrainian Congress Committee will be viewed within the context of local and international trends to determine possible materialization of goals in regard to the independence of the Ukraine. After World War II, political activities were operative predominantly within the sphere of those institutions in the Ukrainian community of Pittsburgh.

As the opinion survey indicates, the Ukrainian rates religion above politics. His church wherein he expresses all aspirations--social, cultural, and political--is the center of his existence. His politics he identifies first with his church and then with his culture. By evolution he will probably separate church from state. The Ukrainian Congress Committee may be the first step in that direction. In the interviews the Ukrainians appeared more knowledgeable in regard to the Patriarchate Committee and the Ukrainian Institute at Harvard than the Ukrainian Congress Committee--the last an organization of definite political consciousness.

The secular political activity of the Anglo-Saxon and American political institutions wherein there is

separation of church and state was still foreign to the Ukrainian community with the first settlement on the South Side of Pittsburgh in 1880. From the time of Vladimir the Great (tenth century) religion and culture have been an integral part of Ukrainian nationalism.¹ Religion gave nationalism a stronger ideological base urging unity.² That concept has remained with the Ukrainian as revealed in the church organization on the South Side of Pittsburgh.

In view of the drop in membership within the Ukrainian Catholic church due most probably to the assimilative factor accelerated by technological change in transportation and communication, speculation on retention of identity, especially within the church, is inevitable. The Ukrainian Catholic Church on the South Side through the Patriarchate Committee strengthened nationalist efforts with Cardinal Slipyj's release in 1963 from Siberia urging unity of both church and nation.³ Twice, in the past, this church weakened in membership. By World War II, membership within the church dropped, among other factors, with the move to the suburbs, intermarriage, and the economic depression. Membership increased after 1945 with the influx of

¹Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, History of Russia (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 36-39.

²Ibid.

³"Historical Days in Pittsburgh," America, 28 June 1973, p. 1.

political refugees fleeing the onslaught of Stalinism. Within the recent past, again, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has been losing membership. The opinion survey of the Pittsburgh Ukrainian community revealed 60% thought the church was losing membership, but 80% supported the Patriarchate Committee because of its potential as an instrument in uniting church and nation. In other words, the church per se is supported less than the church as a nationalist instrument.

Even with the indomitable strength of the Cardinal as a guiding spirit, can the Ukrainian nationalist church in America survive the swift forces of assimilative and technological change? In addition to said changes, both the Vatican and the USSR are deaf to the Patriarchate Committee's plea for recognition pushing the Ukrainian problem further into the political background.

In the Ukraine, the Soviets crushed the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the 1930's and the Catholic Church in 1945-1946.⁴ Interviewees who visited the Ukraine in 1972 and 1973 reveal that certain churches are open. However, those attending belong to the older generation; fewer of the younger generation attend because of indoctrination against the church.

⁴"An Open Letter to the American People," New York Times, 17 June 1973, p. 16.

Facing membership losses in the traditional church institutions here and in the Ukraine, the Ukrainian community on the South Side is also experiencing a drop in enrollment of students of Ukrainian parentage in the church elementary school, which is conducted now entirely in English. Within the past few years, children of other nationalities have enrolled at St. John the Baptist as a result of financial crises in other Pittsburgh Catholic schools.⁵ If more non-Ukrainian students enroll, one may speculate on increasing loss of Ukrainian homogeneity, especially with the recent negative Supreme Court decision on major State aid to parochial education.⁶ Thus, even more non-Ukrainians may enroll in the future. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church on the South Side has suspended its Ukrainian school program. The National Home sustained a Ukrainian school for a few years, but the school succumbed with the economic depression of the 1930's. Ridna Shkola (Native School), which was founded in 1968, has not been operating long enough to indicate a substantial trend. Judging from the trend of previous Ukrainian schools, one may conclude that Ridna Shkola will also terminate under the forces of assimilative and technological change--the supra-culture.

⁵ Monsignor Poloway, parish priest, in a telephone conversation, 3 July 1973.

⁶ See "Aid to Parochial Schools Coming to a Halt?" U.S. News and World Report, 9 July 1973, p. 27.

In 1968, the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard was created in perpetuity to preserve identity, to publicize the Ukrainian question, and to close the gap in the scholarship of the humanities in the Ukraine as a result of anti-Ukrainian discrimination. By 1973, the total cost was \$1,800,000 for three chairs in language, literature, and history. However, the enrollment during the past year (1972-1973) has been predominantly non-Ukrainian.⁷ It appears that the younger Ukrainian generation is either not interested in Ukrainian humanities or not equal to the inflationary cost of tuition, room, and board. Since most of the professors in the Ukrainian Institute are not Ukrainian and do not relate to the Ukrainian political question through the academic program,⁸ the status quo of the Ukrainian Institute does not satisfy the Ukrainian community. Lack of communication has resulted in pessimistic speculation on the success of the institute. Exactly three-fourths (75%) of those polled in the opinion survey supported this effort at cultural preservation and ultimate liberation of the Ukraine. Future developments revealing

⁷Dr. Paul Magoscy, of the Ukrainian Institute at Harvard University at a Carpatho-Ruthenian meeting in the Commons Room at Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Penna., 2 May 1973.

⁸Dmitro Shtohryn, Lights and Shadows of Ukrainian Studies at Harvard (Chicago, Illinois: Hartyr Printing Company, 1973), pp. 19-23.

further non-Ukrainian involvement may result in a crisis, even to the point of suspension of the program.

Viability of the Ukrainian language is another problem in both the predominantly Anglo-Saxon milieu and Russian milieu. As a second language in the Pittsburgh Ukrainian community, 76% read and write Ukrainian. With the next generation, fewer may be expected to know Ukrainian as a result of assimilation and other forces. In the Ukraine, Ukrainian is also a secondary language. Russian is the language in administration, party organizations, army, police and militia, industry, and all public institutions. The nine universities in the Ukraine are thoroughly Russified, including the ten-year high schools, technicums, and a number of research and scientific institutes. Most textbooks in such disciplines as physics, chemistry, biology, mechanics, mathematics, and electronics appear in the Russian language. Subjects indispensable to Communist indoctrination such as ethnography, history, philosophy, folklore, and the teaching of Marx and Lenin are printed in Ukrainian.⁹ As in the United States, fewer in the next generation in the Ukraine may be expected to know Ukrainian.

Cultural identity is also being threatened, as was indicated by the owners of "Howerla" and "Dnieper"--two

⁹"Editorial," Ukrainian Quarterly, (Spring 1973), p. 10.

Ukrainian Book and Art Stores in Pittsburgh. Fewer Ukrainian books and records are being sold. Even pysanky (hand-painted Easter eggs) must be imported, since a sufficient number are not being produced locally for sales purposes during the Easter season.

Linguistics and culture could be revived with fresh Ukrainian immigrants, but new migrations cannot be expected to develop under restrictive Communist regulation of such laws. Therefore, less interest in both linguistics and culture may ensue.

Ukrainians must realistically face the fact that Europe is also experiencing a change in linguistics. With NATO, structured to thwart possible Communist encroachment into Western Europe after World War II, American troops were stationed in Europe in surveillance. With the Marshall Plan, designed to reconstruct war-torn Europe, American administrators, businessmen, workers, and families invaded the continent. Servan-Schreiber of France cried out against the devouring economic giant with its creative genius for business management and alteration of the French language.¹⁰ Ultimately, the French, under the impact of American economic talent, struggled for "le come-back" of the French language. In 1972, a commission was appointed by former Premier Jacques Chaban-Delmas to study ways of defending

¹⁰See Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber, The American Challenge (New York, N.Y.: Atheneum, 1968), p. 11.

the preeminence of the French language against the invasion of the barbarous Anglicisms. In rejecting Franglais, one-man show will be replaced by "spectacle solo," zoning will be replaced by "zonage," etc. Selling this new vocabulary will be a problem since the Americans have definitely established a trend.¹¹

In Germany, a similar linguistic situation has developed. In German newspapers neologisms appear such as "der Appeasement" and "die Escalation." Etymological eruptions are found in the ads, such as "gut Trenchcoats" or "amerikanische Shave Lotion." U.S. Army personnel in West Germany, it appears, are aiding in the process of anglicization. One Yank company facetiously affixed the following sign to a piece of military equipment revealing "der trend:"

Achtung! Das Machine Ist Nicht Fur
Fingerpoken Bei Dummkopfen und Rubbernecken
Peepenlookers. Keepen Damn Hands in Der
Pockets Mit Relaxen--Und Das Machine Will
Nicht Blowenfusen, Poppencorken or Springen-
schnappen.¹²

In the United States, traditional study of foreign languages is fading into the curriculum background. Uncommon foreign languages are just holding their own--notably Chinese, Russian, and Hebrew. In spite of increased inter-

¹¹"Le Come-back de Savoir Faire," Newsweek, 3 May 1973, p. 35.

¹²"English 'In' in German," Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, 10 May 1973, p. 29.

national travel, study abroad, interest in other cultures, and new teaching methods, enrollment decreased between 1970 and 1972: French 16%, German 12%, Italian 5%, and Spanish 5%.¹³

Because of the impressive progress of United States industrial power, English has been imposed as the international language of commerce and technology. Virtually all other fields--the arts, science, and diplomacy--have followed this trend. The traditional use of French for diplomacy and the arts, and German for science and espionage are being replaced. Translations of important scientific, technological, and literary works find a worldwide market when they appear in English. Even the International Atomic Energy Agency is notoriously pro-English. Engineers and scientists throughout the world feel it is absolutely essential to learn to speak and write English. Global scholarship exchange is not balanced. In 1968-69, there were 12,100 foreign academic personnel in American universities, in contrast to 5,600 faculty abroad. The student exchange program is largely one-way. In 1967-68, 25,000 American students were studying abroad. During the same period, 133,000 foreign students came to the U.S. This represents a difference of five to one, increasing each year. In the non-academic sphere, the imbalance is even greater.

¹³"The Accent is Grave," New York Times, 6 May 1973, p. 3.

Japan, third largest industrial power, is now using English exclusively in contacts with occidentals.¹⁴

The Ukrainian community is facing a global linguistic change resulting from scientific and technological innovations and unilingualism within the sphere of the two superpowers. However, the Ukrainian community chooses to resist the linguistic as well as the political change in the Ukraine. In 1940, it created the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Its purpose is to promote the cause of independence by coordinating nationalist efforts and to educate and inform through its official publication the Ukrainian Quarterly. It reaches hundreds of the most important libraries, government and newspaper offices, universities, and scientific institutions in the United States and Canada, and sixty-two other countries, including a few behind the Iron Curtain. In 1966, the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (Slovansky Prehled, No. 3) listed the UCCA and the Ukrainian Quarterly among the top twelve American "Kremlinologist" centers.¹⁵

Contacts in Washington keep the Ukrainian issue alive. In 1973, as in previous years, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America,

¹⁴Murray A. Tamers, "The Language Gap," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, (March 1971), pp. 38-40.

¹⁵Three Decades of UCCA: 1940-1970 (New York, N.Y.: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1970), pp. 11-17.

requested that all legislators declare their support for the cause of Ukrainian independence (January 22) in the halls of Congress. Many Congressmen complied and their remarks appeared in the Congressional Record.¹⁶

However, in spite of international contacts and Congressional verbal support, President Nixon chose to ignore Dr. Dobriansky's letter written a week before Brezhnev's visit in June, 1973 pleading for the intellectuals arrested in the Ukraine. Previous letters to the President remained unanswered and Dr. Dobriansky further stated that he wondered why other groups were gaining the President's attention even to the extent of the U.S. government's intervening in internal matters in their countries.¹⁷ Even memoranda sent to the United Nations fail to focus world attention on the Ukrainian plight.

However, on June 1, 1973, the White House did recognize TUSM (National Youth Organization) with a reply. In Pittsburgh, on June 10, 1973, at station WEDO during the "Song of the Ukraine" radio program, Anna Melnychuk, president of local TUSM read a letter from John Richardson, Jr., Acting Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs. This

¹⁶"Chronicle of Current Events," Ukrainian Quarterly, (Spring 1973), pp. 96-97. (On January 22, 1918, the Ukrainians declared an independent Ukrainian state.)

¹⁷"Letter to President Nixon," Svoboda, 16 June 1973, p. 9.

letter was in response to thousands of signed petitions from Pittsburgh and other major cities sent to the White House in February, 1973 on U.S.-Soviet economic relations and human rights.¹⁸ Following is the letter, in part:

Dear Fellow American:

President Nixon has asked me to reply... We welcome this opportunity to explain our policy.

The alternative to policies stemming from mutual hostility and recrimination lies in policies based on mutual civility and cooperation. We believe that the steps our two countries have already taken--in the fields of arms control, international scientific and cultural cooperation, protection of the environment--have set us both on this path. The several agreements affecting trade and other economic arrangements between us which were agreed upon on October 18, 1972 constitute an additional, and a highly significant, advance along this path.

As closer ties are established between our two countries, including trade contacts, we believe the Soviets will realize it is not in their interests to undertake actions which cause legitimate public concern in the United States. Closer relations between us should benefit all the people of both countries.¹⁹

The letter further declares that the United States supports efforts of the Ukrainian people and other Soviet minority groups to secure human rights and dignity. However, the Soviet government rejects foreign intervention. Therefore, the U.S. delegation at the United Nations

¹⁸Anna Melnychuk, president of local TUSM (Youth Organization) on "Song of the Ukraine" radio program, 18 June 1972.

¹⁹Letter from John Richardson, Jr., Acting Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, White House, 1 June 1973.

was asked to raise the question of persecution of minority groups in the Soviet Union. On March 17, 1972, Mrs. Rita Hauser, U.S. Delegate to the Human Rights Commission demanded that the Soviet Union "take all necessary steps to ensure a flourishing life for its many minorities."²⁰ At the same time, the letter continues, the United States is searching for a stable peace and security. The Soviet people, too, want security and improvement in living standards. Competition between the two countries has often resulted in open confrontation. Such a state demanded improvement for reasons of survival. The goal is for a more productive relationship. Nothing would be gained in human rights by a return to practices of the past.²¹ Thus-- only moral support but no active support from Washington for the Ukrainian community in its request for human rights.

Facing frustration from all sides--the denial to a request for a Patriarchate that would help rebuild the nation, a disappointing minority of Ukrainian students and professors at the Ukrainian Institute at Harvard whose academic program does not relate to the immediate, pressing, burning political issues in regard to independence, a U.S. foreign policy of non-intervention that renders the Ukrainian Congress Committee impotent, and a United Nations that

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

can provide only forum opportunities, the Ukrainian community has reached an impasse in spite of national and international involvement--religiously, culturally, and politically. The drop in church affiliation, a trend towards unilingualism, and a policy of coexistence between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. add to the problem of the Ukrainian quest for independence.

A more prudent and realistic approach to the Ukrainian problem may result in acceptance of the trend towards world integration wherein the nationalist movement will be interpreted as an instrument towards achievement of human rights for all mankind. Certainly the excesses of current Ukrainian nationalism minus compromise result in periodic conflicts impeding social progress. A world of political and legal conformity with appreciation of cultural differences which are lessening under the impact of scientific and technological uniformity will result in a more viable planet. Relinquishing emotional nationalism and accommodating to an administrative state coordinated with a regional government and a global central government would terminate the Ukrainian impasse and channel efforts into positive, constructive thinking. Energies would be employed in resolving problems of urbanization, pollution, drugs, alcoholism, crime, poverty, and sickness.

With a converging world, the Ukrainian world community will, in time, hopefully, react within the framework of

changing political, economic, and social institutions. Certainly, the current Ukrainian nationalist posture of narrow perception is counter productive with literature glorifying the past and enumerating grievances. A resultant negative attitude toward U.S.-U.S.S.R. overtures for mutual agreements impedes focusing attention on strengthening bridges of economic, social, and cultural intercommunication and interdependence. Forcing confrontation can only spell annihilation in a nuclear age. In retreating on nationalism, the gain for the Ukrainian community and the world can result in accelerated realization of goals in human rights, economic improvement, common sharing of values, institutions, and procedures. The human condition is such that it yearns for economic improvement and fulfillment of desire for human rights. Realizing this, the United States will no doubt adopt a poltrade policy--economic exchange founded on political concessions including human rights. As a result, the Ukrainian community may have to concede to the emergence of a mass society striving for mutual benefits and relinquish emotional nationalism for state autonomy within a world community of other states.

Who will govern the world community? Since the United Nations functions in the capacity of a forum without power to enforce decisions, its effectiveness is limited, especially in resolving nationalist questions. An established, proven government--that of the United States--that has

climbed to the highest level in the experiment of democracy with power in the people, and whose achievement in science and technology and creative genius in business management is a model in social progress, would be the logical choice for a world central government. Extending itself as a directorate around the globe with its legal tradition of compromise, the United States could be the answer to the nationalist menace. For a period of almost two hundred years, it has governed ethnic groups of varied political, economic, religious, and social persuasions. The boundary can be extended, on consent, globally, with a continuation of the democratic experiment and efforts of perfectability of the system. If a superpower such as the USSR must seek help from the United States to bolster a sagging economy, other nations in the process of development will probably do likewise in view of the population explosion and proliferating internal problems. Economic, scientific, and technological Americanization of the globe will probably be realized as developing nations request economic aid with resultant disciplining of emotional nationalism.

Meanwhile, the Ukrainian government-in-exile waits in Munich. Organized in 1947, the Ukrainian National Rada (Council) was created as a Ukrainian representative assembly in exile for purposes of consolidation of Ukrainian

national forces for liberation.²² Another organization in exile is the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), also in Munich, organized upon the initiative of Ukrainian nationalists in 1943, and headed by the Ukrainian Yaroslav Stetsko. The aim of the ABN is "to destroy Russian despotic imperium, to liberate the subjugated peoples and to give back enslaved beings their freedom again and ensure that they lead a free life."²³

The Ukrainians, hypothetically, face two options: further rejection of pleas for independence or pragmatic adaptation. Messianic persistence and revolutionary fervor could upset the equilibrium for which foreign policy decision-makers are striving. Viewing it from its historical perspective, Ukrainians will hopefully concede nationalism is a stage in development towards global unity, human rights, and social progress that must be disciplined with reason. The Ukrainians' present counter productive state of impasse and refusal to compromise politically is a march backward into the future. Nationalism per se, which does not function within the context of world trends, is an anachronism destined for short duration. The keyword

²²V. Kobyovyc, "Political Life," Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia, ed. Volodymyr Kubijovyc (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), I. 914.

²³Niko Nakashidze, The Truth About ABN (Munich: ABN Press, 1960), p. 15.

for peace does not lie conceptually within nationalism, but within three other concepts: those of intercommunication, interdependence, and interrelationship among all nations.

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