

PROGRESSIVE UKRAINIANS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY CANADA

"SINCEREST REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS":
PROGRESSIVE UKRAINIANS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY CANADA

By

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Abstract

One of the most dynamic and distinct immigrant working-class communities to develop in Canada during the twentieth century was that of the Progressive Ukrainian community. Unfortunately, until now, this group has received only limited attention from historians. Typically, when it has been considered it has only been within a narrow political or institution framework, one generally concerned with debating the extent of the movement's connections with the Communist Party of Canada (CPC).

This thesis expands our understanding of the Ukrainian Left in Canada by looking beyond the efforts of those male leaders who maintained the community's links with the Party. Using a variety of sources and focussing on a diverse array of activities, this study examines the ways in which all members and supporters of the community—men, women, and youngsters—contributed to and experienced the Progressive Ukrainian community. What emerges is a far more vibrant picture than exists in previous historical accounts, one in which experiences—and the movement overall—were shaped by a complex interaction of gender, class, ethnicity, and age.

From this study it also becomes clear that, while political expression was a key concern of the community, so, too, was cultural preservation. At times the two were fused together; on other occasions they were mutually exclusive. Later in the movement's history, cultural preservation even came to eclipse political action as a focus for many, particularly second and subsequent generations of Progressive Ukrainian Canadians. From this thesis, then, we see that the Ukrainian Left was composed not simply of men working to forward the CPC. Rather it was made up of a variety of individuals interested in political and cultural expression who, in a multitude of ways, shaped and were shaped by the movement and their experiences as members of the Canadian working class.

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List of Acronyms

Organizations

ACU	Association of Canadian Ukrainians
AUC	Association of Ukrainian Canadians
AUUC	Association of United Ukrainian Canadians
CPC	Communist Party of Canada
CSIS	Canadian Security Intelligence Service
CSULR	Canadian Society for Ukrainian Labour Research
NAC	National Archives of Canada
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
ULFTA	Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association
ULTA	Ukrainian Labour Temple Association
WBA	Workers Benevolent Association

Publications

<i>BM</i>	<i>Boyova molod</i>
<i>HP</i>	<i>Holos pravdy</i>
<i>HR</i>	<i>Holos robitnytsi</i>
<i>SM</i>	<i>Svit molodi</i>
<i>UC</i>	<i>Ukrainian Canadian</i>
<i>URV</i>	<i>Ukrainski robitnychi visti</i>
<i>US</i>	<i>Ukrainske slovo</i>
<i>UZ</i>	<i>Ukrainske zhyttia</i>
<i>ZS</i>	<i>Zhyttia i slovo</i>

"Sincerest Revolutionary Greetings":
Progressive Ukrainians in Twentieth Century Canada

Organized Progressive Ukrainians created one of the most dynamic working-class movements in Canadian history. Nationally and locally, the Ukrainian Left attracted supporters through cultural and social activities, pro-labour newspapers, links with the Communist Party and ties to the fight for peace, social justice, and workers' rights, activities where meanings of 'Ukrainianness' were reinforced, shaped, and changed over several generations.

The history of the movement can be divided into four eras. The first existed prior to the First World War when the foundations of the Ukrainian Left were laid, growing out of a combination of values and experiences brought from the Old Country as well as those acquired through the transition from peasant to worker that many Ukrainian immigrants made upon their arrival to Canada. The second period was evident in the years between the World Wars. During the interwar period, the movement grew, attracting a large following by serving and addressing a broad range of social, political and cultural needs of the Ukrainian immigrant working class in a social climate fraught with discrimination and economic downturn. World War II, the third era of the movement's history, was a watershed period for the Progressive Ukrainian community. At that time, the movement entered a time of setback, marked by extreme political repression at the hands of the Canadian government. Most of the war years were spent attempting to rebuild those elements of the Ukrainian Left that had been lost when several of its male leaders were interned and many of its halls confiscated. The fourth era existed after the Second World War. The postwar era witnessed a gradual, pronounced shift in the movement's

vitality and influence, brought on by changes in the composition of the Ukrainian Canadian ethnic group, assimilation, the cold war, the welfare state, and postwar prosperity.

Over the course of the Progressive Ukrainian movement's existence, members and supporters focussed their energies on two major priorities—improving the circumstances of all workers and farmers in Canada and around the world and preserving and expressing Ukrainian cultural traditions in their adopted Canadian homeland. At times, certain constituencies of the community valued and supported these priorities differently. Nonetheless, no matter how or when they were manifest, these concerns were reflective of both adaptation and resistance as it was employed by the immigrant generation and their children to adjust to and improve their personal and community circumstances.

Many variables influenced the shape of the Ukrainian Left in Canada and the women, men, and youngsters who built the movement. By far, however, it was the intersection of ethnicity and class with gender and age that played the greatest role in determining the overall form the movement assumed, as well as how individual members experienced and understood their place as a Progressive Ukrainian or Progressive Ukrainian Canadian in Canada. Gender, class, ethnicity, and age interacted to shape politics, culture, opportunity, social interaction, and power within the movement.

The foremost concern of this thesis lies in understanding how these variables, alone and together, functioned to create and continually redefine this distinctive movement, its members and supporters, and the methods used to carry out community and individual

activism and cultural expression. In relation to the interaction of ethnicity and class, broader community formation and change will be explored, particularly as the Ukrainian Left emerged as part of a coping strategy for Ukrainian immigrants adjusting to the change from a peasant economy to a wage-based capitalist economic structure. Within this, I am most interested in knowing how ethnicity—and what it meant to be “Ukrainian”—was redefined in light of this new class identity and how it shifted as a result of changing economic circumstances, internal group priorities, and interaction with groups outside the movement over the course of the previous century. Understanding the distinctive working-class political milieu that arose out of the Ukrainian Labour Temples across Canada, then, and the important role Ukrainian culture played in developing and promoting this set of political values are priorities of this thesis. I am also interested in exploring, albeit to a lesser degree, how the development of the Ukrainian Left compared to that of other immigrant communities in Canada.

In terms of gender, this thesis is concerned with understanding how meanings of femininity and masculinity were conceived by the movement and how these meanings changed over time, particularly as each generation of Ukrainians and later Ukrainian Canadians came of age over the course of the century. Within this, an exploration of the lived experiences of adults is also a dominant priority. I am especially interested in knowing how women and men shaped and defined their own activities, political expression, and opportunities within this gendered community, as well as how ethnicity and class interacted with gender to impact their lives. In particular, I consider the different ways in which class and ethnic consciousness were manifest and expressed among

women and men. The nature of the political, cultural, and social activity and the overall shape of the Ukrainian Left--and of any immigration or "ethnic" community--cannot be understood without such a consideration of the role of gender in its development.

Similarly, age was also critical to defining one's engagement with the Ukrainian Left, and children and youth experienced the movement in ways that differed widely from adults. Though the community and juvenile roles were defined by adults--reflecting adult priorities and hopes--youngsters, too, shaped their own experiences based on their own interests. Moreover, by problematizing age as a variable, the process through which children and adults on the Ukrainian Left became gendered as women and men and politicized and "ethnicized" as Progressive Ukrainians and Ukrainian Canadians--as well as how this process changed over time and generation--is evident. This highlights the complexity of experiences that existed not only for the immigrant generation but also demonstrates the tensions subsequent generations encountered as they attempted to negotiate and find their place in the Ukrainian world of the parents and grandparents as well as "mainstream" Canadian society. These themes--the impact of the interaction of class, ethnicity, gender, and age--are interwoven to differing degrees throughout each chapter in the thesis.

The Progressive Ukrainian community is an important venue for analysing these themes because of the extensive body of source material available, the community's emphasis on the retention and development of Ukrainian culture and working-class political activities, and the deliberate creation of often mutually-exclusive spaces for the participation of all members--female and male, young and old--who made up

the Ukrainian working-class community. Thus, the expectations and hopes of the community are readily available and apparent. Through this analysis, it is evident that there was no one experience within the Ukrainian Left, but that, in fact, there were many. This multiplicity of experiences shaped-and ultimately limited-the development of the political, cultural, and social activities of the Progressive Ukrainian community in Canada over the course of the twentieth century.

Despite extensive available evidence, Progressive Ukrainians have not received due attention from historians. In existing studies of Ukrainians in Canada, the ULFTA and AUUC, the two main organizing bodies of the movement, are mentioned only in passing or from a narrow political/institutional perspective. In most, the debate over the "Pro-Communist" tendencies of many members of the Ukrainian Left becomes the focus of the authors' arguments, at the expense of other important elements of the movement's history, and often, as a result, within these accounts the broader cultural influence and importance of the Ukrainian Left are disregarded.¹ A wide body of literature exists produced by the Progressive Ukrainian Movement itself, much of which developed out of a

¹The Communist question is evident in Chapter Eleven of Jaroslav Petryshyn's, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1985); John Kolasky's, *The Shattered Illusion: The History of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada* (Toronto: PMA Books, 1979) and *Prophets and Proletarians: Documents on the History of the Rise and Decline of Ukrainian Communism in Canada* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1990); Marco Carynnyk's, "Swallowing Stalinism: Pro-Communist Ukrainian Canadians and Soviet Ukraine in the 1930's," in Lubomyr Luciuk et al., eds., *Canada's Ukrainians* (Toronto: 1991); Orest Martynowych's, *The Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: CIUS, 1991); Donald Avery's, "Divided Loyalties: The Ukrainian Left and the Canadian State," in Lubomyr Luciuk et al., eds., *Canada's Ukrainians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); and Paul Yuzuk's, "The Ukrainian Communist Delusion," in *The Ukrainians in Manitoba* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1953).

concern that the movement and its members were being marginalised or misrepresented in existing histories of Ukrainians in Canada. Material published by the movement does provide better coverage in terms of the overall activities and significance of the community, but it, too, is limited in a number of key ways, particularly for its celebratory tone and narrative, rather than for analytical, characteristics.² Overall, while one does not have to go far to find mention of the Progressive

²For the Progressive Ukrainian community this coverage was necessary, particular in light of the way it was portrayed as a negative element in the Ukrainian Canadian community by more nationalist Ukrainian constituencies in Canada. At the same time, this material was also produced to teach the children and grandchildren of the immigrant generation who had founded the movement about the previous incarnations of the Ukrainian Left in Canada. Finally, this literature was also sometimes written, particularly in the later years of the twentieth century, to justify and vindicate the movement's policies and actions. Examples of these phenomenon include many works by journalist and prolific author Peter Krawchuk such as *The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada, 1907-1918* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1979); *Our Contribution to Victory* (Toronto: Kobzar, 1985); *The Ukrainians in Winnipeg's First Century* (Toronto: Kobzar, 1974); *Our Stage : the Amateur Performing Arts of the Ukrainian Settlers in Canada* (Toronto: Kobzar, 1984); and *The Unforgettable Myroslav Irchan : Pages from a Valiant Life : Dedicated to the 100th Anniversary of His Birth, 1897-1997* (Edmonton: Kobzar, 1998). Like the mainstream Ukrainian Canadian historical works, this literature nearly always tends to frame the movement solely from a political perspective. Some books, like *Our Stage*, do look at cultural aspects of the movement's history. Most, however, examine the history from ideological angles, focussing on the relationship with the CPC, biographies of prominent (usually male) leaders, and publishing activity. For example, see Krawchuk's, *The Life and Work of Matthew Shatulsky* (Toronto: Kobzar, 1991), *Mathew Popovich: His Place in the History of Ukrainian Canadians* (Toronto: Canadian Society for Ukrainian Labour Research, 1987) and the previously mentioned *The Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada, 1907-1918* and *Our History*. For the historian, much of this genre of the literature on the Ukrainian Left is most useful in a primary source capacity. Thus, books like Krawchuk's *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope : Stories of Ukrainian Canadian Women Pioneers* (Toronto: Kobzar, 1991), a collection of selected autobiographies of women members of the Ukrainian Left compiled and edited by Krawchuk, and his autobiography, *Interned Without Cause: The Internment of Canadian Antifascists during World War Two* (Toronto: Kobzar, 1985) about the years he spent in a government internment camp, are best when examined as eye-witness accounts of important periods and activities in the history of the movement rather than analytical evaluations of the movement as a whole.

Ukrainian movement in literature on Ukrainians in Canada, the content is usually far from adequate in its coverage and analysis of the broad spectrum of activities with which the Ukrainian Left was engaged during the twentieth century.³ As such, much is unknown about this vibrant and dynamic community.

This study seeks to unite and build on these disparate elements of Ukrainian historiography. At the same time, given the limitations of this existing body of literature this thesis is necessarily informed by areas other than Ukrainian studies. In terms of methodology, then, this project relies most heavily on works that deal with immigration, labour,

³For other examples, see Orest Subtelny, *Ukrainians in North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), Jars Balan, *Salt and Braided Bread: Ukrainian Life in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1984), M.H. Marunchuk, *The Ukrainians in Canada: A History* (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1982), Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1947). Better studies have recently come from those historians who have chosen to examine particular elements of the Ukrainian Left. Frances Swyripa, in her book *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), made the first attempt to analyse the role played by definitions of femininity in Ukrainian community formation in Canada. Other important more recently-completely studies take fresher looks at institutional aspects of the Ukrainian Left and thankfully move beyond the political in their focus, helping to broaden our understanding of the significance and scope of the Progressive Ukrainian community. Suzanne Holyck Hunchuck's Master's Thesis, "A House Like No Other: An Architectural and Social History of the Ukrainian Labour Temple, 523 Arlington Street, Ottawa, 1923-1967," (Carleton University, 2001), is important for the way it situates Ukrainian proletarian institutions like the *chytalnia* (reading society) and the Ukrainian Labour Temple within the historiography of Ukrainians and cultural and architectural expressions of Ukrainianness in Canada which has too often focussed solely on religious or homestead architectural manifestations. One of the most charming additions to the historiography that considers Progressive Ukrainians in Canada is Jim Mochoruk's informative and entertaining book, *The People's Co-op: The Life and Times of a North End Institution* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2000). It explores the development of this Cooperative Dairy and Fuel Yard that had its start in and drew much of its support from the Progressive Ukrainian community in Winnipeg. This work, like Holyck Hunchuck's, is important for its expansion of the definition of activity and organization of the Ukrainian Left in Canada.

and gender studies, work that parallels but is not directly related to the Ukrainian experience in Canada. Over the course of the 1990's, historians have thankfully moved well beyond the Handlin "uprooted" model or the Bodnar "transplanted" model of immigration and ethnic development, allowing for a more complex understanding of the lives and experiences of immigrant groups.⁴ Influenced by trends in working-class and, especially, gender and women's history, other studies have sought to expand our understanding of the variety of experiences apparent among immigrant and ethnic working-class communities in Canada. By problematizing class and masculinity and femininity as important variables of influence along with ethnicity, more recent works have broadened our understanding of how women and men experienced the process of immigration, political activism, cultural expression, and community formation.⁵

⁴Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1951) and John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987). Carmella Patrias' *Patriots and Proletarians: Politicizing Hungarian Immigrants in Interwar Canada* (1994), which focusses mainly on how the development of political ideology influenced community formation, is helpful in lending a more complex understanding of the pattern many immigrant groups likely followed in their attempts to adjust to and eke out what limited power they could in their newly adopted country. She outlines the important role cultural activities can play in cementing these political ideas in the lives of individual immigrants, parallels which existed in the Progressive Ukrainian community as well, people for whom ethnic and political identity were inextricably linked.

⁵Franca Iacovetta's *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992) highlights how, used to hard work, Italian immigrants "showed a tremendous capacity to pool their resources together and a talent for finding ways to recreate culture and community in the new environment." Similar, too, were the Progressive Ukrainians with their ability to adapt Old World institutions and political ambitions to Canadian immigrant and working class circumstances. In terms of radical political activism, Ruth Frager's *Sweatshop Strife: Class, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Jewish Labour Movement of Toronto, 1900-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), with its comprehensive investigation of political identity formation and power and opportunity was

To highlight the complexity of experience present in the Progressive Ukrainian community, the thesis takes the form of three main chapters, each centring on the specific experiences and roles of women, men, and youngsters in the movement in order to illustrate how gender and age interacted with class and ethnicity to shape each distinct constituency. Such an approach permits not only comparisons of similar experiences, but also allows for a more nuanced analysis of those experiences that were particularly or exclusively gender or age-based in their development. This helps to highlight the important but different ways in which all members of the Progressive Ukrainian community contributed to the movement's formation and development.

To carry out this study, I have made use of a variety of sources. One of the most important bodies of evidence was provided by the extensive and detailed records maintained by the RCMP on the Ukrainian Left over the course of the twentieth century. My study is also based on a variety of other sources valuable to the social historian. Oral accounts have been particularly important to this project. I interviewed forty-two individuals for this study, all of whom were involved with the Ukrainian Left at one time or another over the course of the previous century. Another oral history collection housed at the Saskatchewan Archives Board has also proved beneficial to this thesis.

continually reshaped through "the complex interaction of class, ethnicity, and gender." She argues that though "class consciousness and ethnic identity reinforced each other" and created strong ethnic and class identities, because of a combination of outside influences, gendered inequalities, a lack of feminist analysis, and an inability to form meaningful inter-ethnic solidarities with other workers, the movement, though dynamic, was ultimately short-lived. Similar weaknesses and divisions also existed among the Progressive Ukrainian community and-though it remained vibrant longer than those workers Frager examines-ultimately undermined its ability to succeed beyond the later twentieth century.

Other key sources include several vast archival collections housed across Canada. Two of the best catalogued collections are the AUUC Fonds and the Peter Krawchuk Fonds housed at the National Archives of Canada. Two additional uncatalogued collections—the Krawchuk Collection privately maintained by Larissa Stavroff in Toronto and the Workers Benevolent Association holdings in Winnipeg, Manitoba—were also crucial to reconstructing the history of the Ukrainian Left in Canada. In addition to the materials available in these collections, newspapers and other publications in both Ukrainian and English, photographs, songs, plays, and artifacts produced by the Progressive Ukrainian community helped to round out my investigation of the movement's activities and major (and minor) figures in Canada.

This thesis avoids the use of certain terms which have traditionally been used to describe the Progressive Ukrainians in Canada. This is because, in many cases, these phrases are inadequate and, often—as my thesis will demonstrate—inaccurate. Typically used terms such as “Communist Ukrainians” or “Pro-Communist Ukrainians” are avoided because they tend to be too simplistic, too loaded, and obscure the larger meaning, significance, and influence of the Ukrainian Left in Canada, particularly its social and cultural elements. They also serve to obscure the experiences many members and supporters had with the Progressive Ukrainian community who, unlike the male leadership base, did not consider themselves communists but chose to attend activities at the halls because of the progressive working-class milieu fostered therein. Moreover, such descriptions of the movement are ahistorical; referring to the Progressive Ukrainian community in this way dangerously implies a static, rigid, and externally-defined set of political

practises and values. The Ukrainian Left represented a community and movement that was, in actuality, fluid where notions of class, politics, ethnicity, and gender were reworked and had different meanings over the course of the twentieth century.

As well, although the main organization of the community was called either the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) or the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC), using these names alone is too limited for describing the movement whose reach extended well beyond the walls of the Ukrainian Labour Temples where these groups were housed. Other organizations like the Workers Benevolent Association (WBA), the People's Cooperative Dairy, the Ukrainska Knyha, Globe Tours, and various other groups founded in the halls were also significant, and members and supporters of the Progressive Ukrainian community moved in and out of these organizations to varying degrees at various times throughout the movement's history. Thus, the fluidity of the membership and support for these groups, their interconnectedness, and their influence are best described as being part of the Progressive Ukrainian Community, the Ukrainian Left, the Progressive Ukrainian movement, or the Ukrainian Labour Temple movement. I, therefore, use these terms throughout the thesis when describing the broader community. When the ULFTA, AUUC, or WBA are discussed singly, their individual titles are used to denote this specificity.

The phrase "members and supporters" is also important to the way I describe the significance of the Ukrainian Left in Canada. Membership numbers are crucial to understanding the growth of the movement, but ultimately these figures do not lend themselves to a total or accurate representation of the reach and importance of the Progressive Ukrainian

community in Canada over the course of the period under study. Countless individuals supported the Ukrainian Left without actually being members of any of the movement's groups or branches. Such individuals took part in various ways--by attending concerts, subscribing to and reading one of the many organizational newspapers, supporting fundraising efforts, singing in choirs, going to dances or parties held at the halls, joining protests, or sending their offspring to activities at a local Ukrainian Labour Temple. Thus, the phrase "members and supporters" appears liberally throughout the thesis in order to emphasize that the movement's influence extended not only beyond the ULFTA/AUUC, but also beyond the formal dues-paying membership base.

Finally, I have approached the use and transliteration of Ukrainian terminology and names as follows. Names of the movement's Ukrainian language publications appear in a transliterated Ukrainian form as defined and spelled most often by the movement itself with the English language translation of the name appearing in brackets next to the Ukrainian title the first time the publication is mentioned in a chapter. In terms of proper names of individuals and organizations, these will be included using the most frequently used version of the name by which the person or group was known by the movement. Finally, a special comment should be made about the terms "*Tovarishka*" and "*Tovarish*," the female and male versions of the title "Comrade" which was often used in interwar documents to address and describe members and supporters. I have deliberately retained the Ukrainian transliteration of these terms so as not to lose the complexity of its meaning for the Ukrainian Left community. Their use is significant not only for their

obvious political overtones, but also because the terms can be translated as "friend." This is especially important for understanding the ways in which the Ukrainian Left defined what it meant to be Ukrainian in relation to the "Ukrainianness" espoused by other Ukrainian groups in Canada. The use of "*Tovarishka*" and "*Tovarish,*" in addition to linking the Ukrainian Left with the international proletarian struggle, acted as a rejection of what they perceived as the elitist, imperialist overtones of the terms "*Panya*" and "*Pan*" ("Lady" and "Lord") by which other more conservative Ukrainians in Canada tended to greet each other. Thus, these terms epitomize the Progressive Ukrainian community's attempts to create a more egalitarian set of social relations in the Canadian context.

Guardsmen of Heritage and Class: Progressive
Ukrainian Men in Twentieth Century Canada

Our fathers ploughed the virgin lands
And grew the golden grain,
Our father laid the rails that span
Our country's vast domain,
Our fathers built our cities grand,
The factories and homes,
They dug the mines and manned the plants
And made our country bloom."

Our fathers brought a thirst and love
The beautiful to know,
Our fathers brought the wisdom of
Shevchenko and Franko,
Our fathers placed the good above
The mean and petty things-
That heritage we're guardsmen of,
And to our fathers sing;

-*"To Our Fathers"* by John Weir
Ukrainian Canadian, February 1, 1948

When John Weir wrote the above poem "To Our Fathers," he succinctly summed up the diversity and distinctiveness of the experiences of Progressive Ukrainian men in Canada. The priorities of the Ukrainian Left and the roles men played are highlighted in each section of the poem. First, the initial stanza emphasizes both the industrial situations and agricultural settings in which Ukrainian men found themselves upon reaching Canada as well as the important roles they played in the nation's economic and social development. The second stanza, in which "our fathers brought a thirst and love/The beautiful to know," underscores the importance of Ukrainian cultural preservation and expression in the lives of these men. Weir's acknowledgement of the central role of "the wisdom of Shevchenko and Franko," two important Ukrainian literary figures further underlines the significance of the Ukrainian heritage of Progressive Ukrainian men while at the same time acting as a segue to another crucial element of the lives of men on the

Ukrainian Left: politics. The Shevchenko and Franko venerated by the men of the Ukrainian Left were not simply advocates of Ukrainian autonomy. Rather their work was interpreted by the male leaders of the Ukrainian Left as a call for socialist action in defence of the working classes. That such defence of Ukrainians was necessary is illustrated by Weir's name. Like so many Ukrainian men, in an effort to avoid ethnic discrimination, Weir changed his name from Weviursky. That he did it as a leader of the Ukrainian Left to please the CPC in their desire to de-emphasise Ukrainian culture and create a more Anglo-Celtic face for the Party further emphasises the complex and often difficult relationship that existed between the Progressive Ukrainian community and the Party. Thus, "To Our Fathers" illustrates the development of the Ukrainian Left in Canada as well as the priorities and activities of its male base of leaders, members, and supporters over the course of the twentieth century. The men who formed the Progressive Ukrainian community were determined to preserve and celebrate their sense of identity as Ukrainians while at the same time improving their circumstances as workers and farmers.

Men like Weir and the fathers of the Progressive Ukrainian community to whom his poem refers played important roles building the Ukrainian Left as members and supporters. Though these men were disenfranchised as workers in Canada, within the Ukrainian labour temples, they were able to develop their own base of authority and a broad range of empowering political, social, and cultural activities. They participated in many activities similar to those in which women, youth, and children could be found. However, because of the ways in which gender interacted with ethnicity, men's experiences were vastly

dissimilar to those of other members of the movement. For example, unlike women or youngsters, men enjoyed a privileged position, possessing and monopolizing public roles and organizational power, especially leadership roles. Their work, being more visible and often paid, was more respected and valued.

Part of the privilege men enjoyed came from the way in which masculinity was constructed through a combination of gender and ethnicity within the Ukrainian Left. Masculinity and men's participation in the movement was shaped in part by Ukrainian cultural values brought from the Old Country, a society in which men dominated most areas of village life. The shift from peasant to often-marginalised worker in Canada further defined men's roles and a Progressive Ukrainian masculinity. While women's roles in the movement were framed through their private sphere domestic functions, men's roles were constructed through their public sphere positions as wage earners, even if they were not employed. As a result of this private/public divide within and without the movement, men enjoyed considerable public economic, social, and political power on the Ukrainian Left. Out of this combination of class and ethnic influences grew an image of the ideal Progressive Ukrainian man as one who gave his time to activities that defended and empowered the working class and gave rise to the expression and preservation of Ukrainian culture.

Not all men, however, possessed equal access to power and advantage in the movement, nor was a single definition of masculinity embraced by all men. In fact, it was clear that, among men, two strands of male experience developed over the course of the interwar period, one that was loosely divided between rank-and-file men and those men who

assumed prominent leadership roles on the Ukrainian Left. Male leaders could be found acting in several capacities as newspaper editors, travelling organizers, orators, cultural teachers, and/or as liaisons with the Communist Party of Canada. While these positions offered considerable opportunities, they also presented considerable risks, including arrest, incarceration, and even deportation. These men defined and exhibited a type of Progressive Ukrainian manhood predicated on efforts to preserve and convey elements of Ukrainian culture in Canada. At the same time, they displayed a solid commitment to furthering the class struggle through a devotion to political action expressed through the values espoused by the Communist Party of Canada.

Rank-and-file men, on the other hand, participated in a variety of cultural, social, and political activities but, for any of a number of reasons, did not hold a prominent, public position in the movement. They still, however, held advantage and power in the movement compared to that of women and youngsters. For them, masculinity was defined somewhat differently since the ideal espoused by male leaders of the movement could be difficult to achieve for men working long hours for low wages, sometimes in regions where they were isolated from the institutions of the Ukrainian Left. Despite pressure from the leaders of the Progressive Ukrainian community to be active in all facets of the movement, many rank-and-file men seemed to demonstrate little desire to incorporate all elements of the leadership's ideal of masculinity. For these men, participation in local cultural activities and grassroots political activism where they were able was enough to validate their sense of a Progressive Ukrainian manhood.

As younger men came of age after the Second World War, a third

strand of experience emerged, that of the Canadian-born. Age and generation intersected to limit their access to power and redefine their sense of masculinity. As they saw their fathers and grandfathers hold on to organizational and political authority well into old age, many younger men found that power was difficult to access. Moreover, many rejected the types of organizational work in which the immigrant generation participated, choosing instead to define themselves and their sense of masculinity not only through a sense of being Ukrainian but also through their experiences growing up Canadian. Clearly, then, while it was in many ways distinct from that of women and youngsters, as a result of the interplay of class, age, and generation, the male experience on the Ukrainian Left was by no means homogeneous.

In addition to differences among Progressive Ukrainian men, the interlocking of class and ethnicity ensured that, despite similarities in political philosophy and activism, their experiences were also, in many ways, dissimilar to those of other men who supported socialism and Communism during Canada's twentieth century. While many men on the Ukrainian Left, particularly its most prominent leaders, supported or were members of the Communist Party of Canada, this support was by no means wholesale or unconditional. They were not willing to dispense with Ukrainian cultural preservation, for example, when the Party, arguing it was detracting from the class struggle, pressured them to abandon their plays, choirs, and, at times, their use of the Ukrainian language. Seeing cultural and political activism as two necessary sides of the same coin, Progressive Ukrainian men frequently resisted the Party's attempts to dictate the mandate or activities of the Progressive Ukrainian community.

Two problems plague the historiography of Progressive Ukrainian men in Canada. The first is that although several historians have written about the Ukrainian Left and while nearly all focus on men, few actually admit that a male focus is present. Instead male activities are covered and treated as being universally representative of the movement as a whole. Moreover, not all men are covered equally in these works. Nearly all historians focus only on the activities and experiences of male leaders, consequently leaving the lives of rank-and-file men, both members and supports of the movement, unconsidered. At the same time, never is masculinity problematised or interrogated as an important variable that shaped the lives of men (and women) in the Ukrainian community.⁶ The second problem with the historiography, which is related to the first, is that the sole interpretation that emerges is concerned almost completely with the degree to which the Communist Party of Canada controlled male Ukrainian leaders, activities, and institutions of the Ukrainian Left. Though many of these studies refer to the cultural-educational mandate of the Ukrainian Labour Temple movement, few ever interrogate elements other than those that related

⁶Orest Martynowych's *The Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: CIUS, 1991) is a key example of this phenomenon. The book is comprehensive for the way it outlines the variety of Ukrainian institutions that emerged in Canada and the experiences Ukrainian men had with waged labour and agricultural work. Though not its overall central focus, it also contains significant information on the early Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada and the development of one of the key institutions of the Ukrainian Left, the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (ULTA). Unfortunately, though much is revealed about the men who led the community and the institutions they developed, little is known about the role of rank-and-file men and their everyday experiences with the Progressive Ukrainian community. Additional examples can be found in Peter Krawchuk's, *Our History: The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Movement in Canada, 1907-1991* (Toronto: Lugas, 1996) and Chapter Eleven of Jaroslav Petryshyn's, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1985).

directly to the Party.⁷ While this line of consideration certainly represents an important aspect of the history of the Ukrainian Left, it is but one element of Progressive Ukrainian male experience and generally that of the movement's male leaders. Thus, a limited picture of activities and experiences--political, cultural or otherwise--emerges, *always* centred around the Party. Little is known about men's political lives outside the Party, about the lives of rank-and-file male members and supporters of the Ukrainian Left, or how ethnicity and class infused with gender to create a distinct Ukrainian working-class male experience.

Such studies are thus limited in terms of what can be known about other elements of men's lives who were involved with the Ukrainian Left in Canada. In terms of framing a study on the interaction of masculinity with ethnicity, class, and generation, a more helpful starting point instead comes from numerous recent studies on masculinity, ethnicity, and the working lives of men. In her article

⁷Often written by those opposed to the Ukrainian Left, many are hostile in tone. Paul Yuzuk's slant becomes apparent in his book *The Ukrainians in Manitoba* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1953) when one reads the title of the chapter on Progressive Ukrainians in his book. In "The Ukrainian Communist Delusion," Yuzuk sets out to discredit the movement as "a small but active and vociferous minority, directed by Moscow-trained leaders," frames it as a communist front organization, and thus obscures the influence and significance of all elements but the political in the history of the Ukrainian Left. For additional examples, see Donald Avery, "Divided Loyalties: The Ukrainian Left and the Canadian State," in Lubomyr Luciuk et al., eds., *Canada's Ukrainians* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) and John Kolasky, *The Shattered Illusion: The History of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada* (Toronto: PMA Books, 1979). See also Kolasky's *Prophets and Proletarians: Documents on the History of the Rise and Decline of Ukrainian Communism in Canada* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1990) and Marco Carynnyk, "Swallowing Stalinism: Pro-Communist Ukrainian Canadians and Soviet Ukraine in the 1930's," in Lubomyr Luciuk et al., eds., *Canada's Ukrainians* (Toronto: 1991).

"Heroes or Yellow-bellies? Masculinity and the Conscientious Objector," Marlene Epp explores how ethnicity and religion shaped masculinity among male conscientious objectors (COs) in the Mennonite community in Canada during the Second World War. Thanks to common understandings of gender prevalent in Canadian society at the time, Epp has found what she terms "ironic similarities" in the discourse surrounding the experiences of both male soldiers and male COs. Battling an image of 'cowardice' prevalent in mainstream Canadian society, male COs constructed a collective self-image "that allowed them [like soldiers overseas] also to be wartime heroes."⁸ To do so, they emphasised the danger inherent in activities such as firefighting in which COs were engaged to demonstrate that they were "not passive when [their] country was at war."⁹ Similar, too, was the way men on the Ukrainian Left constructed their experiences with unemployment and discriminatory conditions. The Progressive Ukrainian community was able, by combining masculinity with cultural and political activism, to formulate ideals of Progressive working-class Ukrainian manhood that allowed Ukrainian men, working or jobless, to find a sense of pride, empowerment, and meaning in their often negative employment, settlement, and immigration experiences in Canada.¹⁰

⁸Marlene Epp, "Heroes or Yellow-bellies? Masculinity and the Conscientious Objector" in *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 1999 17: 107-117.

⁹Ibid., 111.

¹⁰For additional examples, see Franca Iacovetta's chapter, "Men, Work, and the Family Economy" in *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (1992). This work is particularly useful for the way in which she attempts to understand the links between paid work, position in the family, and masculinity among the Italian immigrant community. Looking at how work, family, community, and ethnicity shaped Italian men's lives, she argues these men "adjusted to the harsh reality of their working lives by viewing their work through a particularly immigrant, male frame of reference."

Intra-ethnic conflict-particularly as it existed between Progressive Ukrainian women and men-can also be indirectly framed through recent histories of individual industries or events which problematize gender-especially masculinity-as an important variable of influence. Todd McCallum's article on radical masculinity and the activities of the One Big Union (1998)¹¹ is especially helpful for its explanations of the circumstances in which masculinist action or rhetoric centred around workers emancipation reinforced male privilege and control within working-class communities and radical activist activities.¹² Similar circumstances were present on the Ukrainian Left. Discourse and activity that privileged the needs and priorities of Ukrainian male workers and leaders shaped gender roles and solidified the power held in the hands of a few male leaders in the Progressive Ukrainian community.

With these ideas in mind, this chapter thus seeks to explore the complexities of the lives of those men, both leaders and rank-and-file, who devoted their leisure time and energies to building the Progressive Ukrainian community. While it does not ignore the important role the Party played, particularly in the interwar years, it does not privilege this facet of the Ukrainian Left's history over other activities dear to Progressive Ukrainian men and crucial to shaping the community.

¹¹Todd McCallum, "'Not a Sex Question'?: The One Big Union and the Politics of Radical Manhood," *Labour/Le Travail*, 42 (Fall 1998), 15-54.

¹²For addition examples on the role masculinity played in constructing working-class communities and experiences in the workplace, see Steven Penfold, "'Have You No Manhood in You?': Gender and Class in the Cape Breton Coal Towns, 1920-26" in *Gender and History in Canada* (Toronto, 1996) and Gillian Creese, "The Politics of Dependence: Women, Work and Unemployment in the Vancouver Labour Movement Before World War II," in *Class, Gender and Region: Essays in Canadian Historical Sociology* (St. John's: 1998).

Instead, it attempts to render a more nuanced understanding of what it meant to be a Progressive Ukrainian man—whether a leader or rank-and-file member or supporter—in Canada by considering all aspects of Progressive Ukrainian community, social, cultural, and political life over the course of the twentieth century.

The foundation for the Ukrainian Left was laid by the many men who came from Galicia and Bukovyna during the first wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada between 1891 and the First World War. At that time, immigration had a primarily male face, as eighty percent of the 170,000 immigrants were men.¹³ They came for a variety of reasons. As Orest Martynowych explains, many left the Old Country as a result of “overpopulation, the nobility’s control of forest and pasture lands and the absence of an industrial sector capable of absorbing their labour.”¹⁴ Canada was an attractive destination for these men because “of the prospect of free farm lands and employment.”¹⁵ Some never intended to stay in Canada but planned to return to the Old Country with an accumulation of cash. Others planned to stay as homesteaders, envisioning a livelihood working on their own, rather than a lord’s, land.¹⁶ Once here, most found themselves on Canada’s prairies or in small urban enclaves or resource communities in Ontario or British Columbia.¹⁷

While most initial immigrants expected to homestead, increasingly, many of the men who arrived after 1905 identified themselves not as

¹³Swyripa, 5, 21.

¹⁴Martynowych, 3.

¹⁵Ibid., 3.

¹⁶Petryshyn, Jaroslav, “The Labouring Frontier,” in *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1985), 122.

¹⁷Swyripa, 4.

agriculturalists but solely as labourers.¹⁸ Even those men who settled on the land were forced to turn to waged work in order to build their fledging farms.¹⁹ As a result, for many Ukrainian men, waged work would fundamentally shape their experiences in the new land. For most, the transition from peasant to worker and the experiences they had working for wages were often negative.

Many found positions in resource industries or on the railroad.²⁰ In Canada's urban centres, the men could be found "digging ditches and sewers, shovelling snow, constructing buildings, bridges, roads, and railway yards, laying streetcar tracks, delivering coal or wood and washing dishes."²¹ Many were happy to find any sort of paying work since "the attainment of personal economic stability-at a subsistence level-was the immediate goal."²² However, the conditions under which they laboured were difficult, dangerous, poorly paid, offered little in the way of job security, and "Foreign workers were frequently cheated out of wages."²³ Instability also characterized the work, and the men had to move regularly across the country in order to ensure employment.

As a result of these difficult working conditions, many Ukrainian men attempted in both informal and organized fashions to improve their situations as labourers in Canada. In many cases, it is likely that the men "voted with their feet" when labour conditions became too unbearable, moving on to positions elsewhere in Canada. Others even chose to return to the Old Country, which was certainly the case for

¹⁸Martynowych, 252.

¹⁹Donald Avery, *Reluctant Host* (Toronto: M&S, 1995), 20-21.

²⁰Petryshyn, 124.

²¹Ibid., 124.

²²Ibid., 114.

²³Avery, 38.

many men prior to the war who "were forced out of Canada by depressed economic circumstances."²⁴ In other cases, Ukrainian workers might band together—at times with other foreign workers—and stage spontaneous strikes.²⁵

For the most part, however, in the early years of immigration and labour, Ukrainian men had few options to better their workplace conditions. Many, especially prior to 1905, were uninterested in formal workplace organization since they viewed themselves not as lifelong workers but as farmers, only working for wages until they could get their farms off the ground.²⁶ Those that might have welcomed involvement in a union encountered, like other recent immigrant labourers, a cold welcome from workers and unions already established in Canada. Many, being unskilled, were automatically excluded from labour organizations such as the AFL and the TLC whose priority was the protection of skilled labourers.²⁷ Moreover, their willingness to work for low wages and "scab" during strike situations caused many to view foreign workers in a negative light. At the same time, Petryshyn explains that xenophobia and "cultural and language differences were an insurmountable barrier to union solidarity."²⁸ While on some occasions workplace solidarity did exist between Ukrainian and Anglo-Celtic workers, generally speaking, Ukrainian workers had a difficult time uniting with other workers for mutual improvement in their workplace situations.

As a result of their workplace situations and alienation from many

²⁴Ibid., 65.

²⁵Petryshyn, 157-160.

²⁶Ibid., 126.

²⁷Ibid., 155.

²⁸Ibid., 156.

segments of the Canadian labour movement, many Ukrainian workers thus looked inward for support, and out of their experiences a Ukrainian socialist movement was born, one that combined class consciousness with cultural expression. As a result, what emerged for many working-class Ukrainians was an experience with socialism distinct from that of their non-Ukrainian counterparts. Although not a large contingent, Ukrainian socialist groups were important to members of the Ukrainian Canadian working class. This is because, as Petryshyn explains, "They provided a theoretical critique of Canadian capitalism..., engaged in cultural and educational work, often organized relief for destitute Ukrainian workers, and generally seemed to be the only group that cared about the plight of the Ukrainian-Canadian proletariat."²⁹ The Ukrainian socialist movement, with its links to other Canadian socialist groups, also attempted to integrate the experiences of Ukrainian workers into the activities of these organizations. For example, according to Petryshyn, one of its main priorities was "to organize the Ukrainian-Canadian proletariat (not only into an ethnically conscious class group but also as part and parcel of a general Canadian socialist movement)."³⁰ Thus, the movement attempted to overcome xenophobia and prejudice and unite all workers under a socialist banner which, it was hoped, would improve the lot of the working class as a whole in Canada.

Many Ukrainian men readily supported the Ukrainian socialist cause as a result of politicization developed out of on-the-job experiences. Other were primed to participate in a Ukrainian socialist movement thanks to political leanings they brought with them from the Old

²⁹Ibid., 168-69.

³⁰Ibid., 168-69.

Country. Galicia was a hotbed of the emerging Ukrainian national movement³¹ and during the early years of Ukrainian immigration to Canada, in the Old Country, "efforts to transform the Ukrainian peasants of eastern Galicia and northern Bukovyna into a disciplined, politically self-conscious people were well underway."³² Many of these groups—such as the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party (1890) or the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (1900)³³—had a pronounced socialist bent and had influenced the lives and political attitudes of many of the men who came to Canada.

Other men were receptive to Ukrainian socialism thanks to anti-clerical sentiments brought with them from the Old Country. While some men turned to the fledgling Ukrainian churches for solace in Canada, other men, because of bad experiences with village priests, sought refuge in socialism. Such was the case for Wasyl Woloshyn, a Ukrainian immigrant who settled in Saskatchewan. His belief in socialism and equality had been reinforced as a boy when his father died in Ukraine. As he explained, before the local priest would agree to bury his father, the priest demanded to know how his fee would be paid. Woloshyn recalled, "We were so poor we had no bread at home. I'll remember this as long as I live. The priest has had a good meal and asks me, a hungry boy, who would pay for my father's burial."³⁴ When he arrived in Canada, Woloshyn immediately gravitated toward Ukrainian activities with socialist leanings.

³¹Swyripa, 4.

³²Martynowych, 521.

³³Petryshyn, 161.

³⁴Wasyl Woloshyn, interviewed by Clara Swityk, 1976 for *The History of the Progressive Ukrainian Community in Saskatchewan*, Accession #R80-550, Saskatchewan Archives Board, University of Regina, Saskatchewan.

The socialist activities to which men like Woloshyn and others turned took on a formal shape in 1907. At that time, two men, Pavlo Krat and Myroslav Stechishin started the Shevchenko Educational Society. During the early years of the Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada, these men would be dominant figures in its development. Both men had been politicized in the Old Country, and the organization they founded, based out of the Taras Shevchenko Reading Hall in Winnipeg, was modelled on those in which Ukrainians would have taken part prior to coming to Canada.³⁵ According to Martynowych, these men believed "that only social revolution—the abolition of private property in the means of production and the creation of a just and egalitarian social order where production would satisfy human needs rather than accumulate private profits—could assure freedom from want and cultural progress for working people."³⁶

In November of 1907, the group affiliated with the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC). Two additional Ukrainian sections developed in Nanaimo, British Columbia, and Portage la Prairie, Manitoba.³⁷ That same year, Krat started *Chervony prapor (Red Flag)*, a Ukrainian language newspaper to serve the Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada. Though the paper went under the following year, its influence could be noted by the fact that by the summer of that year "at least ten Ukrainian societies had been established, mainly in British Columbia and Manitoba."³⁸ In 1909, the movement began publishing another paper, *Robochyi narod (Working People)*, this time edited by Stechishin.³⁹

³⁵Petryshyn, 163-65.

³⁶Martynowych, 254.

³⁷Petryshyn, 163-65.

³⁸Martynowych, 253.

³⁹Ibid., 253.

Work of the Ukrainian socialist movement was limited for a number of reasons in the early years of its existence. One reason was its numbers. Prior to 1912, its membership totalled 350, mostly concentrated among Ukrainian men working in mining. Moreover, it was plagued by divisions over ideology and methods of activism, which resulted in frequent shifts in allegiances and names. Because of problems encountered with the leadership of the SPC, for example, in May of 1909 "delegates from eleven Ukrainian socialist societies formed the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats" of Canada (FUSDC) and began encouraging their members and supporters to join the Industrial Workers of the World, a union typically receptive to unskilled workers.⁴⁰ Dumping the SPC, the FUSDC helped to found the Social Democratic Party (SDP) in August 1910, with *Robochyi narod* acting as the party's official paper.⁴¹

Reorganization did little to alleviate old problems, however, and a leadership crisis was emerging. From 1911-12, infighting continued. Stechishin, for example, left the party entirely after clashing with Krat.⁴² Furthermore, the party office was again moved, this time to Montreal, before finally being returned to Winnipeg, and the name of the party was changed again, this time to the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (USDP). As a result of these continued shifts, according to Martynowych, "From the fall of 1912 to the summer of 1916, the Ukrainian socialist movement and *Robochyi narod* were in a state of chaos."⁴³

Despite these issues, however, the Party was gaining momentum. A

⁴⁰Martynowych, 253.

⁴¹Petryshyn, 165-67.

⁴²Ibid., 165-67.

⁴³Martynowych, 259.

positive change did result thanks to expansion into eastern Canada in 1912 which saw membership reach 820 members in twenty-eight branches.⁴⁴ Further desperately needed change and cohesive organizational structure came during this time with "an infusion of somewhat younger, more radical men who came to Canada after 1910."⁴⁵ As Petryshyn explains, "They represented a different kind of socialism, shunning the utopian and visionary idealism of Krat and the departed Stechishin. Influenced by the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party, they were able organizers with a tough and pragmatic approach."⁴⁶

Not only would these men revitalize the USDP, they would also begin to lay the foundation for the direction it would take as the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association at the end of the First World War. These men-among whom were Danylo Lobay, John Naviziwsky, and Matthew Popovich-would be key figures in the Progressive Ukrainian community for much of the interwar period. Krat was booted out of the Party in 1916 after being fired as editor of *Robochyi narod*. Popovich took over the editorial helm and, along with his cohort, began to move the party in a pro-Bolshevik direction.⁴⁷ By 1918, membership of the USDP had increased to 1,500, while *Robochyi narod* possessed a circulation of 3,000.⁴⁸

According to Martynowych, the change which the Ukrainian Left was experiencing at this time "was part of the overall expansion of the Canadian labour movement."⁴⁹ Across Canada and around the world labour

⁴⁴Ibid., 254.

⁴⁵Petryshyn, 167-68.

⁴⁶Ibid., 167-68.

⁴⁷Ibid., 168-69.

⁴⁸Peter Krawchuk, *Our History* (Toronto: Lugus, 1996), 28.

⁴⁹Martynowych, 434.

was regrouping and its organizations were growing in strength and popularity. Inspired by these developments and concerned about the potential for government suppression of the work of the USDP, the new leaders of the Ukrainian socialist movement began to strategize new-and possibly less risky-ways to reach greater numbers of the Ukrainian working class in Canada. To do so, they decided to capitalize on the interest many Ukrainian immigrants had in creating venues through which they could express Ukrainian cultural and social traditions. During the history of the early Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada, cultural and social activities in the Ukrainian language had been an important way in which many were attracted to the movement's organizations and halls. Fedir Hordienko, for example, was a young Ukrainian worker who was connected to the movement through its cultural activities. He joined the Ivan Kotlyarevsky Dramatic Society, a group affiliated with Ukrainian socialism, in Winnipeg in 1916, after he was asked to play a Russian landowner in a Ukrainian dramatic production because of his ability to speak Russian.⁵⁰ Understanding the important role such activities could play in building Ukrainian socialism in Canada, Popovich and the others decided to create a Progressive cultural-educational society through which existing cultural work could be expanded in order to appeal to a broader membership base of the Ukrainian immigrant community.

The Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (ULTA) was incorporated on May 14, 1918 as an entity autonomous from the USDP.⁵¹ Soon after, plans began for the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple which would act as the

⁵⁰Fedir Hordienko, "Pages from a Life in Canada," as told to Peter Krawchuk, *UC*, September 1988, originally published in *UZ*, 1951.

⁵¹Krawchuk, 32.

cultural-educational centre of the Ukrainian Left in Canada. There, *Robochyi narod* was to be published and the Central Executive of the Party would have a headquarters through which to conduct their organizational work.⁵² Unfortunately in the spring of 1918, before construction was well underway, the Canadian government banned the USDP and *Robochyi narod*, along with other radical labour groups. As Martynowych explains, "three developments were primarily responsible: the opposition of radical organizations to conscription, the growth of labour militancy, and the success of the Russian Revolution, especially the Bolshevik seizure of power in November."⁵³ The ULTA, and thus the Ukrainian Left, was able to continue its work thanks to the forethought leaders had shown in anticipating possible government backlash by incorporating the new organization separately from the party. The organization, later to be renamed the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA), would become the central body around which the Progressive Ukrainian community would be organized during the interwar years. Despite these early setbacks, construction on the new Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple moved rapidly during 1918-1919 thanks to the enthusiasm members and supporters displayed by joining in the construction process.

Both male leaders and rank-and-file men played central-but often very different-roles building the hall, and despite enthusiasm for the project, hostility slowed the progress. For instance, leaders often traveled across Canada to drum up support for the new organization and the new hall. Leaders made speeches and encouraged Ukrainian immigrants

⁵²Ibid., 31.

⁵³Martynowych, 434.

to support the new building and new movement. At times this activity could come at great risk to their personal safety and liberty. This was generated by the climate of hostility created by the Canadian government's ban on the USDP and its newspaper. It was further exacerbated by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, behind which the Ukrainian Left firmly stood. Animosity towards the Ukrainian Left and the work of its leaders was also generated by emerging divisions among Ukrainians. As Frances Swyripa shows, after 1917 two Ukrainian camps evolved-Nationalist and Progressive.⁵⁴ Typically, the right-wing, anti-communist Nationalists focused their efforts on cultural preservation and political action around one of the Ukrainian churches in Canada, while the Progressives, anti-clerical in their outlook, centred their cultural and political pursuits around the ULFTA and the Ukrainian Labour Temples. Though the rivalry, which would solidify during the 1920's,⁵⁵ was still in its infancy at the time the halls were being built, it, too, along with government-generated hostility, did much to impede development of the Ukrainian Left in its early years. Dennis Moysiuk recalled that despite enthusiasm for the building of the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple among supporters, "reaction was still active in Canada."⁵⁶ As he explained, "we were soon prevented from raising money across Canada....The organizers were turned back from their tours, some were even arrested and jailed, others had to go underground in distant corners of the country."⁵⁷ As a result, when the Ukrainian Labour Temple was finished, "there wasn't a cent in the

⁵⁴Swyripa, vii.

⁵⁵Ibid., 8.

⁵⁶Dennis Moysiuk, "A Life's Experiences in a New Land" UC, December 1988, originally published in *UZ*.

⁵⁷Ibid.

treasury."⁵⁸ Moysiuk remembered leaders having "to turn to a number of our good people for loans so that a roof might be put over the building."⁵⁹

Nonetheless, despite problems, the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple did get built, as did the ULFTA as a whole, thanks to the contributions rank-and-file men made to the process. At the grassroots level, many former male members and supporters of the USDP joined with the leadership of the new ULTA to assist in building the new movement, both financially and physically. Vasyl Karcha, for example, lent his support to the movement in 1918 by buying a brick in the Winnipeg building for 25 cents.⁶⁰ Other men contributed by volunteering their labour to the completion of the hall. As the movement spread across the country throughout the 1920's, often in communities with large Ukrainian immigrant populations and especially in those places where branches of the USDP had existed,⁶¹ so, too, did this pattern of rank-and-file support continue. By 1922 Karcha had moved to Timmins in search of work, arriving in town just as the local Ukrainian Labour Temple--the first in Northern Ontario--was being constructed. Wanting to assist the other men, Karcha explained, "I decided to join, and taking off my coat, I got a wheelbarrow and started hauling the earth like the rest of them. The quicker the work went, the more enthusiastically we

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Vasyl Karcha, "Pages from my Life Story," translated by Nadia Niechoda, *UC*, April 1990, originally published in *UZ*, 1951.

⁶¹Myron Kostaniuk, "Recollections from a Life of a Ukrainian Pioneer," *UC*, October 1990; Dmytro Slobodian, "From a Life's Experiences" *UC*, June 1991, originally published in *UZ*, April 15, 1951; Report dated October 10, 1938 re [ULFTA] - Winnipeg - Laying Cornerstone for Point Douglas Branch in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792: "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 8; Minutes, Point Douglas Hall, 1938, WBA Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

worked."⁶² While architects and carpenters might be hired to supervise the projects in some localities, all additional support for the project was always contingent upon the efforts of local supporters and their willingness to contribute their labour to the building site.

In tandem with the momentum that came with the physical construction of the movement came a rebuilding and eventual expansion of the Ukrainian labour press. In the early years of Ukrainian socialism in Canada, its newspapers had played key roles in disseminating information and expanding membership numbers. They would retain this importance for the interwar Ukrainian Left as well. The newspapers of the Ukrainian Left were crucial to building up the new movement, attracting new members, tying the Ukrainian Labour Temple communities together nationally, and offering an alternative to what male leaders described as the bourgeois Canadian press. Most of all, the press was important for inspiring Ukrainian men to political and cultural action. With regard to the press, both male leaders and rank-and-file members played important but different roles.

Control of the press for the entire history of the ULFTA remained squarely in the hands of the male leadership of the organization who organized and ran the press operations out of the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple. In 1918, to replace the banned *Robochyi narod*, leaders founded *Ukrainski robotnychi visti* (*Ukrainian Labour News*) which saw its first issue in 1919.⁶³ In addition to this, throughout the early 1920's, a variety of other newspapers developed to serve a variety of constituencies that existed under the ULFTA umbrella. These included

⁶²Vasyl Karcha, "Pages from my Life Story," translated by Nadia Niechoda, *UC*, April 1990, originally published in *US*, 1951.

⁶³Krawchuk, 303.

Robitnytsia (Working Woman), *Farmerske zhyttia (Farmers' Life)*, and *Svit molodi (Youth's World)*. As a result of the advent of these papers, *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* increasingly acted as both the official organ of the ULFTA⁶⁴ as well as the "men's paper" in the eyes of many in progressive Ukrainian circles.⁶⁵ Notwithstanding the diverse base of members and supporters the variety of papers were to serve, each paper nonetheless was managed and edited by the male leadership base that worked out of the Winnipeg sector of the movement. Every paper, even the women's journal, *Robitnytsia*, was controlled by a male editor and the vast majority of contributors of articles, editorials, and letters throughout the period tended to be men. At various different times, leaders like John Naviziwsky, Matthew Shatulsky, Matthew Popovich, Myroslav Irchan, and later, in the 1930's, John Weir, and John Boyd (Boychuk) held positions as managers and/or editors of various papers published by the movement. Shatulsky, for example, held the longtime position of editor of *Ukrainski robitnychi visti* from 1920, while Popovich, at various times held the editorship of *Holos pratsi (Voice of Labour)*, *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*, as well as an earlier incarnation of *Robitnytsia*.⁶⁶ Moreover, in addition to creating and managing the newspapers, these men used their other leadership roles to promote the progressive Ukrainian press and raise funds to support its continued publication. In Edmonton in 1924, for example, Shatulsky, who was then on an organizational tour, made time during his scheduled talk to

⁶⁴Excerpt from Report, n.d., c. mid-1930's in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4677: "Matthew Shatulsky," part 2.

⁶⁵See for example, "Take a Lesson from URV and *Robitnytsia*" in *SM*, April 1929.

⁶⁶RCMP Translation of *Labour-Farmer Almanac for the Leap Year of 1928* in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4677: "Matthew Shatulsky," part 4.

explain the value of the Ukrainian progressive press. He asserted "the Press is a cannon against the capitalists because every worker has the pleasure of reading the truth; through this Press he finds that he belongs to no other rank but the proletariat."⁶⁷

Despite the limited resources with which they were often forced to work and the double-duty of serving as leaders in other sectors of the movement, the male leaders and editors of the Ukrainian Labour press managed to build a remarkable and important publishing enterprise in the early 1920's. During that time, they formed the Worker's and Farmer's Publishing Association (WFPA),⁶⁸ which was housed in the basement of the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg. Thanks to the fund-raising efforts of press supporters and members of the movement and the direction of the male leadership the facility was state-of-the-art and often printed materials not only for purposes of the Progressive Ukrainian community but also for other organizations with which it was affiliated. According to an interwar RCMP report, the WFPA was "Equipped with up-to-date printing machinery....[and was] capable of turning out a daily, a weekly and numerous books, pamphlets, leaflets and other propaganda material, not only for the Ukrainian section, but for other languages and branches of the Communist Movement."⁶⁹ The success and overall growth of the progressive Ukrainian movement is further evident when circulation is considered. The following chart shows the growth and

⁶⁷Report dated January 3, 1924, Edmonton, in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4677: "Matthew Shatulsky," part 1.

⁶⁸According to Krawchuk's *Our History*, prior to the advent of the WFPA, which existed from 1924-1940, newspapers and other publications were printed under the Ukrainian Labour News Publishers (established in 1918) and the Proletarian Culture Publishing Company (established in 1921).

⁶⁹"The Ukrainians in Canada, Part II: Communist Organizations," n.d. in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 128.

extent of publishing activity:⁷⁰

Newspaper	1924	1925	1927	1929	Late-1930's
<i>Ukrainski robotnychi visti</i> , 1919-1937; <i>Narodna hazeta</i> , 1937-40		6800	8700	10000	12000
<i>Farmerske zhyttia</i> , 1925-1940		2500	4800	6000	8000
<i>Robotnytsia</i> , 1924-1937	5000	5800	6500	6800	
<i>Svit molodi</i> , 1926-1932				3700	

Rank-and-file men aided the expansion of the press as readers and supporters, and the papers played an important role in the process of their politicization. For many immigrant men, it was through the press that they were initially exposed to the movement when they arrived in Canada. When he came to Canada, longtime Progressive Ukrainian community member Dmytro Slobodian was introduced to the movement by his friend and fellow miner M. Balanecky, who gave Slobodian a subscription to one of its newspapers. As Slobodian recalled, "In this manner I first began to learn about organization and its importance."⁷¹

With regard to paid work and its influence on the lives of men on the Ukrainian Left, two strands of male experience on the Ukrainian Left can also be discerned. Among male leaders of the movement, particularly those in positions as editors or organizers, involvement was relatively easy as they were paid to do this work. For rank-and-file men, participation could be more difficult depending on the ways in which a

⁷⁰Krawchuk, *Our History*; Kolasky, *The Shattered Illusion*; Excerpt from report, n.d., circa mid-1930's in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 150, Vol 128.

⁷¹Dmytro Slobodian, "From a Life's Experiences," *UC*, June 1991, originally published in *UZ*, April 17, 1952. See also John Alexiewich, "Sketches from a Lifetime," *UC*, October 1991, originally published in *UZ*, 1951 and John Popochenko, interviewed by Clara Swityk, 1976.

variety of factors interacted in their working lives. Location, time of year, political persecution, and the need to seek work elsewhere could all determine to what degree, if at all, an individual rank-and-file man could be involved with the Ukrainian Labour Temple movement.

By far, it was easiest to be involved with the movement if as a man you were paid to be there, and many men were fortunate to find jobs at the national and local levels of the movement in a variety of positions. By far, the most privileged of these men would have been those who held positions in the upper echelons of the Ukrainian Left. Leaders, organizers, editors, and managers all had access to a variety of perks, in addition to their wages, that made their participation easier and rewarding. For some, such as leadership elites Matthew Popovich, John Navizivsky, and Matthew Shatulsky these positions could be quite lucrative, facilitating extraordinary learning opportunities and the chance to travel throughout Canada and even to the Soviet Union and Ukraine.⁷² Such perks were not without their price. The most prominent men were frequently the victims of police harassment and even arrest and incarceration during the interwar period. Matthew Popovich, for example, was arrested in 1931 along with several other figures in the Communist Party of Canada and spent two and a half years in Kingston Penitentiary as a result of his agitation on behalf of the Party and the ULFTA.⁷³

At the grassroots level, employment also facilitated involvement with the movement, though working conditions and wages could make

⁷²Report dated November 12, 1927 re Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Assn. - re J. Navizowsky in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, "John Navis".

⁷³John Weir, "Among our Pioneers: Matthew Popovich," *UC*, January 5, 1948.

financial survival difficult for a man. Most men who worked for the Ukrainian Left often experienced difficult working conditions, long hours, and poor pay, as well as demands on their time to constantly be contributing volunteer hours to the movement. When 1936 Higher Educational Course graduate Kosty Kostaniuk was assigned as a cultural teacher to Fort William, Ontario, he recalled working seven days a week. He organized concerts on Sundays, "taught Ukrainian school or choir at night, during the day taught English, and besides that had to write [his] own or scrounge around to find music" which he had to copy by hand.⁷⁴ Kostaniuk worked year round for the organization in Fort William and for his efforts was paid \$40 a month, which, he explained, "was all they could afford."⁷⁵ Nonetheless, Kostaniuk found the work satisfying, and he was happy to have been assigned to cultural work at Fort William where "the young people got along well together and wanted to play."⁷⁶

That so many rank-and-file men were willing to work so hard for the movement for long hours and so little remuneration illustrates the devotion many felt for the cause in the interwar period. Kalyna Mateychuk's husband, for example, worked six days a week at the People's Cooperative Dairy (a cooperative founded by the movement in Winnipeg) as a milkman, having only Tuesdays off. According to Mateychuk, "when he worked, he would get up at two in the morning and come home at four in the afternoon."⁷⁷ This interfered with his participation in family activities. As Mateychuk explained, sometimes she would get to go to a

⁷⁴Kosty Kostaniuk, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Kalyna Mateychuk, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

wedding with her husband, but rarely did much with him since "all he wanted to do when he got home was eat and go to sleep." As a result, her children hardly saw their father because he did not have time to play with them. It would seem, however, that his willingness to give so much of himself had to do with a selfless belief in the value of the Ukrainian Left and its institutions. In the end, when Mateychuk would visit her husband where he was dying, he would ask her why she was there and not at the hall since they needed her there more.⁷⁸

Most rank-and-file men, however, were not fortunate enough to be employed by the movement and had to strike out on their own to find work. This could, for many, render it almost impossible to continue to participate regularly in the activities of the Ukrainian Left. Many men were forced to move around the country in search of work and could therefore not put down continuous or permanent roots at a single hall.⁷⁹ During the depression, Mike Skrynyk, who had been active in the ULFTA Youth Section in Winnipeg and wrote a sports column for the movement's youth paper, *Svit molodi*, was unable to contribute actively to the movement because he was forced to work in a government labour camp for unemployed men.⁸⁰ Moreover, the seasonal nature of the sectors of the Canadian economy in which many men could find work also affected men's ability to maintain close ties to the movement. During harvest season, for example, Mike Seychuk, like many young men across the prairies, left his activities at the labour temple to work on a threshing crew.⁸¹ The need to seek paid work thus not only influenced these men's lives and

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹*Robitnytsia*, September 1, 1924, translated by Larissa Stavroff. See also *SM*, October 1927, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

⁸⁰Mike Skrynyk, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁸¹Mike Seychuk, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

their ability to be actively involved on the Ukrainian Left but also greatly affected the level of work that could be consistently accomplished at the Ukrainian labour temples.

Even those men who were able to set down roots in one place were in some cases unable to commit to regular attendance at Ukrainian labour temple activities. For some, given their taxing work schedules, there simply were not enough hours in the day even to contemplate participation. For Skrynyk, this was eventually the case. After he left the government camps, he was able to find a job in 1936 with Swift's Abattoir in Winnipeg. There, on average he worked seventy to eighty hour weeks. Though the Ukrainian labour temple had been central in his life since childhood, after the age of twenty-four work took up much of his time. He was only able to get actively re-involved after his retirement when he joined the Senior Citizens' Choir at the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple.⁸²

In many cases, it was necessary that Ukrainian men not advertise their connections with the Ukrainian Left lest their job be threatened. This could be particularly difficult for some for whom their experiences with the movement encouraged them to try to improve conditions for themselves and their fellow workers. In many cases, these men continued to carry out the work of the movement but at great personal risk by encouraging the formation of unions and other labour activity in their workplace. When he worked at INCO in Sudbury, Myron Kostaniuk and his fellow workers attempted to organize a union in 1929 to unite the smelter workers and miners there. Needless to say the company did not appreciate their efforts and, as Kostaniuk recalled, "retaliated by

⁸²Mike Skrynyk, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

sending spies into the union and into our Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association."⁸³ INCO subsequently fired ULFTA and WBA members from their jobs.⁸⁴ It was not only their employers from whom Progressive Ukrainian men had to hide their labour temple affiliations. Sometimes fellow union members could exhibit hostility towards the Ukrainian Left owing to its radical reputation and alliances. At his job at Swift's, Skrynyk found he "had to keep his politics a secret at work" since the "spirit in most places was anti-labour temple." As he explained, "if you belonged to the labour temple you were automatically communist [and] many unions did not approve of communists holding office."⁸⁵ Many Progressive Ukrainian men clearly had to employ caution when revealing support for the Ukrainian Left on the job.

Though one of the central issues for which the Progressive Ukrainian community fought was against unemployment, in practical terms, the presence of unemployed men ironically could be a boon for local Ukrainian labour temples. In many localities throughout the interwar period, unemployment benefited the movement by increasing overall male membership numbers and participation. Peter Spichka, who was a member of the Ukrainian Labour Temple in rural Saskatchewan for most of his life, remembered how unemployment influenced membership numbers at the hall to which he belonged during the 1930's. There, according to Spichka, "we had a large male membership because of unemployment," and the hall was always busy at that time with cultural and social

⁸³Myron Kostaniuk, "Recollections from a Life of a Ukrainian Pioneer," *UC*, October 1990.

⁸⁴Myron Kostaniuk, "Recollections from a Life of a Ukrainian Pioneer," *UC*, October 1990.

⁸⁵Mike Skrynyk, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

activities as a result.⁸⁶

Location and occupation combined for many men tied to the Ukrainian Left and could also influence involvement. For farmers, living in a rural community could be a significant barrier to Ukrainian Labour Temple activity. However, like workers, many Ukrainian farmers—who were usually conceptualized by the movement as being men—found ties to the Progressive Ukrainian community invaluable and, despite distance, were unyielding in their support for the movement. Clearing the land, employing new technology, and even continued ownership of their homesteads proved difficult for many Ukrainian men and their families. Moreover, many men forced to leave their farms to be supervised by other family members (usually wives) in order to find waged labour to support the enterprise had to contend with the double burden of farming and industrial or resource industry work. Many such members and supporters of ULTA found that the distinct set of problems that came with the experience of owning a farm and attempting to make a living off the land could be improved through ties to the Ukrainian Left. As a result, farmers, like workers, were a significant force in building up the ULTA. Their importance and presence in the movement was formally acknowledged in 1924 at the ULTA's fifth convention when the organization's name was changed to the Ukrainian Labour *Farmer* Temple Association (ULFTA).⁸⁷

Though living in isolated rural communities might make it difficult to be actively involved in hall life, many farmers found their connection to the Progressive Ukrainian community to be worth the effort as the Ukrainian Left attempted to assist farmers wherever it could and

⁸⁶Peter Spichka, interviewed by Clara Swityk, 1976.

⁸⁷Krawchuk, *Our History*, 372.

in a variety of ways during the interwar period. The press, particularly *Farmerske zhyttia*, was a valuable source for information and helped many farmers understand where they fit in the Progressive Ukrainian community and the international socialist movement. Activities at local Ukrainian Labour Temples also assisted farmers in a variety of other ways. For example, Saskatchewan member Paul Hawrylkiw remembered that in addition to the usual films shown by the organization on the Soviet Union and other topics, local halls "would show films to help farmers with technological change," many of which were sponsored by the government.⁸⁸ Moreover, the movement, often through its ties to the CPC, also helped farmers to unite and organize for their own interests. Speakers toured rural localities informing farmers about the class struggle and the need for unity among workers and farmers.⁸⁹ Later, in the 1930's, as the Party began to get more ambitious in its pursuit of an organized body of progressive farmers, in many rural areas, the ULFTA attempted to organize Ukrainian and other progressive farmers through the CPC-created Farmers' Unity League (FUL). At the grassroots level, particularly during the Depression, local members and supporters often united to assist local farmers dealing with foreclosure. Joe Sekundiak, also of Saskatchewan, recalled several instances when members of the movement took radical steps to ensure that local people did not lose their homes. As he explained, "Often farmers in the progressive movement would send a delegation to convince a 'buyer' farmer against buying the land from the company that was evicting a farmer for debt.

⁸⁸Andrew Leschuk and Paul Hawrylkiw, interviewed by Clara Swityk, 1976.

⁸⁹URV, June 9, 1925, RCMP translation in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3741: "AUUC: Saskatchewan Correspondence," part 1.

Many farmers and their families were saved from eviction with our assistance."⁹⁰ Knowing that they could rely on the Ukrainian Left to come to their aid kept many farmers tied to the Ukrainian Labour Temple movement throughout the interwar period.

For countless men forced to move frequently in search of work or isolated on fledgling farms, the Ukrainian Labour Temple movement whether through the press or activity at the halls themselves seemed to offer consistency in their social, cultural and political lives. While many, as has been mentioned, found it difficult or impossible to continue involvement with the movement because of less-than-ideal work situations, others, when relocating to a new community, sought out the local Ukrainian labour temple as soon as they arrived and were willing to go to some lengths to attend its events. William Stefiuk, for example, came to Canada at the age of twenty-four in 1926 as part of the second wave of Ukrainian immigration between 1925 and 1930 in which some 68,000 Ukrainians were brought in to work under a railway agreement between the CPR and the federal government. He worked on the CPR in Saskatchewan, and, like so many of this cohort of immigrants and those who had come during the earlier wave, he gravitated towards activities with the Ukrainian Left. He and his friends attended events at the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Taylorton, which was no easy task considering they were living in a remote railroad camp. The only means these men had to get to the hall was by way of a borrowed CPR handcar which they had to pump several miles from their camp to town. According to Stefiuk, because the hall so enriched their lives, even after working long hours they enthusiastically pumped that handcar several evenings a

⁹⁰Joe Sekundiak, interviewed by Clara Swityk, 1976.

week to attend events.⁹¹

One of the main attractions for immigrant men was the cultural activity that took place at the Ukrainian Labour Temples, just as USDP leaders like Popovich had suspected would be the case when they founded the ULTA in 1917. Many Ukrainian cultural groups that existed in the first two decades of the twentieth century were quick to affiliate with the ULTA and begin working in the newly devised Ukrainian Labour Temples throughout the 1920's and 1930's. When the Bolsheviks seized power in October 1917, Fedir Hordienko, who was a member of the Ivan Kotlyarevsky Dramatic Society, remembered, "there was a sharp division in the [drama group]: some were of one thought, others of another."⁹² He, along with many other members who supported the Bolsheviks and the idea of an international workers' revolution, transferred their work to the drama group at the new Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg which was then operating under the supervision of Popovich.⁹³ In this way, then, many leaders and rank-and-file men immediately sought to support the cultural aspirations of the new ULTA.

The Progressive Ukrainian community's ability to infuse cultural work with political analysis of the experiences of the Ukrainian working class rendered it an attractive venue for many immigrant men. Cultural work was important for alleviating homesickness, empowering men, and teaching about the class struggle as it played out in Canada and around the world. That Ukrainian culture and politics shared equal importance for the Ukrainian Left is clear from the way male leaders adamantly

⁹¹William Stefiuk, interviewed by Clara Swityk, 1976.

⁹²Fedir Hordienko "Pages from a Life in Canada," as told to Peter Krawchuk, *UC*, September 1988, originally published in *UZ*, 1951.

⁹³Ibid.

championed the continued existence of cultural work. For them, political action and cultural expression were inextricably linked. They viewed it as a means for improving the lives of workers and their families as well as a method through which members and supporters could be inspired to action. For instance, at a concert in 1920 in Winnipeg, Matthew Popovich spoke, emphasizing cultural work interlocked with class consciousness as the reason for the existence of the Ukrainian Labour Temple movement. As he explained, "every worker should enjoy life, as his life was just as dear to him as anyone else's. And therefore, the object of having the Labor temple is so that Ukrainian workers may come and enjoy some dramatic performances, literature, songs, music...."⁹⁴ One of the most ardent supporters of Ukrainian cultural expression as a means of not only entertainment but politicization, Popovich frequently argued cultural activities were necessary "in order to inspire the working masses with revolutionary songs, recitations and shows...as an instrument for gaining members for the ULTA, and sympathizers for the revolutionary movement."⁹⁵

In addition to the didactic nature of the content of many of the plays and songs performed at the hall, performances would also be used by male leaders as opportunities for more overt promotion of the Progressive Ukrainian cause and Ukrainian culture. During intermission or between scenes, male leaders gave speeches and lectures. Male leaders also supported cultural work for another important reason-it was a key method through which significant sums of money could be raised for

⁹⁴Report dated April 5, 1920 re Ukrainian Labor Party in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792: "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 1.

⁹⁵Report dated September 19, 1923 re Ukrainian Labour Temple Association in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792: "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 2.

the Ukrainian Left. For this purpose—and because of demand—plays were frequently held at labour temples across the country. In Winnipeg, for example, during the cultural season, which typically ran from September to June, plays were put on nearly every week.⁹⁶ Halls across the country were routinely packed with participants and audience members anxious to enjoy progressive cultural performances. In fact, people were often turned away. According to Dmytro Slobodian, shortly after the hall there was completed in 1925, cultural activities were so popular that the group was soon able to put on what he described as “a large concert.” As he explained, “I say large because the hall was full to bursting point with many turned away for a lack of space. Our financial problems were solved this way.”⁹⁷ Though never full, Ukrainian Labour Temples coffers would never be empty in many localities in the interwar period thanks to the popularity cultural performances enjoyed among many—Progressive or otherwise—in the Ukrainian immigrant community in Canada. As a result, male leaders were quick to defend the importance of and need for continued and frequent cultural demonstrations at the Ukrainian Labour Temples.

Though men could be found taking part in several types of cultural activity such as the choir and orchestras, by far the area of cultural production where they dominated was in the field of drama. While there were certainly roles for women in plays, they were typically few and far between and limited in their importance and scope in most interwar productions. Male roles were the most meaty, with men having the

⁹⁶Fedir Hordienko, “Pages from a Life in Canada,” as told to Peter Krawchuk, *UC*, September 1988, originally published in *UZ*, 1951.

⁹⁷Dmytro Slobodian, “From a Life’s Experiences,” *UC*, June 1991, originally published in *UZ*, April 17, 1952.

opportunity to display their dedication to the workers' cause by playing revolutionaries acting to overthrow unjust landlords or governments. Among men, rank-and-file members and leaders could have somewhat different experiences with drama as in other areas of the movement. Leaders of the movement in other capacities often carried over this work into the field of Progressive Ukrainian theater by writing or producing plays. Rank-and-file men were especially important as actors. Playing parts in Ukrainian labour temple productions allowed men-particularly rank-and-file members and supporters-to act in powerful and decisive ways, opportunities that might have been few and far between in their own often difficult and often disappointing working lives. It also allowed them to inspire action in others through their performances. In these ways, in contrast to their daily experiences, they could see their dreams of a better world come to life on the stage of the Ukrainian labour temple. Moreover, drama gave these men a method through which to support the movement by raising funds, usually the preserve of women members and supporters. In this way, drama allowed men to make a powerful impact on the work of the Ukrainian Left who might not otherwise have had the chance in other areas of the movement. Drama, as such, was a powerful force for attracting many men to the cause and for shaping the movement as a whole during the interwar period.

Leaders like Matthew Popovich and Matthew Shatulsky, in addition to their organizational efforts with the movement and defense of cultural expression, often wrote and took part in drama productions. According to his son Myron, Shatulsky, in particular, contributed to performances by writing "humourous political sketches to be performed in

Ukrainian between set changes."⁹⁸ Other leaders were responsible for encouraging the proliferation of drama in other ways. Myroslav Irchan was one such figure. Dramatic work really took off for the movement with his arrival in Winnipeg from Prague in October 1923. While he served other leadership and editorial functions for the Progressive Ukrainian community, it was through Progressive Ukrainian theater that his work was most significant. He was clearly one of the most important cultural leaders and, later, after he returned to the Soviet Union to work in the 1930's, one of the most controversial figures in the Progressive Ukrainian community.

Shortly after his arrival, the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg put on his play "The Twelve" about Galician revolutionaries.⁹⁹ The play was extremely well-received by the capacity audience who greeted Irchan "with much applause, which lasted about 15 minutes, and broke out again at intervals."¹⁰⁰ Immediately Irchan's work began to make an impact on the movement with his plays being produced across the country.¹⁰¹

While his written work was being disseminated across the country, Irchan immediately set to work in Winnipeg raising the existing standard of dramatic productions to a new level. There, he founded the Workers Theatre Studio, working with rank-and-file men who were the primary actors in local drama productions. There, participants "were taught acting, make up and costuming as well as the history of theatre."¹⁰² He

⁹⁸Myron Shatulsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁹⁹Report dated November 10, 1923 re Ukrainian Agitator - Speaker at Ukrainian Labour Temple in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792: "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 2.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Myron Kostaniuk, "Recollections from a Life of a Ukrainian Pioneer," *UC*, October 1990.

¹⁰²Fedir Hordienko, "Pages from a Life in Canada," as told to Peter Krawchuk, *UC*, September 1988, originally published in *UZ*, 1951.

especially assisted rank-and-file men in improving their confidence and performances on the stage of the Ukrainian Labour Temple. Fedir Hordienko was a member of the Workers Theatre Studio. He found Irchan's instruction to be very helpful because, as he explained, "we were just ordinary people, not highly educated, but we loved the theatre."¹⁰³ With these efforts, Irchan helped to improve the caliber of acting and reinforced the Ukrainian Labour Temple as an important venue for cultural expression for the Ukrainian immigrant community during the 1920's.

Work by leaders such as Irchan helped rank-and-file men carry out their roles as participants in plays. Those rank-and-file men who took part in plays understood the importance of their work to the Ukrainian Left and showed great commitment to these productions. Hordienko, for example, always managed to learn his lines and was equipped for rehearsals and performances despite his demanding work schedule. As he explained, "I was often given a difficult and important role with only a week to prepare it. I then learned to be cunning at work, putting a piece of iron on the melting pot where it would heat up for 20 minutes, during which time I was able to study my role."¹⁰⁴ Hordienko exhibited his dedication in other ways as well. On one occasion, his wife was near death in labour on a Saturday evening when he was scheduled to perform in a play. Before he went to the hospital, he still reported to the labour temple to play Yurko Dovbush since there was no understudy to take his place. Despite personal hardship, he did not feel he could miss the play as his absence would have meant calling off the production

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

entirely resulting in a significant loss of funds for the Ukrainian Labour Temple.¹⁰⁵

Beyond cultural work, there were other ways in which a man could participate in the Progressive Ukrainian community. While many men who participated in activities at the labour temples were not formal members of the movement, numerous men did choose to take out membership in the ULFTA, the main organizing body of the Progressive Ukrainian movement. This structure through which male membership was set up further illustrates the power men possessed within the Ukrainian Left as both rank-and-file members and leaders. Though the name of the branch was seemingly inclusive-sounding, in most places it was made up solely of men. Even in smaller localities where its members were not all male, a strict gendered division of labour existed. Women typically carried out their activism through activities that were a reflection of their domestic roles while men acted as leaders or, if members, by participating in administrative or educational activism.

In many ways, the branch activities for members mirrored those of the women's branch and the youth branch. Regular meetings were held to discuss organizational matters, elect executive members, and plan events.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, as was the case for the women's and youngsters' branches, educational matters would also be discussed at meetings, and special courses would be held to teach male members about issues related to the class struggle and the movement's overall objectives. In 1922, for instance, the Ukrainian Labour Temple in

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶See for examples discussion at Meeting of ULT Executive, October 14, 1938, Minutes, Point Douglas Hall, 1938, WBA Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Winnipeg held classes "for men who wish to increase their knowledge" which were "based mostly on reading," were held on Tuesday nights and Sunday mornings.¹⁰⁷

Where the ULFTA branch differed was in its control of the movement as a whole. Through the ULFTA branch, decisions were made with regard to the shape of the Progressive Ukrainian community at the grassroots level. All other branches were expected to send representatives to ULFTA meetings at which time activity reports would be given. The Women's Branch and Young People's Branches would also find members of the ULFTA in regularly attendance at their meetings, often functioning in a coordinating or leadership capacity. Thus, similarities aside, that the ULFTA branch was the central organizing body at the Ukrainian Labour Temples further emphasises male dominance of the leadership of the movement.

Moreover, the ULFTA branch illustrates the inequality that existed among men on the Ukrainian Left. Rank-and-file men, for instance, had little control over the structure and activities of the branch as generally, the branch was controlled by those men who often served in other leadership capacities in the movement. The Tuesday night and Sunday morning classes at the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple, for example, were taught by Matthew Popovich, who, as we have seen, served in a variety of leadership positions during the interwar period.¹⁰⁸ Through the presence of men like Popovich in leading roles, the overall leadership of the Ukrainian Left insured that their priorities for the

¹⁰⁷Report dated May 7, 1922 re Ukrainian Labour Temple Night School in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792: "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 1.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

direction of the movement would be communicated to and reflected in teachings and activities of those men who were members of the ULFTA branch.

Many men, of both the ULFTA leadership and some of the rank-and-file, also chose to express their activism through the work of the Communist Party of Canada. The Party was one of the most important political influences that shaped the Ukrainian Left during the interwar period. Ties with the Party helped to solidify and define the politically-infused brand of Ukrainianness present in cultural activities at the Ukrainian Labour Temples. Invariably throughout its history-and particularly during the interwar period-the Ukrainian Left maintained close contact with the CPC. Because of proscribed community gender roles, while women could be (but rarely were) members of the Party, it was primarily through the ULFTA's male leadership and male membership that relations with the Party developed. Thus, men had experiences with political activism that were often different from those of their female counterparts on the Ukrainian Left. Moreover, since most Ukrainian men chose to conduct their Party work through Ukrainian groups led by the ULFTA (which emphasized the importance of Ukrainian cultural expression), their experiences with radical politics were significantly different from that of other leftist men at the time.

Wherever it could, the Party attempted to shape and control the activities, membership, and resources of the Ukrainian Left. In many ways, the CPC reinforced ethnic hierarchies evident elsewhere in Canadian society, and like other individuals and institutions, attempted to assimilate its Ukrainian supporters to English language work and, often implicitly, to adhere to Anglo-Celtic methods of organization,

political expression, and values. To carry this out, Ukrainian cultural activities within the ULFTA were often the target. For men on the Ukrainian Left, cultural and political activities were inextricably linked and empowering. This was because at all times their identities and their experiences as men in Canada were determined by the simultaneous interaction of gender with both class and ethnicity. As such, male leaders and members of the Progressive Ukrainian community were unwilling to sacrifice cultural aspects of their organizations and activities no matter how much the Party may have pushed. The Ukrainians, as a result, while willing to compromise and cooperate on some issues, consistently resisted total Party control, insisting instead on maintaining both their own autonomy and cultural direction as a movement. In this way, then, the presence of a Ukrainian consciousness and radical political values combined to insure a political experience for these Ukrainian men that was distinct from that of other men with ties to the Party and the Left in Canada.

The Progressive Ukrainian movement was certainly moved by Party priorities, and this influence ebbed and flowed depending on socio-economic and political conditions. It also hinged on the willingness of the Ukrainian Left's leaders and rank-and-file membership to adhere to Party methods of activity. While the leaders of the Ukrainian Left straddled a difficult line between the Party and the organizations of the Ukrainian Left, it was often the membership base which decided the success of a given initiative or period of development in the Party. Rank-and-file men were, on many occasions, quick to attack the leadership of the Party and even the ULFTA when they felt their interests were being marginalised, just as they were happy to support

initiatives which validated their experiences and concerns. Ukrainian Left leaders structured their responses to Party programs based on an awareness of the concerns and needs of rank-and-file members of the Progressive Ukrainian community. As a result, conflict and challenge were constantly present in the relationship between the CPC and the ULFTA.

Fortunately for the Ukrainian Left, their members, supporters, and leaders were in a strong position to stand up to the Party. Because of its numerical strength, extensive network of halls, financial resources, and pre-existing long-standing political tradition (which, of course, stretched back to Ukraine and the earliest days of Ukrainian immigration to Canada), the Ukrainians were able to enjoy a place of relative power in relation to Party authorities. As such, the Ukrainian Left managed to maintain its own distinct agenda, one where the Progressive Ukrainian movement's interests, while sympathetic, could and often did diverge from those of the Party. The Party was forced to tolerate this because it was so dependent on whatever support the Ukrainians and other so-called "ethnic" groups were able and willing to provide. As a result of this difficult relationship best characterized by uneasy resistance and negotiation rather than complacency, the Ukrainian Left developed its own unique brand of politics which fused Ukrainian nationalism and cultural traditions with progressive political ideals. Thus, its political action did not blindly mimic but instead--to varying degrees--paralleled, that of the CPC.

Links had long existed between Ukrainian, Jewish, Finnish, and Anglo-Celtic bodies through groups such as the Social Democratic Party of Canada (SDPC) and other socialist organizations and activities since

the turn of the twentieth century. From the earliest days of the ULTA/ULFTA, the organization and the progressive Ukrainian movement as a whole was associated with the various manifestations of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC). As a result of the ULTA, Ukrainians were among some of the best organized members of the Canadian Left by the early 1920's, a situation which Anglo-Celtic organizers of the Party sought to exploit to expand their own revolutionary efforts at Party-building. According to Ivan Avakumovic, both the Finns and the Ukrainians "brought with them [to Party activities] hundreds of followers, printing presses, flourishing weeklies, and buildings, owned by pro-Communist organizations," resources Anglo-Celtic leaders simply did not possess themselves.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, in terms of members' numbers, "The Ukrainians were the second largest group in the CPC. Together with the Finns and the Jews, they comprised between 80 and 90 percent of the Party members. In 1929 the percentage of these East Europeans rose to 95 per cent of the total Party membership."¹¹⁰

The willingness of these groups to use their resources to aid the Party helped to cement the foundation upon which the CPC would build during Canada's interwar period. Ukrainian leaders, for example were happy to lend their support and assistance to the development of the Party. Leaders of the Ukrainian Left like John Naviziwsky, Matthew Popovich, and Matthew Shatulsky¹¹¹ were present from the earliest stages of CPC organization in the early 1920's and were responsible for

¹⁰⁹Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada: A History* (Toronto: M&S, 1975), 11.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, 35.

¹¹¹Peter Krawchuk, "One of the First" [biography of John Navis], translated by William Kardash, *UC*, June 1984, originally published in *UZ*, 1951; Letter from ST Wood to Mr. Coleman dated December 4, 1936 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4677: "Matthew Shatulsky," part 2.

coordinating the ULTA's affiliation as one of the Party's "language federations."¹¹² After this, the Progressive Ukrainian community remained crucially tied to the Party in a variety of ways. In many locations throughout the interwar period, the Party developed rapidly thanks in no small part to the pre-existing network created by the ULFTA. According to an RCMP report, over the course of the 1920's and 1930's, many branches of the Party "were organized by leaders of the ULFTA, and in a great many instances within the framework of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association."¹¹³ The report went on to argue that "for a while the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association, together with Finnish revolutionarists [sic], were the mainstay of Communist Party Finance."¹¹⁴ Without groups like the Finns and the Ukrainians supporting their work, the CPC would have had a difficult time getting off the ground.

Members of the Progressive Ukrainian community engaged in varying degrees of involvement with the CPC, and typically it was through the male leadership and membership base--and often the men's branch specifically--that Party directives were given and carried out.¹¹⁵ Most leaders of the Ukrainian Left were Party members, and many held high level positions in the Party, often combining this work with their responsibilities in the ULFTA. In 1933, for example, Matthew Shatulsky attempted to rouse an audience at the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple with a speech. As reported by an RCMP official:

¹¹²Avakumovic, 28.

¹¹³ "The Ukrainians in Canada, Part II: Communist Organizations," n.d. in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 128.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3418: "CPC, Ukrainian Branch Edmonton" and Vol 3849: "CP, Ukrainian Branch - Vancouver."

I wonder, he said, who benefits by whom? Put the Capitalist out on a secluded island with all his heaps of gold, and without the workers' toil he will die like a fly in winter. You will see how much the Capitalist will produce with his brain and gold, without the workers' sweat....Who gives, and takes more? The Capitalist, he said. If it was possible they would monopolize sunshine and air and tax you workers for enjoying it.¹¹⁶

In these ways, leaders of the Ukrainian Left combined Party work with that which they regularly carried out within the Progressive Ukrainian community, helping to build both movements simultaneously among the Ukrainian working class.

That ULFTA leaders were also Party officials did not automatically mean, however, that the Party line dominated the activities and directions of the Ukrainian Left. Certainly the close ties between the Ukrainian Left leaders and Party leaders left the impression among contemporaries and many historians that all members of the Progressive Ukrainian community were communists. This was not always so, particularly where many rank-and-file men were concerned. At the grassroots level, the Party membership and support situation was much more complex. Many men had no interest whatsoever in the Party and chose only to participate in the activities of the Ukrainian Left. Others may have been interested but shied away fearing--as so many Ukrainian men quite reasonably did (particularly during the 1930's)--deportation,¹¹⁷ police persecution, and job loss that might come from an overt association with the Party, they never formally joined the Party or even the ULFTA during the interwar period. If they did support the

¹¹⁶Report dated April 20th, 1933 re Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association - Winnipeg - (Todowyrnazu) in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4677: "Matthew Shatulsky," part 2. For additional examples see Report dated December 21, 1927 re John Navisowski in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 146, "John Navis."

¹¹⁷Avakumovic, 92.

Party, they did so in other, less overt ways or through activities that were combined with Ukrainian Labour Temple work.

One of the most important ways rank-and-file Ukrainian men as well as leaders bolstered the activities of the Party was by supporting its candidates when they ran for public office. During elections, leaders and members of the ULFTA typically rallied their support around CPC candidates. In Winnipeg during civic elections, the Party assigned John Naviziwsky "the task of the organization of the campaign, especially in Ward Three (North Winnipeg)," where, "beginning in 1926, the Communist Party almost regularly elected its representatives to the city council."¹¹⁸ Many candidates were increasingly drawn from the ranks of the Ukrainian Left as well, further intensifying the support members of the Progressive Ukrainian community were willing to offer. The first communist elected in North America, in fact, came out of the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg. William Kolisnyk served two terms as a city alderman from 1926 to 1930.¹¹⁹

In addition to election support, many of the protests and causes in which the Ukrainian Left took part were complementary to or coordinated by or in tandem with the CPC and other progressive groups during the interwar period. Men from the ULFTA joined with the Canadian Labour Defense League (CLDL) to champion the cause of those CPC leaders, including ULFTA leaders John Boychuk and Matthew Popovich, who were arrested in Toronto in 1931 and charged under Section 98 of the Criminal

¹¹⁸Peter Krawchuk, "One of the First" [biography of John Navis], translated by William Kardash, *UC*, June 1984, originally published in *UZ*, 1951.

¹¹⁹Donald Avery, "Divided Loyalties," 278. See also Peter Krawchuk, "One of the First" [biography of John Navis], translated by William Kardash, *UC*, June 1984, originally published in *UZ*, 1951 and Obituary of John Weir, *UC*, January 1984.

Code.¹²⁰ Protests such as those against deportation and the Padlock Law in Quebec, as well as participation in the On-to-Ottawa Trek, were important items on the Progressive Ukrainian agenda during the Depression years, both because of the movement's connections with the Party and also because of the experiences members and supporters of the Ukrainian Left had as disenfranchised workers during the 1930's.¹²¹

Despite such alignments with the Party, the Progressive Ukrainian community's support was not wholesale. Rather, it was dependent on Ukrainian Left's feeling that they were respected-particularly where their sense of Ukrainianness and desire for continued cultural expression and preservation was concerned-and that their needs as Ukrainian workers and farmers were being met. As a result, while the Ukrainian Left-particularly its leaders-supported the overall goals of the Party, they did not unquestioningly follow the Party line. Wherever they could, leaders and members of the Ukrainian Left continued to maintain autonomy and control over their own activities, members, and assets. In this regard, their resources and numbers put Ukrainian and other groups in a strong bargaining position.¹²² Ukrainian leaders were well aware of their group's importance and did not hesitate to challenge the Party when they felt that their community was not being afforded proper respect. For example, prior to the first convention of the CPC in Toronto in 1922, Naviziwsky and Popowich "voiced the complaints of the Ukrainians in [the Winnipeg] district against the Central Executive

¹²⁰Paul Hawrylkiw, interviewed by Clara Swityk, 1976.

¹²¹Myron Shatulsky, interviewed by RLH, June 24, 1998; Monthly Meeting, August 3, 1931, Women's Branch, Winnipeg, 1931 Minute Book, WBA Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Peter Krawchuk in *US*, March 12, 1958; Report dated February 22, 1938 re ULFTA - Winnipeg in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792: "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 8.

¹²²Avakumovic, 37.

Committee (CEC) of the CP."¹²³ Naviziwsky reminded the CEC that the Ukrainian group of the Party "had about 130 dues paying members in Winnipeg, and that as there was no English speaking group organized more attention must be paid to the Ukrainians, as otherwise the movement would die out in the district."¹²⁴

Moreover, when the leaders of the Ukrainian Left saw a need for institutions or activities that would improve the lives of members and supporters of the Progressive Ukrainian community as a whole, they did not hesitate to make changes even in the face of Party opposition. For example, in 1928 the Party rejected "the pursuit of reforms which satisfied the immediate needs of the working class."¹²⁵ The Party and the Comintern believed such tactics would undermine the class struggle by placating the working class. The Progressive Ukrainian community was pressured to follow suit. Nevertheless, despite Party insistence, the Ukrainian Left continued to promote and expand the successful and popular Workers Benevolent Association (WBA). Developed by the Ukrainian Left to improve the immediate material circumstances of Ukrainian and other disenfranchised groups, the WBA was founded in 1922 to assist "the plight of the sick, disabled and needy."¹²⁶ The organization provided sick and death benefits for Ukrainian workers to assist them and their families in dealing with the realities of immigration, agriculture, and working-class life in Canada. Though the Party frowned on such work, the ULFTA, WBA, and their members and

¹²³Report dated February 20, 1922 re CP of Canada, Ukrainian Branch, Winnipeg, Manitoba in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, "John Navis."

¹²⁴Ibid.

¹²⁵Kolasky, *Prophets and Proletarians*, xxiii.

¹²⁶*Friends in Need: The WBA Story*, 73.

supporters were quick to defend the organization. That the WBA was, at times, an important source for financial and membership support for the Party was likely the only reason Party condemnation of the WBA was tempered.

Though the Ukrainians were quick to defend themselves, the Party still repeatedly tried to control the direction of the ULFTA and all of its branches. The leadership of the Ukrainian Left, straddling the line between Party and community, managed, with varying degrees of success, to negotiate a compromise between the two often opposing camps. At other times, male leaders wholly sided with the Ukrainian Left, refusing to bend, especially when Ukrainian cultural expression was concerned. In the late 1920's, for example, the ULFTA began to face increased challenges from the Party for control of Progressive Ukrainian activities. As Joan Sangster explains, "In 1928 the Comintern, now dominated by Stalin, argued that the capitalist West was on the verge of a 'Third Period' of intense economic and political crisis."¹²⁷ Because, the Comintern asserted, Communists had "veered dangerously toward reformism" they now "had to reinstate a revolutionary political praxis."¹²⁸ In 1929, the Comintern instructed the CPC to take on an organizational structure in which all workers would be organized such that "the primacy of the English language and an organizational structure that emphasized occupational and not cultural groups" be implemented.¹²⁹ As Kolasky demonstrates, "It was expected...that

¹²⁷Sangster, 55.

¹²⁸Ibid., 56.

¹²⁹Donald Avery, "Divided Loyalties: The Ukrainian Left and the Canadian State" in *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity*, Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 278.

Ukrainian workers would abandon their language groups and commit themselves to the activities of the newly formed CPC industrial unions."¹³⁰ Thus, work for the Party in the English language, and not Ukrainian cultural activities, was to be the focus of the efforts of the ULFTA. At this time, too, the Party also attempted to liquidate certain branches of the Ukrainian Left, claiming groups like the ULFTA's Youth, Section undermined membership numbers for the Party's own Young Communist League.¹³¹

These directives were not at all well-received by the Progressive Ukrainian community. Many members and supporters of both Party and Ukrainian Labour Temple challenged and resisted the orders, and numerous individuals even abandoned the Party at this time in protest.¹³² Those who stayed stood up for the Ukrainian Left. Matthew Popowich and other leaders, for example, condemned the Party for its attempts to anglicize the Ukrainian Left and "suggested that the party's CEC would be better advised to give greater attention to winning over Anglo-Saxon workers instead of rebuking Ukrainian communists for not displaying 'greater activity' in recruiting party members from among Ukrainian workers in Canada."¹³³ When pushed, the following year the leaders of the ULFTA even "rejected a letter from the Politburo of the Party criticizing the ULFTA for inadequate participation in the 'revolutionary class struggle.'"¹³⁴ Generally such behaviour would have resulted in an immediate expulsion from the Party, but because the Ukrainian men made

¹³⁰Kolasky, 278.

¹³¹Krawchuk, *Our History*, 164-181.

¹³²Avery, "Divided Loyalties," 278.

¹³³Krawchuk, *Our History*, 156.

¹³⁴Kolasky, 16.

up approximately a third of the Party's overall membership base,¹³⁵ Party leaders were forced to take a different tact and compromise with the Ukrainian Left.

Despite such conflict, the ULFTA continued to support officially the CPC, with the Ukrainian Left's leaders often actively resisting overt Party control and seeking compromise rather than offering outright support for all CPC initiatives. Such was the case in 1931 when the CPC again attempted to mandate the mission and activities of the ULFTA. Ordered by the Comintern to institute "a turn to the path of general revolutionary struggle,"¹³⁶ or "the turn,"¹³⁷ the CPC pushed the ULFTA to implement the plan to further radicalize and bolshevize all its activities. ULFTA leaders were more receptive, given the contemporary situation for workers and farmers and their belief, like many other radicals, that the worsening economic conditions signalled an impending overall breakdown of the capitalist order. In terms of ULFTA activities, they were quick to suggest ways in which cultural work could be infused with class as well as Ukrainian content. Matthew Shatulsky, for example, delivered a lengthy address at that year's National Convention outlining the ways by which the ULFTA was to implement the plan. He explained that choirs, orchestras, and drama groups must all take part in the turn and be "real shock-troop activists in the introduction of proletarian art to our stage. There is no 'art for art's sake.' To counteract this misleading bourgeois slogan we must

¹³⁵Ibid., 167.

¹³⁶Kolasky, *Prophets and Proletarians*, xxiv.

¹³⁷Extracts from the "Reports and Resolutions of the 12th Convention of Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association in Canada" held from July 15th to 20th in the Ukrainian Labour Temple at Winnipeg" in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792: "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 12.

raise the slogan: art in the service of the proletariat!"¹³⁸ To adhere to such a program was not difficult for many of the cultural forces of the ULFTA, given their existing tendency to fuse cultural expression with political content in plays and other performances. Thus, while seeming to be adhering or even bowing to the whims of the Party, Shatulsky and other leaders were often able to suggest compromises that reflected the pre-existing proclivities of the Ukrainian Left and its members and supporters, helping to smooth over any rifts that might have existed between the Progressive Ukrainian community and the Party.

Overall, however, Ukrainian leaders often were caught between a rock and hard place trying to satisfy both Party officials and the Progressive Ukrainian community as a whole. Sometimes compromise could be reached, but at other times, they themselves were at the receiving end of challenges and even open revolt from both the Ukrainian Left's rank-and-file and from their fellow leaders. Generally, because of language differences and discrimination, there were virtually no other political options for Progressive Ukrainian men who did not want to belong to the Party. If disgruntled, many men simply stayed away from Party work, choosing instead to express their activism through other activities at the Ukrainian Labour Temple. For other men, this was not a sufficient option, particularly when they felt the Party was behaving in a deceitful or deceptive fashion. Such instances led to the creation of breakaway factions. Though these factions could be harmful to the immediate circumstances of the Ukrainian Left, over time most were generally limited in their influence.

By far the most serious threat to the ULFTA and its male

¹³⁸Ibid.

leadership came around 1934 when Danylo Lobay, a longtime editor and administrator for the ULFTA, was expelled from the organization for challenging the ULFTA/CPC account of contemporary events in the Soviet Union.¹³⁹ Though the concentration of Lobay and his supporters' work in the ULFTA isolated them from dissidents of other backgrounds, their criticisms of contemporary conditions in the Soviet Union under Stalin fit with broader currents of dissidence that emerged during the 1930's. As news of Stalin's "dekulakization and collectivization"¹⁴⁰ efforts, generally poor conditions in the Soviet Union, and what historian Robert Conquest has labelled the 1932-3 Ukrainian "terror famine"¹⁴¹ began to trickle in to Canada and progressive Ukrainian circles, many, including Lobay, began to question the Ukrainian Left's interpretation and denial of these events. Once expelled, Lobay and his supporters published pamphlets and later a newspaper, *Pravda (Truth)*, in which he condemned not only the leadership of the ULFTA for alleged corruption, but also the image of the Soviet Union and Soviet Ukraine that the leaders of the Ukrainian Left endorsed as accurate.¹⁴²

A particularly damaging topic Lobay and his supporters used to challenge the ULFTA leaders was the disappearance of two beloved ULFTA leaders in the Soviet purges, playwright and editor Myroslav Irchan and

¹³⁹ "The Ukrainians in Canada: Pt. II: Communist Organizations," n.d. in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 150, Vol 128; *Labour-Farmer Almanac for the Leap Year of 1928*, RCMP translation in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4677: "Matthew Shatulsky," part 4.

¹⁴⁰Robert Conquest, *Harvest of Sorrow*, 165.

¹⁴¹Robert Conquest, *Harvest of Sorrow*, 165.

¹⁴²Report dated November 28, 1935 re ULFTA - (Workers and Farmers Cooperative Creamery - Winnipeg) in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792: "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 7; Report dated December 18, 1935 re [ULFTA] - Winnipeg in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792: "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 7; Report dated January 17, 1936 re ULFTA - Winnipeg - Re D. Lobay's Pamphlet in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792: "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 7.

teacher Ivan Sembay. Irchan had returned to Ukraine in 1929 to continue his work for the workers' cause there, while Ivan Sembay was deported to Soviet Ukraine in 1932 after being picked up by the RCMP for 'revolutionary activity.'¹⁴³ Both were soon arrested in the Soviet Union when they questioned the political situation and its ensuing problems. In 1934, word began to trickle in that the two had been detained as counter-revolutionaries and had been given prison sentences. According to an RCMP observer, "the news has spread among the Ukrainians here, and at the Ukrainian Labour Temple the common members are very bewildered, not knowing what to think..."¹⁴⁴ The situation was made even worse when it was learned that Sembay had been killed in prison.¹⁴⁵

As a result of the challenge by Lobay and rumours from the Soviet Union, the ULFTA, which continued to support the Party's and Comintern's explanation of the events, became embroiled in controversy. While support grew for the "Lobayists," ULFTA membership numbers, which had risen to 8838 in 1935, began to fall again, dropping to 4415 by 1937.¹⁴⁶ ULFTA leaders were so concerned about the vulnerability of the organization to take over that in 1935, they cancelled the regular annual convention for 1936 using the excuse that there was an emergency need to devote organizational energies to a higher educational course to train much needed teachers and organizers that year instead.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³*SM*, June 1929, translated by Larissa Stavroff; Krawchuk, *Our History*, 196-197.

¹⁴⁴Report dated October 11, 1934 re ULFTA in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792: "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 7.

¹⁴⁵Report dated December 7, 1934 re Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Ass'n re I. Irchan and J. Sembay in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, "John Navis."

¹⁴⁶Krawchuk, *Our History*.

¹⁴⁷Report dated January 2, 1935 re ULFTA in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792: "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 7; Report dated December 31, 1935 re ULFTA - Winnipeg in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146,

In terms of damage control and to placate other members and supporters of the movement demanding answers with regard to the famine situation in Ukraine, ULFTA leaders attempted to spin the Lobay imbroglio in a number of ways. The main method was to interpret it as comparable to that which was occurring among the leadership, intelligentsia, and Party in the Soviet Union. Leaders of the ULFTA supported explanations provided by Soviet authorities and suggested that Irchan and Sembay had come to Canada as counter-revolutionaries and had been successful in duping the membership by masking their counter-revolutionary tendencies. After Sembay was executed, leader John Naviziwsky rationalized to an audience at the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg that Irchan and Sembay "were, according to a beforehand schemed plan, sent to Canada. They were here as traitors and we, trusting them in all good faith, like comrades, we popularized them and recommended them when they returned to USSR, so they were taken in and entrusted with important duties."¹⁴⁸ He went on to explain that there, playwright Irchan "was a given a chance to work with his pen, helping to build up socialism, and at the last it was proposed to him that he change his mind and become loyal, but he refused. Now he must help build socialism with the shovel" in prison.¹⁴⁹

Lobay, himself, was written off as a counter-revolutionary. At a meeting held on February 4, 1936 in Winnipeg, a lecture entitled "How to Fight Against Counter-Revolutionary Elements" was held. The speaker condemned Lobay "for working against the revolutionary proletariat,

Vol 3792: "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 7; Krawchuk, *Our History*, 396.

¹⁴⁸Report dated January 2, 1935 re Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, "John Navis."

¹⁴⁹Ibid.

against the Soviet regime and for cooperating with the Ukrainian Nationalists."¹⁵⁰ Lobay and the movement he incited were compared to the Trotskyites in the Soviet Union.¹⁵¹ By 1937, Ukrainian Labour Temple leaders were comparing the expulsion of Lobay and his supporters to the purges in the Soviet Union (which at the time the movement supported). John Naviziwsky and Matthew Shatulsky addressed an audience at the Winnipeg Labour Temple in January of 1937. According to an RCMP informant, both spoke, "not omitting to remark that for a while it seems, the organization, after several shocks and jolts and the purge [of the Lobayists], got on a smoother trail and is progressing."¹⁵² Supporting the view that "you have to break eggs to make an omelette," one of the leaders (it is not clear which) "also mentioned what is taking place in USSR at present where the cleansing process is in progress" and argued "such ills will remain unavoidable until the last remnants of decaying capitalism are completely swept out of existence, he said, referring to the plots of Trotzky."¹⁵³ In this way, while discrediting Lobay, the leaders of the ULFTA used the episode to link itself and its own experiences, work, and problems to the larger international revolutionary movement.

Fortunately for the ULFTA, the challenges made by Lobay and others did little to quell the overall momentum of the movement throughout the 1930's, and the Ukrainian Left, along with the CPC, continued to grow,

¹⁵⁰Report dated February 7, 1936 re ULFTA - Winnipeg in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792: "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 7.

¹⁵¹Report dated February 16, 1937 re ULFTA - Winnipeg in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792: "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 7.

¹⁵²Extract from communication dated January 29, 1937 re ULFTA Winnipeg, Man., in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4677: "Matthew Shatulsky," part 2.

¹⁵³Ibid.

particularly in the latter half of the decade, in terms of members and support. An especially popular rallying point was the Party's push for a Popular or People's Front which began in 1935, envisioned as a broad alliance with other anti-fascists, socialists, and liberals.¹⁵⁴

According to Joan Sangster, "The Popular Front evolved from growing Soviet fears of fascist aggression and new Comintern policies calling for a world-wide alliance with socialist parties against fascism."¹⁵⁵

The ULFTA was enthusiastic in supporting the Popular Front as the "community and neighbourhood activities"¹⁵⁶ it emphasized dovetailed easily with the work the Progressive Ukrainian community had eagerly embraced throughout its history.

Male leaders of the ULFTA were fully behind the Popular Front and encouraged members and supporters of the Ukrainian Left to join in the struggle in a number of ways. In 1935, for example, Matthew Shatulsky instructed readers of *Ukrainski robotnychi visti* that it was necessary "to recruit new members to our organization, those Ukrainian workers and farmers who are unorganized and also members of the Nationalistic and church organizations."¹⁵⁷ Shatulsky went on to explain that "first of all we must be inside of these organizations and be ourselves there, well organized," and he also told supporters to concentrate their efforts in factories and among miners and railway and resource workers.¹⁵⁸ At the annual ULFTA convention that year according to an RCMP observer, as part of efforts toward a Popular Front, "in all the

¹⁵⁴Avakumovic, 96.

¹⁵⁵Sangster, 125.

¹⁵⁶Sangster, 126.

¹⁵⁷Matthew Shatulsky, "To Strengthen our Organizational Machine," extract from *URV* in report dated February 21, 1935 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4677: "Matthew Shatulsky," part 2.

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

sessions...Fascism, war and the defence of USSR were stressed, also the freeing of political prisoners throughout the world, strikes, wage-cuts and working conditions and how to abolish capitalism and fight fascism. These things were mentioned by everyone on the very least occasion to speak."¹⁵⁹

While evidence to illustrate how many, if any, Nationalist Ukrainians were attracted to the Ukrainian Left as a result of Popular Front efforts is unavailable, it is clear that the change in Party policy brought about a tremendous response from the Progressive Ukrainian community, particularly among numerous grassroots men. By 1938, despite the negative influence the Lobay challenge had had on membership numbers in 1937, the combined membership of all the ULFTA branches had risen to over 15,000 strong.¹⁶⁰ Beyond membership numbers, enthusiasm for the Popular Front policies was evident among men in other ways. One of the most telling examples in which many younger men, for instance, expressed their support for Popular Front activism was by volunteering to fight against General Franco and fascism in the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). They went as members of the International Brigade's Mackenzie-Papineau Division. As part of this, the young men from the Ukrainian Left "formed their own company, named after Taras Shevchenko."¹⁶¹ By 1938, the Association for Aid to the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine (AALMWU), one of the many groups associated with the Ukrainian Left, estimated that over 200 of its members were

¹⁵⁹Report dated March 26, 1935 re ULFTA Mass Organizations Convention Winnipeg in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4677: "Matthew Shatulsky," part 2.

¹⁶⁰Carynyk, 198-99.

¹⁶¹John Weir, "The Flaming Torch," *UC*, October 1 and 15, 1957, reprinted *UC*, 1987.

participating in the anti-fascist fight in Spain.¹⁶² Approximately one hundred of these Ukrainian men would die in the conflict.¹⁶³

The struggle against fascism would take a bizarre and bewildering twist for members of the Ukrainian Left and many others who supported the Party line the following year, however, with events leading up to the advent of the Second World War. The movement was thrown into a state of confusion with the unprecedented signing of the Soviet-German Treaty of Non-Aggression and Friendship between Stalin and Hitler on August 23, 1939. The Ukrainian Left with its ties to and support of the CPC and the Soviet Union was forced, like many other Progressive groups, to reevaluate the nature of their support for the war as an anti-fascist conflict. In a dramatic about-face which baffled and confounded many members, the male leaders of the Progressive Ukrainian community followed the new line of the CPC which now argued that Stalin had no choice but to make the pact with Hitler in order to protect the Soviet Union since the anti-communist Allies were unlikely to come to his aid. When the war started a month later, what had been interpreted as a conflict against the rising currents of fascism was now denounced as an 'imperialist' war, and leaders of both the Party and the Ukrainian Left called for Canadian withdrawal from the conflict.¹⁶⁴

Fearing disruption and looking for an opportunity to silence Canadian radical groups, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King, via the War Measures Act, invoked an Order-in-Council in June 4, 1940 banning the ULFTA, along with the CPC and several other Progressive

¹⁶²Report dated January 14, 1938 re ULFTA - Winnipeg in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3732: "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba, part 8.

¹⁶³Kolasky, 169.

¹⁶⁴Avakumovic, 140.

groups. The government declared the movement's press and activities illegal and confiscated, closed, and even sold some of its halls. At the same time, along with their non-Ukrainian comrades, numerous men of Progressive Ukrainian backgrounds were interned for sedition. Of the one hundred Communist or Pro-Communist men imprisoned and labelled "Prisoners-of-War" or "Enemy Aliens" at that time, Ukrainians made up about one third.¹⁶⁵ They remained incarcerated even after the Soviet Union and the ULFTA membership came to support the Allied cause.¹⁶⁶ To make matters worse, the Ukrainian Left was further marginalised from the "official" Ukrainian war effort when the nationalist Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) was formed in 1940, garnering the favour of the federal government.

The ban and especially the internments shaped the direction of male activity in the Ukrainian Left during World War II. In terms of male experience and opportunity, two distinct periods existed for men at that time. The first was heavily dictated by the internments while the second was evident after the men were released. In the early years of the war, men's roles overall were circumscribed. Those men who were interned were unable to organize freely and were forced to find new and covert ways to express their activism and sustain themselves and their role in the movement while incarcerated. Progressive Ukrainian men outside the camps were also limited in the involvement they could display during the early years of war. Though some men remained active in the movement, many others were forced to maintain a low profile or

¹⁶⁵Kolasky, 30.

¹⁶⁶For more information, see Peter Krawchuk, *Interned Without Cause: The Internment of Canadian Antifascists During World War Two* (Toronto: Kobzar Publishing Company Ltd., 1985).

define their activities carefully for fear of arrest. Other men were less active because their time came to be dominated by war industry work or because they were away serving in the Canadian armed forces overseas. Because of the threat of repression the men specifically faced and because of the absence of so many men, much organizational work came to be taken over by women who, because of the often unseen work they contributed to the movement, were not perceived as a potential menace by Canadian authorities.

During the second part of the war, opportunities for men and the Ukrainian Left as a whole shifted. The movement received a boost when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Thanks to the favour garnered by the now allied Soviet Union, the Progressive Ukrainian community began to surpass the credibility of the anti-Soviet UCC. Concurrently, a rising social current emerged, composed of churches and civil liberties groups appalled by the government's internment policy and treatment of radical groups. These circumstances lent strength to the existing campaign coordinated by Progressive Ukrainian women and wives of other interned men and helped to win the men's release in 1942.

Once free, many of these men jumped wholeheartedly back into high profile roles in the movement, reclaiming these positions from women and leading the Progressive Ukrainian community's contributions to the war effort or fighting to restore properties seized by the federal government. Some of formerly interned even joined the armed services after their release. At that time, many men felt it was safe to become more openly active again, and Progressive Ukrainian men from all ranks moved back into many of the roles that had been assumed by women or into cultural and social activities that had been limited for men during the

dangerous period of the internments. Despite the hardship they endured, Progressive Ukrainian men and the Ukrainian Left as a whole emerged from the war in a strong position, riding a tide of positive momentum.

The optimism of the later years of the war stood in stark contrast to sentiments felt by the Ukrainian Left in 1940. The early years of the war were a time of great uncertainty for members and supporters forced to witness the closure of Ukrainian Labour Temples across the country and to stand back as the male leaders of the movement were being arrested and interned. At first, the arrests came slowly. The police picked up a handful of men with ULFTA and Party connections like John Weir and John Naviziwsky.¹⁶⁷

Soon, however, the government employed more aggressive tactics. In the early hours of the morning of July 6th, 1940, RCMP officers conducted a massive sweep of Winnipeg's North End, arresting seventeen Ukrainian anti-fascist leaders. Like so many of the men detained, Andrew Bileski, who was then manager of the Worker-Farmer Cooperative, was sleeping when the police arrived to take him away and search his home.¹⁶⁸ In addition to Bileski, other men captured that day included editors of organizational newspapers such as Matthew Shatulsky and John Stefanitsky, ULFTA Manitoba organizer John Dubno, politician William Kolisnyk, and various men associated with a host of Progressive Ukrainian enterprises and activities.¹⁶⁹

Not all of the leaders were rounded up at this time. Some men

¹⁶⁷Kathleen M. Repka and William Repka, "John Weir" in *Dangerous Patriots: Canada's Unknown Prisoners of War* (Vancouver: New Star Books Ltd., 1982), 59-60; Peter Krawchuk, *Interned Without Cause* (Toronto: Kobzar Publishing Company Ltd., 1985), 31.

¹⁶⁸Andrew Bileski, interviewed by Doug Smith, 1984-85, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, C391-C410.

¹⁶⁹Peter Krawchuk, *Interned Without Cause*, 20.

managed to avoid arrest. Peter Krawchuk, for example, a journalist and contributor to the banned newspaper *Narodna hazeta*, evaded police for more than two months after the sweep by going into hiding in Winnipeg.¹⁷⁰ Many, at great personal risk, did what they could while in hiding to ensure that movement activities, particularly those of a political nature, were able to continue. Krawchuk, for example, along with other fugitive men, formed a "directing collective" to encourage unity and continued organization among Progressive Ukrainians in Canada. In addition to maintaining the lines of communication with Progressive Ukrainian groups in areas outside Winnipeg, the collective also set to work finding a new press organ for the floundering movement to replace the banned *Farmerske zhyttia* and *Narodna hazeta*. Nick Hrynchyshyn, another wanted man, was sent to Smoky Lake, Alberta, to edit *Holos pravdy* (*The Voice of Truth*), a newspaper published by Orthodox clergyman Michael Cependa which had, in the past, "sometimes printed articles which were progressive in spirit."¹⁷¹ As best as they could while working underground, the remaining leaders attempted to maintain those vestiges of a progressive Ukrainian Left that existed during the early 1940's.

Other men who had been active in the movement in grassroots or leadership capacities found their ability to be active limited by the wartime situation. Though it is difficult to document, the threat of arrest likely caused many men to fear involvement in the Progressive Ukrainian community, and many probably maintained few connections with the movement as a result. Others could no longer participate because

¹⁷⁰Ibid., 22-29.

¹⁷¹Ibid., 24.

they were away serving in the armed forces. Many young men, like Mike Seychuk and Bill Philipovich, who had grown up or taken part in the ULFTA during the interwar period, joined the armed services immediately after Canada declared war while others waited until after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in 1941.¹⁷⁵ Some young men were even willing to sign up despite the fact that their own fathers were interned. Internee John Naviziwsky, for example, had two sons who served overseas, one of whom was killed in the line of duty.¹⁷⁶ Other men took leave of the Ukrainian Left to take advantage of opportunities in war industry work.¹⁷⁷ Overall, then, the combination of the ban, the internments, the desire to fight for Canada, and opportunities for war work meant that men generally were less active and visible within the Progressive Ukrainian community for much of the war, especially during the early years.

Of course, while the freedom to work was limited for all men of the Progressive Ukrainian community during the early years of the Second World War, those who were interned felt the restrictions on their personal liberties most keenly. Whether captured during the initial sweep or later when police officers tracked them down, all of the interned men had similar experiences. Labeled as "Prisoners of War," internees passed the two years of their incarceration in several different detainment facilities. After spending time in a local holding facility, most men were soon transferred to Kananaskis, Alberta, in the

¹⁷⁵Mike Seychuk, interviewed by RLH, June 10, 1998; Bill Philipovich, interviewed by RLH, May 7, 1998.

¹⁷⁶*Leamington Post and News*, Leamington, Ontario, March 15, 1945 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, "John Navis."

¹⁷⁷"Meet Our People: Constantine Sebestianowich" *UC*, December 1, 1948.

heart of the Rockies. After Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in June of 1941, the anti-fascists were moved to Petawawa where they were incarcerated for a short time before eventually ending up in Hull Jail near Ottawa. As a whole, within the internment camps, the men experienced a variety of treatment, ranging from harsh to sympathetic, at the hands of both guards and other inmates of various political stripes. Despite the difficulty of their circumstances, the Ukrainian and other anti-fascist internees made the best of the situation, managing to create semblances of cultural, social and political activity during the period of their incarceration.

Ian Radforth, in his article, "Political Prisoners: The Communist Internees," argues that "while the Communists suffered the usual painful and humiliating constraints imposed on prisoners of war, life was more tolerable for them because of their left politics."¹⁷⁸ By this he suggests that the solidarity and organizational skills they had demonstrated prior to the war were readily adapted to the internment situation and allowed the men to develop activities of both a political and social nature that supported and empowered them while in the camps. This was certainly true for the Ukrainian men, who also benefitted from the keen ethnic solidarity present within the Progressive Ukrainian community. In addition to their left politics, the Ukrainian men also drew on Ukrainian cultural expression to help sustain themselves and provide comfort and support to all the anti-fascist internees. Moreover, the ethnic solidarity of the Ukrainian Left also meant that the Ukrainian internees benefitted from widespread support from those

¹⁷⁸Ian Radforth, "Political Prisoners: The Communist Internees" in Franca Iacovetta et al., eds., *Enemies Within* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 196.

left behind who provided them with political and cultural sustenance wherever possible. In addition to information covertly delivered in a variety of fashions, women and other members of the Progressive Ukrainian community sent Ukrainian food and boosted the morale of the men by keeping Progressive cultural work going wherever possible despite the ban on the movement.

To build a community in prison was not difficult for the Progressive Ukrainian anti-fascists as they found themselves in good company. The prison roster read like a veritable who's who of the progressive community in Canada.¹⁷⁹ Internee Dennis Moysiuk recalled, "Practically the entire leadership of the Ukrainian and other progressive organizations in Canada were there with me. There were more than a hundred of us altogether."¹⁸⁰ The presence of so many like-minded individuals provided support and camaraderie for the men during the period of their incarceration.

This support was necessary given the difficult conditions the men encountered in the camps. The organizational structure of Kananaskis was particularly trying for the men. For example, to identify them as communists and to provide guards with a target should a prisoner escape, progressives were forced to wear a uniform with a red spot on the back.¹⁸¹ Moreover, the possibility for violent confrontation was imminent given the presence of fascist internees. Often, prison

¹⁷⁹For more information on Communists who were interned during WWII, see Ian Radforth's "Political Prisoners: The Communist Internees" in Franca Iacovetta et al., eds., *Enemies Within* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

¹⁸⁰Dennis Moysiuk, "A Life's Experiences in a New Land," *UC*, December 1988, originally published in *UZ*, 1951.

¹⁸¹Peter Krawchuk, *Interned Without Cause*, 36; Andrew Bileski, interviewed by Doug Smith, 1984-85, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, C391-C410.

officials exacerbated these existing hostilities and created a climate of fear and intimidation for the anti-fascist men. This is clear from the way lodging was organized in the camp. When they were initially transported to Kananaskis, according to internee Myron Kostaniuk, "Camp Commandant Watson ordered that one communist be placed with 11 fascists in each of the huts or shanties that held 12 people, [instructing] the German representatives 'to wipe the floors with them.'"¹⁸² To make matters worse, in all of the prison facilities in which the men were interned, they were isolated from the rest of the Progressive Ukrainian community. Visitors were not allowed, correspondence with family and friends was severely limited, and newspapers and sources of information about the outside world were forbidden in the camps.¹⁸³

Despite their circumstances, the men were able to exercise a striking degree of agency at times and managed to recreate vestiges of Leftist and Progressive Ukrainian culture. In Kananaskis, for example, the men forcibly occupied Barrack Number 47, using it as a makeshift labour temple. They also organized a committee to advocate for their rights in the camp, set up a library, and held discussions and lectures on topics of a political nature just as they might have at ULFTA or Party meetings prior to the war. Courses in German and English were also taught by the anti-fascists. In addition to this, cultural activities, particularly those of a Ukrainian nature, were organized. From the earliest days of their incarceration, the men organized a

¹⁸² Myron Kostaniuk, "Recollections from a Life of a Ukrainian Pioneer," *UC*, October 1990.

¹⁸³ John Alexiewich, "Sketches from a Lifetime," *UC*, October 1991, originally published in *UZ*, 1951; Letter from Matthew Shatulsky to Louis St. Laurent dated June 10, 1942 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4678: "Department of Justice File Re: Matthew Shatulski and Aliases," part A.

choir, singing traditional Ukrainian folk music, as well as songs written specifically about their experiences in the camps. These songs helped to keep the men's spirits up and create meaning out of their experiences of internment. This is evident in "Kananaskis Prisoners' Song" in which John Weir wrote, "They can't intern all the workers/They can't drown the world in blood/Though they vent their rage upon us/They can't dam the ocean's flood." The men also kept morale up by observing important labour holidays, commemorating the anniversary of the October Revolution and May Day, for example, with special gatherings. These celebrations mimicked wherever possible those that would have taken place at the Ukrainian Labour Temples. As Peter Krawchuk recalled, "there were speeches read, a delicious meal (prepared by ourselves) and also a concert program which included merry joking."¹⁸⁴

When conditions became unbearable, the men used the skills they had learned through Ukrainian Labour Temple and Party activity to successfully protest the situation. For example, after they were moved to Petawawa, the men staged demonstrations in objection to poor food and increased hostility from fascist prisoners. They were successful in drawing the attention of the authorities, who moved the men to Hull Jail near Ottawa, a facility in which they enjoyed significantly better conditions. Internee Andrew Bileski even went so far as to say that while there, the men "had a lot of fun."¹⁸⁵ According to Bileski, the men played sports, did their own cooking, had access to daily newspapers, and conducted classes in bookkeeping and political

¹⁸⁴Peter Krawchuk, *Interned Without Cause*, 68-72.

¹⁸⁵Andrew Bileski, interviewed by Doug Smith, 1984-85, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, C391-C410.

economy.¹⁸⁶ Standing up in solidarity using tactics they learned through their work with the Progressive Ukrainian community and the Party helped the men exercise at least some sense of control over the conditions of their internment.

Outside the camps, friends and family, particularly the wives of the interned, also did what they could to improve prison conditions. They provided the men with treats from home to help boost their morale and improve their material circumstances in the camps. Letters from home, though heavily censored by the Canadian authorities, relayed news about the family and friends and the activities of progressives. Mary Prokopchak's letters to her interned husband Peter, for example, were an important source of information. According to Peter Krawchuk, Prokopchak constructed her letters so that "she did not refer to people by their surnames but only by their physical appearance or by a nickname," which often allowed information that would have otherwise been censored to slip through to the men.¹⁸⁷ Information was also relayed to the men by more covert means. Produce was often wrapped in newspapers or contained concealed notes with information related to internees' circumstances and the outside world.¹⁸⁸ While in Hull Jail, the men were even able to access news from the outside world thanks to a crystal set covertly sent by the People's Coop concealed "at the bottom of a big can of cottage cheese."¹⁸⁹

Of course, some of the most important work carried out by wives

¹⁸⁶Ibid.

¹⁸⁷Peter Krawchuk, *Interned Without Cause*, 70.

¹⁸⁸Kathleen M. Repka and William Repka, "John Weir" in *Dangerous Patriots*, 62.

¹⁸⁹Kathleen M. Repka and William Repka, "Peter Krawchuk" in *Dangerous Patriots*, 59-60.

and supporters of the interned men was that directed at securing their release. The struggle, which was often coordinated and led by Progressive Ukrainian women, relied on meetings, petitions, demonstrations, delegations, and newspaper articles to advocate for the unconditional release of the Ukrainian labour leaders. Eventually, after two years of incarceration, the remaining vestiges of the Progressive Ukrainian community managed to rally a landslide of support for both the men and the return of ULFTA's properties. The government released the men throughout September and October of 1942.¹⁹⁰

Those men who chose to do so were immediately able to return to work with the movement thanks to the efforts made by members on the outside to keep the Ukrainian Left going during the early years of the war. The foundation for their return to active roles had been set by those on the outside who had quietly worked to continue the movement. While women carried out much of this work, some men on the outside, often working discreetly, also assisted in this process. Nick Hrynchyshyn was one such man. When the tide began to turn in favour of the Ukrainian Left in August of 1941, he was able to work somewhat more openly. The Ukrainian Left had had by this time a falling out with Cependa, who, along with the direction of Hrynchyshyn, had been publishing *Holos pravdy (The Voice of Truth)* as an organ for the movement.¹⁹¹ By then, however, members of the Ukrainian Left had been able to found two new Ukrainian language papers. *Ukrainski zhyttia (Ukrainian Life)* commenced publication in Toronto in August of 1941 for the Progressive Ukrainian community in Eastern Canada. By January of

¹⁹⁰Kolasky, 36

¹⁹¹Peter Krawchuk, *Interned Without Cause*, 24-25.

1942, the movement was also publishing *Ukrainske slovo (Ukrainian Word)* out of Winnipeg for members and supporters in Western Canada.¹⁹² Hrynchyshyn moved on to Toronto to assist with the rebuilding and organizational activity there.

As a result of his efforts and those of other male and female supporters, many of the released men took up their former positions or found work in newly formed institutions in an effort to rebuild what had been lost during the early years of the war. Many, like Shatulsky and Naviziwsky, went back to leadership positions as speakers and organizers. Peter Krawchuk returned to journalism, moving to Toronto to work for *Ukrainske zhyttia*. Other men, however, did not immediately take up their former positions but instead bolstered the image of the movement by supporting the Canadian war effort and aiding the fight against the spread of fascism by signing up for the armed services. When they were released from Hull Jail, John Dubno and Harry Slupski both took this route by joining the Canadian army.¹⁹³

Not all men were able to return to active support of the Ukrainian Labour Temple movement. Though freed from Hull Jail, the men and the Progressive Ukrainian community as a whole were not free from the internment experience. The trauma and realities of the length of imprisonment left lasting scars that shaped the lives of the men and their families as well as the direction the movement would take during the remainder of the war and into the postwar period. Some men never recovered physically from the experience. Michael Soviak, editor of *Farmerske zhyttia*, was ill when he was arrested, and the period and

¹⁹²Kolasky, 33.

¹⁹³Raymond Arthur Davies, *This is Our Land: Ukrainian Canadians Against Hitler* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1943), 33.

conditions of the internment only served to worsen his condition. When he was released, according to fellow internee Andrew Bileski, Sowiak was "unable to eat and in a state of collapse."¹⁹⁴ Two months after his release, Sowiak was dead.¹⁹⁵ Other men, though not physically scarred, internalized the experience of the internment in other ways. Some men—even those not interned—may have adjusted their activity or may have left the movement entirely, too fearful of the prospect of future government repression of the movement. Unfortunately, the evidence in this regard is limited so numbers are difficult to assess.

For those men who returned to the movement, however, it is clear that the period of internment served to strengthen their resolve and reinforce their belief in the need for a strong workers' movement in Canada. As a result, those men who returned to work within the Progressive Ukrainian community found their work continued to be shaped by the internment experience. For example, their participation and activism was limited because of the conditions of their release which stipulated that they not take part in or advocate on behalf of the Communist Party of Canada or other groups such as the ULFTA deemed illegal under Section 98 of the Criminal Code.¹⁹⁶ As well, with the Soviet Union an Ally, the (still illegal) Party line had also changed, rendering many male leaders and supporters of the Ukrainian Left "fiercely pro-war."¹⁹⁷ Because of this combination of circumstances, male leaders changed the tone of their speeches and activities

¹⁹⁴Andrew Bileski, interviewed by Doug Smith, 1984-85, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, C391-C410.

¹⁹⁵Ibid.

¹⁹⁶Document dated August 28, 1942 from Louis St. Laurent, Minister of Justice in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4678: "Department of Justice File re Matthew Shatulsky and Aliases," part A.

¹⁹⁷Radforth, 219.

drastically and became focussed on efforts to bolster Canada's participation in the war. As a result, no longer did leaders like Shatulsky and Naviziwsky condemn the war as imperialist. Instead they encouraged members of the Progressive Ukrainian movement to fight fascism by supporting Allied efforts in the war.¹⁹⁸

In addition to conforming to the terms of their release and the new Party line, the leaders took this tack to serve the Progressive Ukrainian movement and its members in other ways. To regain properties that had been seized by the RCMP in 1940 when the ULFTA was declared illegal, leaders realized they needed to maintain the positive reputation and favour the movement had garnered from civil liberty and religious groups which had supported the Ukrainian Left during its darkest days early in the war. In March of 1945, Naviziwsky cautioned members of the Ukrainian Left about openly supporting the Labour Progressive Party (formerly the CPC), particularly in the coming federal election. According to an RCMP source, on a recently completed organizational tour of Eastern Canada, Naviziwsky had warned "that the Ukrainian societies (communists) were not yet free from suspicion or distrust [in the opinion of] certain sections of the Canadian people."¹⁹⁹ He believed "that any participation by the Ukrainians in such controversial subjects would create sectionalism, bitterness and ill-feeling between them and large sections of the Canadian people, a situation to be avoided at all costs" while the movement was attempting to regain its property.²⁰⁰ At the same time, beyond property concerns,

¹⁹⁸Report dated February 1, 1943 re John Navizowski in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, "John Navis."

¹⁹⁹Memo to the DCI re John Navizowsky alias Navis dated Ottawa, March 19, 1945 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, "John Navis."

²⁰⁰Ibid.

with so many young men from the labour temple fighting overseas for the Allied cause, the movement and many male leaders had personal reasons to support the war effort. Many also had relatives living in war-torn areas. In the end, it was not difficult for the Ukrainian Left to be on side with the war effort after 1941. Once the Soviet Union became an Ally, the Progressive Ukrainian community, though being unable to advocate openly for communism in Canada could, through fundraising for victims of war in Ukraine and Russia, directly contribute to improving conditions in the international communist movement without fear of persecution.

With the return of these men to their former positions of power in the movement also came a return to the structure of gender roles that had existed prior to the war. For example, both *Ukrainski zhyttia* and *Ukrainske slovo*, like their predecessors, were run and staffed mainly by male members of the movement.²⁰¹ Where male control of the movement was most apparent initially, however, was with the campaign for the return of the halls. While women played important roles at the grassroots level, many of the leadership roles were held by men. The formerly interned were especially important to this effort as they represented living symbols of government repression and injustice. By heading the movement for the return of the halls, men once again solidified their control of the upper echelons of organizational power on the Ukrainian Left.

The cause of redress benefitted greatly and was ultimately successful thanks to the favor garnered by the Ukrainian Left in many

²⁰¹John Weir, "The Flaming Torch," *UC*, 1987, originally published in *UC*, October 1 and 15, 1957.

sectors of Canadian society, especially after the Soviet Union joined the Allied cause. Male leaders like Peter Prokop, John Boychuk, and John Naviziwsky were able to capitalize on this momentum.²⁰² Male leaders frequently spoke across the country and led women and rank-and-file men of the Ukrainian Left in a petition drive. At the height of their activities, the cause was able to garner unprecedented assistance from trade unions, churches, major newspapers, universities, and even from Supreme Court justice Bora Laskin.²⁰³ Thanks to this support, some 330,000 signatures were amassed demanding the return of the Ukrainian Labour Temples to the Progressive Ukrainian community.²⁰⁴ As a result of this pressure, on October 14, 1943, the government removed the ban on the ULFTA, ordering that the organization's property or the proceeds obtained through the sale of the buildings be returned.²⁰⁵ By January of 1944, the buildings that had not been sold during the course of the war were returned to the Progressive Ukrainian community.²⁰⁶ The male leaders continued to lead the struggle for restitution until May of 1945 when final settlement agreements were reached to cover damages and loss as a result of those halls that had been sold by the federal government.²⁰⁷

While the male leaders and the Progressive Ukrainian Left as a whole did not receive entirely what they hoped for and deserved, they

²⁰²Peter Krawchuk, "One of the First [Biography of John Navis]" translation by William Kardash, *UC*, May 1984 [originally published in *UZ*, 1963].

²⁰³File 14: "Mutzak, Michael" in "Biographical Notes and Related Materials" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC.

²⁰⁴*Ibid.*

²⁰⁵*The Case of the Seized Properties of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association: An Appeal for Justice.*

²⁰⁶Kolasky, 40.

²⁰⁷Kolasky, 42.

were able to use the publicity to boost the movement across Canada. As such, as the war drew to a close, the organizations of the Progressive Ukrainian community experienced a strong surge in popularity, membership, and activities. Despite the suffering and persecution they and their community experienced, male leaders, rank-and-file members, and the entire Ukrainian Left, working under a new moniker, the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC),²⁰⁸ had reason to feel November 12, 2004 at war's end.

Unfortunately for the Ukrainian Left, the popularity and favour they gained toward the end of the Second World War was not to be maintained. As the postwar period progressed, the AUUC and its related organizations began to experience a steady decline in influence, activity, and membership brought on by the Cold War, increased employment opportunities, better economic conditions for workers and farmers, and assimilation (especially among the Canadian-born generation who had grown up in the movement during the interwar years). Men's roles and activities were greatly affected by these developments. While men's involvement continued to be important, the postwar era ultimately saw its scope diminish.

After the Second World War, men's roles could be characterized by both continuity and change, though this was not experienced evenly across the board. In the interwar period, an individual man's

²⁰⁸In 1941, a new organization called the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland (UAAF) was created to replace the banned ULFTA and facilitate the Ukrainian Left's participation in the war effort. Later, to reflect the increasingly Canadian face of the movement and likely to compete with the newly-formed rival nationalist Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the UAAF soon changed its name to the Association of Canadian Ukrainians (ACU). The name was once again changed to the Association of Ukrainian Canadians (AUC) before the movement finally settled, in 1946, on the name it continues to use today, the AUUC.

experience was dependent on whether he was a leader or rank and file member or supporter. After the war, generation usurped class as the major determinant of male opportunity and activity. The degree to which change and continuity were encountered by an individual man thus depended largely on generation. Older men of the immigrant generation who had come of age during the interwar era were resistant to change and continued to hold on to the bulk of power in the Progressive Ukrainian community as they had prior to the war. Younger men as a result, found such power to be often inaccessible and opportunities for leadership limited, and they discovered themselves marginalised as a result. In some sectors of the movement Canadian-born men remained active and managed to carve out a niche for themselves. In most areas, however, younger men, found themselves excluded. Consequently, many turned away from the Progressive Ukrainian community, seeking jobs and political activity through other means. In this way, then, a stark generational divide developed between men of the immigrant and the Canadian-born generations. While other factors also contributed to the pattern of activity and ultimate decline of the Ukrainian Left at this time, the pronounced generational division among men most significantly shaped their respective experiences and opportunities as well as the overall form the movement would assume after World War II.

The division among men was manifest in economic opportunities on the Ukrainian Left. The movement continued to employ men as it had in the interwar period in a variety of positions, and with the advent of many new businesses such as the Ukrainske Knyha and Globe Tours, pressure mounted for more and more employees. While some men of the Canadian-born generation took positions with the movement, older men

continued to dominate, acting as editors for the Progressive Ukrainian community's Ukrainian and English language newspapers, as local, provincial, and national organizers, as managers and employees of businesses, and as cultural directors in Ukrainian Labour Temples across the country. For the most part, these positions continued to demand much from those who held them, and as the postwar period passed, increasingly, these jobs became less and less attractive because of the long hours and low wages the movement could afford to pay its workers. Many younger men also had access to more lucrative employment opportunities outside the movement, many of which offered pension and other benefits the Progressive Ukrainian community could not match. As such, the Ukrainian Left began to experience a great degree of difficulty attracting male employees to the fold. This problem was exacerbated by the unwillingness of the immigrant generation demonstrated to relinquish power to younger male members of the organization.

Many men returned to work in the variety of jobs after WWII that they had occupied prior to the war. Bill Philopovich returned to work as a cultural teacher after he returned from service in Europe. In the late 1940's, he worked in Calgary and Edmonton where he "taught music, dance, handled the choir, and raised funds."²⁰⁹ He later moved to Vancouver, working for the movement there until 1967 when he was asked to take a position at the Point Douglas Hall in Winnipeg.²¹⁰ He, too, continued with the movement until his retirement during the 1980's.

Given the working conditions and poor pay they encountered (and

²⁰⁹Bill Philopovich, interviewed by RLH, 1998. See also the experiences of Kosty Kostaniuk, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

²¹⁰Bill Philopovich, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

opportunities available to them for better jobs elsewhere), it is clear that many of those men who worked for the movement did so not for the money but out of sense of devotion to the goals and philosophies of the Ukrainian Left. Working conditions were often difficult in the postwar period, and the movement continued as it had in the interwar period to demand much from its employees. Myron Shatulsky, who was part of the postwar generation of cultural workers, went so far as to describe his experiences working for the movement as "a fairly exploitative labour situation."²¹¹ He remembered having a heavy workload and explained that the movement expected this level of labour from its employees. As he explained, when he was working in Winnipeg as a cultural teacher in the late 1950's, he served from Monday to Sunday from September to June, putting in eight hour days, with additional time spent on evenings and weekends teaching various subjects. For this, according to Shatulsky, he received "two weeks paid holidays and for the rest of the summer had to look for another source of income."²¹²

Increasingly, because of pay and working conditions, it became difficult for the movement to attract male workers to the cause, particularly from among the Canadian-born generation, and dialogue frequently focused on these issue at conventions and other venues. For example, during a discussion at the Twelfth Annual AUUC National Convention held in April of 1966, several men raised the issues of wages and working conditions. One delegate demanded that he and other members of the National Executive Committee be given a raise, explaining, "that he will not be able to work for the organization much longer at \$65.00 a

²¹¹Myron Shatulsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998. See also experiences of Bill Philopovich, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

²¹²Myron Shatulsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

week." He continued, complaining that in Edmonton, the branch he represented, they would no longer have a cultural director after the current year because "we have the personnel who are capable of doing an excellent job, but not for the salary we pay them. People who are employed in industry receive a larger pension when they retire than what we receive in wages."²¹³

Despite such concerns being raised, few changes or improvements resulted in job conditions or wages. Instead, male leaders of the Ukrainian Left addressed the problem in other ways. For example, because they could be paid less, women were often hired to work for the movement's businesses in clerical and sales positions at the People's Coop in Winnipeg and for Globe Tours and the Knyha across Canada. While this gave many Canadian-born women the opportunity for paid work with the organizations of the Progressive Ukrainian communities, it did little to address problems male (or female) workers encountered, particularly those related to job status and remuneration.

Many younger men would likely have continued to work with the Ukrainian Left despite low pay if they felt they had a fighting chance at higher ranking leadership positions and had a voice in organizational matters. However, because older men were unwilling to relinquish their hold on these positions and welcome in younger men, many of the Canadian-born found themselves frustrated. Canadian-born Zenovy Nykolyshyn found that a general "feeling of unwelcome" emerged by the 1960's towards members of his generation.²¹⁴ According to Nykolyshyn, many members of the immigrant generation "felt that before they could

²¹³Report dated April 6, 1966 re AUUC 12th National Convention, 1966 at Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 128.

²¹⁴Zenovy Nykolyshyn, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

pass the torch to the Canadian-born, they would have to teach them for at least two to three years," which, he asserts, was unnecessary, because the younger men had already acquired these skills through organizational involvement, often from having grown up in the organization or having taken leadership courses. When he challenged the organizational methods of the immigrant generation, he found that his questioning...caused problems" which led to his being "given less and less responsibility,"²¹⁵ Nykolyshyn went so far as to suggest that "if there had been a Siberia for the older members to send the younger members, many would have been sent there."²¹⁶ Because of these attitudes, Nykolyshyn abandoned a career with the movement and he and his wife for many years chose to remain active only in the AUUC bowling league. He returned to organizational work during 1977 around the time that the aging immigrant generation began to "realize they needed the young people."²¹⁷ Nonetheless, he found intergenerational conflict persisted for another twenty years until the early 1990's, at which time "the old-timers [many of whom were by then in their eighties] left the leadership" of most of the organizations of the Ukrainian Left.²¹⁸ That Nykolyshyn was still involved was unusual. For many more men, because of intergenerational differences, continued poor wages and working conditions, and better economic opportunities elsewhere, the Progressive Ukrainian community became an increasingly unattractive employer during the postwar period. As a result, in addition to declining membership numbers, the movement experienced a diminished cadre of male workers as

²¹⁵Ibid.

²¹⁶Ibid.

²¹⁷Ibid.

²¹⁸Zenovy Nykolyshyn, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

the postwar era wore on.

In terms of organizational leadership, a similar division occurred among men of the Progressive Ukrainian community. Younger men encountered comparable difficulties in acquiring power and leadership in the Ukrainian Left in its cultural-educational organization, the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, the entity founded to replace the former ULFTA as the central organizing unit of the movement during the war. In many ways, Canadian-born men found that their status and power in the organization were more on par, not with that of older men, but with women of either generation and youngsters. This was because the Immigrant generation of men controlled the AUUC, excluded those who only spoke English by conducting their work in the Ukrainian language, and displayed a lack of confidence in the abilities of younger men to properly carry out organizational or leadership functions.

After the war, what had been the ULFTA branch came to be known as the AUUC Branch and, more often, the Men's Branch. However, despite the inclusive-sounding nature of its name, the Men's Branch did not include (or welcome) all men to its ranks. Generally, those Immigrant generation men who had been members of the ULFTA prior to the war continued to remain active in the Men's Branch. Canadian-born men, however, were often excluded from the Men's Branch. These younger men, insufficiently proficient in Ukrainian and often preferring to work with people their own age with whom they had grown up in youngsters' branches, tended to turn to the English-speaking Branches which were formed after the war to serve the needs and interests of the Canadian-born. Through the English-speaking Branches, younger men, unlike their Immigrant Generation counterparts, worked not only with other men but

also side-by-side with women of their generation in their organizational efforts.

Their exclusion from the Men's Branch had serious ramifications for the Canadian-born generation of men, particularly where the potential for organizational leadership and power were concerned. This is because the Men's Branch controlled the AUUC—and the movement in general—at the local and national levels. For example, in Calgary, according to an RCMP informant, "the Men's Branch is the governing body of the other branches in Calgary....In addition to controlling the activities of the Men's Branch, it is also responsible for organizing and coordinating all activities of the various AUUC branches locally."²¹⁹ Thus, not only did they control their own work, but the Immigrant generation of the Men's Branch also shaped the work of all other groups tied to the Ukrainian Left. In the postwar era, then, the Men's Branch and the immigrant men who made up the primary membership forces maintained their hold on the basis of power in the Ukrainian Left.

As a result of their marginalised status on the Ukrainian Left and membership in the English-speaking Branches, Canadian-born men seemed to have experiences that mirrored those of women in the organization. In some cases, the ways in which they organized themselves took on a shape similar to the organizational structure of women's groups. In some localities, for example, it seemed that in tandem with the English-speaking Branch's Young Women's Clubs there were, usually for a short time, Young Men's Clubs. Winnipeg, for example, had one such club for English-speaking men. The group seems to have formed in 1947 on the

²¹⁹Report dated July 13, 1962 re AUUC - Calgary, Alberta in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3818: "AUUC - Women's Branch, Calgary, Alta.," part 2.

suggestion of local leader and member of the Young Women's Club Mary Kardash. That year, in October, the club held a Men's Tea which raised \$86 for AUUC activities. The club still appeared to be operating in 1962 at which time a coffee party was hosted by the Young Men's Club at the Eaton's Assembly Hall consisting of "a costume display, touch-and-take table, and sale of home cooking."²²⁰

While not on par in terms of power with their immigrant generation counterparts and working in a sector of the movement that enjoyed limited power--usually at the grassroots level--Canadian-born men were still able to eke out some measure of authority for themselves within the English-speaking Branch. Probably the most significant ways in which this was demonstrated was in how these younger men used the English-speaking Branch to shape their organizational life according to their interests, which, as the postwar period wore on, came to be focussed less on political work (as the Men's Branch often was) and more on social and cultural activities. For example, in Winnipeg, the men of the English-speaking Branch organized a fishing club in 1962.²²¹ Two years later in 1964, they worked with female members of the branch to run a bowling league.²²² Their Toronto counterparts in 1968 took part in weightlifting classes at the local Ukrainian Labour Temple.²²³ In these

²²⁰Executive Meetings, October 10, 1947 and November 14, 1947 in AUUC English-speaking Branch [Winnipeg] #324 Minutes, 1947-48 and Envelope labelled "AUUC Provincial Women's Committee, Records of Meetings, November 1959-June 1961-February 1963 in WBA Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

²²¹Executive meeting, February 13, 1962 and Annual Membership Meeting of English-speaking Branch, February 11, 1962 in AUUC English-speaking Branch [Winnipeg] Minutes, circa 1960's, WBA Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

²²²Ibid.

²²³"Club 326 Calendar of Activities for 1968 in Vol 13, File 3, AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC.

ways, then, Canadian-born men found in the English-speaking Branch a venue in which they could freely express their interests in social activities within the Progressive Ukrainian community.

Many Canadian-born men were happy to be active only in the English-speaking Branch especially since many were uninterested in the emphasis on political organization so central to the work of their fathers and grandfathers active in the Men's Branch. The Men's Branch, for example, tended to function as it had in the interwar years as a liaison between the Ukrainian Left and the CPC. Moreover, for the most part after the war, the Men's Branches activities were coordinated much as they had been in the interwar era. Lectures and meetings continued, but topics of discussion shifted from concern to exact revolution to subjects more relevant to the contemporary interests and situation of Ukrainian and Ukrainian Canadian men in Canada. For example, concerns about peace and the threat of nuclear war were frequently discussed. At a meeting of the Men's Branch in Edmonton, Alberta held in 1957 (which undoubtedly must have especially alarmed the RCMP informant sent there to monitor signs of subversive activity), those in attendance heard a "lengthy lecture on atomic power" which included "a very detailed lecture on the component parts and workings of the atomic bomb, how it was made, its power, and what elements are used."²²⁴ While this topic might have appealed to some of the Canadian-born men, many were happy to avoid the frequent "educationals," against which, as we shall see, they had, as youngsters in the organizations voted with their feet when these

²²⁴Report dated April 29, 1957 re Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, Branch no. 2, Edmonton, Alberta in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3818: "AUUC Men's Branch No. 2, Edmonton, Alta., corresp. to 5-6-58," part 1.

activities were presented to them in Junior or Youth Section branch work.

Interestingly, while Canadian-born men tended to suffer from marginalization in terms of paid labour and branch life, one area in which they found their status increase was in the field of cultural activity. This came at the expense of men of the immigrant generation, particularly in the field of drama. After the war few younger members spoke Ukrainian well enough to participate in or enjoy watching Ukrainian language plays. Plays also waned in popularity because of the competition in the postwar era from numerous professional theatre companies and other forms of public leisure activity. While the odd play continued to be produced, the occurrence of theatrical productions never returned to the scale and frequency with which they had taken place prior to the war. Moreover, immigrant generation men's status as cultural participants was further eroded with the emphasis that came to be placed on forms of Ukrainian cultural expression for which no language skills were necessary. In particular, women's activities, particularly with regard to Ukrainian embroidery and food preparation, took on a newfound significance since these were readily associated with the Ukrainian community, accessible to Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian Canadians alike, generally well-received, and important for raising much needed monies for the movement. Younger men, educated in both the Canadian school system and on the Ukrainian Left benefited from an understanding of both the immigrant and Canadian-born generations. They were able to apply this to cultural activities in the movement, and those who were willing to endure the difficult working conditions they often encountered were crucial to shaping the development of new forms

of cultural work and expression in the postwar period.

The importance of Canadian-born men to cultural activities could be felt at both the local and national levels of the movement, and some key younger men came to the fore as important cultural leaders at this time. Two such Canadian-born men were Myron Shatulsky and Eugene Dolny. Both possessed talents they had honed growing up in the Ukrainian Left participating in cultural activities as children and youth. As well, as we shall see, like many other Progressive Ukrainian young men of their generation, they benefited from the opportunity to study abroad in the Soviet Union as travel opened up after the war. Dolny and Shatulsky were sent to Soviet Ukraine after they finished a leadership development course held by the AUUC in 1951. According to Shatulsky, during his three year stay he studied "choral and orchestral conducting and dance."²²⁵ Afterwards, he returned to Canada and was assigned to work in Winnipeg where he "organized choirs, a school of folkdancing, and conducted orchestra."²²⁶ During the course of this work, he combined his experiences as a Canadian-born man with the Ukrainian cultural traditions, increasingly, shaping cultural activities to centre not only on Ukrainian folk culture but also on folk music from contemporary popular culture and from traditions of other national groups. Work by men like Shatulsky helped to insure continued interest and participation in cultural activity at the local level.

The importance of Canadian-born men like Dolny and Shatulsky as cultural teachers and organizers could extend past the local level as well. Nationally, these younger men were important in assisting with

²²⁵Myron Shatulsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

²²⁶Ibid.

one of the most significant new forms of cultural expression to emerge in the postwar period for the Ukrainian Left, the national festival. In 1961 Shatulsky and Dolny coordinated the cultural component of one of the most important national celebrations in the postwar history of the AUUC, the Shevchenko Year. Held to commemorate the centenary of the death of Shevchenko in 1961, across the country, celebrations took place at the local and provincial level throughout the spring culminating in a National Festival of Ukrainian Song, Music, and Dance and a Festival Picnic at the AUUC Camp Palermo in July²²⁷ Dolny and Shatulsky, in particular, contributed a great deal of skill and effort to the coordination of cultural presentations at the festival. Dolny acted as coordinator and conductor of the main concert while Shatulsky choreographed a 'Canadian Suite.'²²⁸ According to a description of the presentation, the "original and unique work," featured "fragments from a number of national dances--Ukrainian, Russian, Scottish, Indian, French, Slovak."²²⁹ The ambitious suite, which included over 200 dancers, reflected the increased tendency of younger organizers in the postwar era to combine elements of Ukrainian Canadian culture with Canadian cultural activity as well as that of other national groups.

While younger men may have been able to make significant inroads in the field of cultural expression, formal political expression continued to be the preserve, for the most part, of Immigrant generation men in the Progressive Ukrainian community. Positions of political leadership, like organizational leadership tended to remain squarely in

²²⁷Peter Krawchuk, *Our Stage: The Amateur Performing Arts of the Ukrainian Settlers in Canada* (Toronto: Kobzar, 1984), 278.

²²⁸Ibid., 280.

²²⁹Steve Macievich as quoted in Peter Krawchuk, *Our Stage*, 280.

the hands of those men who had led the movement in the interwar era. They continued to maintain ties with the CPC, often acting simultaneously as they had in the interwar period as leaders of the Ukrainian Left and the Party. Here, too, those younger men who might have wanted to be more actively involved in this facet of movement life found themselves frustrated at their inability to break into the political hierarchy of the Progressive Ukrainian community. This alienated many Canadian-born men who might have enthusiastically participated. Other members of the Canadian-born generation, finding that the priorities and concerns of the Party did not speak to them politically, turned to other groups for political expression. As the decades passed, the New Left, the Peace Movement, and Civil Rights causes came to be more attractive outlets for individuals concerned with social justice and leftist politics, particularly for those members of the Canadian-born generations. Overall, the Party and the Ukrainian Left as a progressive political force declined over the postwar era. Conditions brought about by the Cold War and events occurring in communist countries combined with those found internally in the Progressive Ukrainian community to ensure indifference or hostility to the Party and traditional methods of political expression on the Ukrainian Left.

A complicated and often turbulent relationship existed between the Progressive Ukrainian movement and the Party in the postwar period as it had in the interwar period. Likely because of what the Ukrainian Left had experienced with the internments and ban during the war, in terms of rhetoric, it would appear that the Progressive Ukrainian male leaders continued as they had during the war to maintain a more subtle official

connection with the Party. As far as the AUUC was concerned, the organization attempted, while still being politicized, officially to distance itself from direct associations with the various manifestations of the CPC. This is evident from an article that appeared in the November 1, 1948 edition of the *Ukrainian Canadian*. In it, AUUC leader and CPC supporter John Weir described the link between the AUUC and the Canadian political system. Taking on the persona of a father talking to his son, Weir's character emphasized, "we're not a political party and we don't put up candidates. But that doesn't mean we're neutral in elections." Weir explained, "Very often our Association publicly calls for the defeat of candidates who represent interests opposed to our people." Moreover, "when a candidate is running who stands for the things we support, our members usually are very active in trying to get him elected, and often our Association officially endorses such a candidate and works for him."²³⁰

Despite such attempts at distance, however, it is clear that the AUUC openly supported the CPC in ways other than simply supporting its candidates. Male AUUC leaders, for example, persisted in supporting the international communist movement by consistently presenting the USSR in a positive light—even when strong evidence to the contrary existed—in its newspapers and speeches at events across Canada. For instance, in an interview for *Ukrainski zhyttia* after a visit to the Soviet Union in 1947, Weir emphasized, as leaders had in the 1930's, the importance of Stalin and the high esteem in which he was allegedly held in the Soviet Union. Weir claimed that everywhere they went, he and his fellow

²³⁰John Weir, "About the AUUC: What are our Politics?" *UC*, November 1, 1948.

travelers observed "intense love for the leader of the Soviet people, Stalin....Such a passionate, warm, filial love for one's leader I have seen nowhere on the face of this earth."²³¹

In addition to bolstering the Soviet Union, male leaders engaged in other kinds of Party work. The Party continued to play a key role in hall life in labour temples across Canada, and male leaders of the Progressive Ukrainian community often turned to activist models developed by the Party for educational and political support. For example, in the immediate postwar period, leaders of the AUUC, when on tour or working in their branches, encouraged the formation of Party clubs and Party work in the labour temples.²³² In many localities it is clear that the Party and the AUUC, particularly Immigrant generation men's groups, enjoyed a close relationship. In Edmonton, Alberta, for example, joint meetings often took place between the LPP and the AUUC Men's Branch at the AUUC's Ukrainian Centre. In October of 1958, a meeting took place there "in preparation for a Banquet to be held during the LPP Provincial Convention" where Leslie Morris spoke "about his recent visit to the USSR and other European countries."²³³ Clearly, for some time, despite official rhetoric to the contrary, the Party and the Ukrainian Left continued to enjoy close ties.

Nonetheless, as was the case in the interwar era, the Ukrainian Left's relationship to the Party remained heated. One of the most

²³¹UZ, March 20, 1947 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4677: "Matthew Shatulsky," part 4.

²³²Report dated November 7, 1950 from Bill Harasym to William Teresio in Vol 24, File 10: "Harasym, William," in "Correspondence - Individuals," in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC.

²³³Report re Labour-Progressive Party, Edmonton, Alta. dated November 6, 1958 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3818: "AUUC Men's Branch No. 2, Edmonton, Alta. corresp. to 6-6-58 to 9-5-62," part 2.

significant problems continued to be related to the issue of Ukrainian culture and language expression. This time, unlike in the late 1920's and 1930's, tensions did not revolve around the internal workings of the Progressive Ukrainian community and its efforts at cultural preservation and expression in Canada. Instead, the issue centred on the situation for Ukrainians living in Soviet Ukraine. Just as they had in the interwar period, many male leaders of the Ukrainian Left refused to sell out their Ukrainianness to tow the Party line.

The most serious shake-up between the Ukrainian Left and the CPC came in 1967 over the issue of Russification in Soviet Ukraine. Over the course of the postwar era, charges made by displaced persons, concerns brought back by tourists (many of whom had associations with the AUUC) who had visited Soviet Ukraine, and accusations made by former CPC and AUUC member John Kolasky brought to the surface controversy over the Russification of Ukraine. Many male leaders of the Ukrainian Left began to demand answers, and they mounted pressure on the Party to address this issue.

In 1967, the Party finally succumbed. According to Ivan Avakumovic, "they accepted the idea of a delegation to the Ukraine, but arranged for it to include [Tim] Buck and William Ross, the leader of the CPC in Manitoba, in addition to Communists of Ukrainian extraction."²³⁴ From the Ukrainian camp came George Solomon, Peter Krawchuk, Anthony Bilecki, and Bill Harasym.²³⁵ The delegation toured the Soviet Union for three weeks, speaking to party and government

²³⁴Avakumovic, 264-265.

²³⁵"Report of the Delegation to Ukraine: Central Committee Meeting--September 16, 17, and 18, 1967" in *Viewpoint* [Discussion Bulletin Issued by the Central Executive Committee, Communist Party of Canada], January 1968.

officials about the Ukrainian national question. They also visited Ukrainian villages and cities to see for themselves the state of Ukraine and, in particular, the Ukrainian language.

When they returned, the delegation submitted a report, which, because of its potentially explosive nature, "was not published in the *Canadian Tribune*, but only in an internal bulletin distributed to party members."²³⁶ According to the report, there were many problems with Russian being the official language of use in Ukraine. They admitted that, while there had been some improvements over the previous years, there was still much work to do to ensure the presence and use of Ukrainian in Ukraine. Implying that the Ukrainian language was marginalised in Ukraine, the report asserted, "The Ukrainian language has to be encouraged, promoted, and developed in all areas of life in Ukraine. It is not to be forced upon the people, whether of Ukrainian, Russian, or other origins, but the climate has to be created for its freest flourishing and interdevelopment with other languages and cultures."²³⁷

Naturally, the report was the source of a great deal of controversy, and it created a great stir in the Party in Canada and in the USSR. Part of this came because its findings seemed to support the claims of displaced persons and other opponents of communism and the Soviet Union. The report was especially internally divisive for the CPC. An official history of the Party in Canada argued, for example, that the document "caused a great deal of harm to the party" because "it

²³⁶Avakumovic, 265.

²³⁷"Report of the Delegation to Ukraine: Central Committee Meeting-September 16, 17, and 18, 1967 in *Viewpoint* [Discussion Bulletin Issued by the Central Executive Committee, Communist Party of Canada], January 1968.

tended to dwell on negative phenomena, on past and present mistakes and shortcomings" and consequently "tended to give a distorted picture of life in the Soviet Union."²³⁸ In terms of the history of the Party and the Ukrainian Left, the report stands as another example of how for many male leaders of the Ukrainian Left their politics were inextricably linked with being of Ukrainian descent. Though heavily pressured by both the CPC and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian leaders refused to back down or retract their findings. Just as they had in 1931, male leaders of the Progressive Ukrainian community stood up against the Party, refusing to tow the Party line where the preservation and defense of Ukrainian language and culture was concerned.

The report contributed to negative feelings about the Party among many in the Progressive Ukrainian community. This, coupled with other problems that the Party had already been facing throughout the postwar era hastened its decline as an important political force among many on the Ukrainian Left. By the later 1950's, for example, it was apparent that the relationship between the Party and the Ukrainian Left was beginning to fragment and even sour. 'McCarthyism' and the general rise in the Cold War did much to dissuade men from coming to the halls. Many male leaders and members often found themselves the target of intense red-baiting during the Cold War. When the Timmins AUUC group attempted to rent the local high school auditorium to hold a Golden Jubilee Summer Festival in 1962, local school trustee Joe Behie attacked the organization based on its communist reputation. Behie, calling the AUUC

²³⁸*Canada's Party of Socialism: History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1921-1976* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1982), 238.

"a Communist organization," said in the local press, "to hell with that sort of thing. [Local AUUC leader] Nick Hubaly is one of the top Commies in town. I do not want the board to rent the hall [to them]."²³⁹ Events such as Khrushchev's revelations about the atrocities of Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Union in 1956, the Hungarian Revolution of the same year, and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 also drove away members and supporters who disagreed with Soviet actions.²⁴⁰

In tandem with the decline of the Party came an overall decline of the Progressive Ukrainian community as site for men's activism after the war. For those younger men who might have remained politically active, assimilation meant that those who spoke and felt most comfortable working in English could turn to a variety of other political, social, and cultural activities for entertainment and political expression. Improved economic conditions for workers, especially male workers, in the prosperous postwar economy generally meant that men who might have turned to a labour temple or AUUC business for employment could look elsewhere for more lucrative opportunities. Many could also, as a result of this prosperity, afford to move out of working-class neighbourhoods, making continued involvement with the movement difficult.²⁴¹

²³⁹Joe Behie as quoted in "Timmins AUUC Battles for a Concert Hall," *UC*, April 15, 1962. See also the experiences of Mitch Sago who was attacked while on tour in Vancouver, *UC*, February 15, 1962.

²⁴⁰RCMP Annual Report for Ontario Concerning the AUUC in 1974 re AUUC - Canada in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3756: "Association of United Ukrainian Canadians--National Executive Committee Canada," part 21, page 98.

²⁴¹Such was the case for Gertrude Zukowsky's husband who had been active in labour temple activities prior to the war. Once they were married, though, both ceased to be active at the hall since, as she explained, "by the time he got home from work, it was too late and we lived too far away to be involved." See Gertrude Zukowsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

Further compounding the problem of membership numbers was the fact that the Ukrainian Left was unable to recruit from the postwar wave of Ukrainian Displaced Persons, some 8,000 of whom came to Canada between 1946 and 1952. Mutual hostility existed between this group and the Progressive Ukrainian community, with the male leaders of the latter often accusing the former of war crimes.²⁴² The final nail in the membership coffin came with the continued unwillingness of older male leaders to relinquish power to the Canadian-born generation of men.

As a result of these issues, by the 1960's and 1970's interest and activity began to wane in the Ukrainian Left. This was especially evident in formerly important Progressive Ukrainian institutions such as the Men's Branch. In 1965 at the branch's annual meeting, an Edmonton Men's Branch leader complained "about the poor attendance at meetings," saying "there are few members who attend regularly and this is a very unfortunate situation."²⁴³ At this time across Canada, increased cooperation with Women's Branches became apparent as both sections of the immigrant generation began to note a significant decline in numbers. Eventually, in many places as membership dwindled, this joint work resulted in a merging of the two branches into one AUUC branch. By the 1970's the RCMP characterized the AUUC as an organization "primarily...made up of old timers."²⁴⁴

²⁴²Letter Dated May 4, 1949 from William Teresio and Peter Prokopchak to Louis St. Laurent in Vol 25, File 26: "William Teresio, 1948-49," in "Correspondence - Individuals," in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC.

²⁴³Report dated January 20, 1965 re Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, Branch no. 2, Edmonton, Alberta in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3818: "AUUC Men's Branch No. 2, Edmonton, Alta., corresp. to 12-2-64 to 19-5-65, incl.," part 4.

²⁴⁴RCMP Annual Report for Ontario Concerning the AUUC in 1974 re AUUC - Canada in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3756: "Association of United Ukrainian Canadians--National Executive Committee Canada," part

Nonetheless, the rapid downturn in the Ukrainian Left's fortunes, particularly where male participation was concerned, cannot diminish the overall significance of the movement for Progressive Ukrainian men during Canada's twentieth century. Men enjoyed distinct experiences with the movement which were shaped by a complex combination of gender, class, ethnicity, and, in the community's later years, generation. For men of the founding immigrant generation, the movement served to validate their experiences as exploited workers and gave them an outlet through which to express their frustration as well as a venue in which their sense of Ukrainianness could be exhibited. Among the male leadership of this cohort, masculinity was defined by active preservation of Ukrainian culture as well as energetic participation in political activism through membership in the CPC. For rank-and-file men, their sense of manhood was demonstrated through similar values, though they often rejected the strident political qualities of the male leadership, choosing instead to express their Progressive Ukrainianness through social and cultural activism. Younger men of the Canadian-born generation challenged both the Immigrant generation leadership and rank-and-file's definitions of ideal Progressive Ukrainian manhood, choosing instead to define their sense of manhood and community membership through experiences garnered growing up on both the Ukrainian Left and as first and subsequent generation Canadians. As a result, a heterogenous male experience is evident over the course of the movement's history.

While men differed from one another depending upon the category in which their experiences fit best, so, too, did their experiences diverge

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from those of Progressive Ukrainian women and youngsters. No matter what positions they held or to what generation they belonged, men consistently had greater opportunities to gain power in the movement and held the vast majority of leadership positions. Moreover, because of the intersection of class with ethnicity, Progressive Ukrainian men also shaped their political activism differently than other leftist men. Culture and politics were often inextricably linked for many Progressive Ukrainian men, and the movement as a whole was unwilling to sacrifice its Ukrainian characteristics and expression in order to satisfy the priorities of the political movements, most notably the CPC, to which it was attached.

Men then, like women and youngsters, played a critical role in creating, shaping, and defining the Ukrainian Left over the course of the twentieth century. Though part of a radical movement, one meant to defend the rights of the working classes, their many roles in the Ukrainian Labour Temples tended to mirror and reinforce rather than challenge notions of gender relations and masculinity that dominated both traditional Ukrainian society and Canadian society as a whole. As such, they enjoyed a broader base of power and control of the Ukrainian Left in Canada. Within this power base, however, an individual man's experience was shaped by other crucial variables including class, ethnicity, and generation. As a result, a complex and complicated Progressive Ukrainian male experience is evident throughout the history of the Progressive Ukrainian community in Canada over the course of the twentieth century.

Raising Funds and Class Consciousness:
Women and the Progressive Ukrainian Community

"...working women must become aware and find why it is so that to save souls with the Bible is to die of starvation....If we, women, get educated, then we will see that the truth is not in the Bible but in class conscious laborer's [sic] organizations. Those women who get the light must become the teachers of their children, in order that the children should know how their fathers lived."

-Letter to the Editor, *Ukrainski robotnychi visti*, December 1, 1922²⁴⁵

"It would be unpardonable to relay the events of our conference without referring to the delicious dinner prepared by the Lachine Women's Section of the AUUC. The table was very daintily set up and the food could not have tasted better. Why, with *holubtsi*, *shnitsli*, butter carrots, cauliflower, fresh tomatoes, dilled pickles, cole slaw, tea cake and chocolate ice cream--what more could we ask?"

-Mary Myscough, "Lively Conference Plans Work in Montreal Area" in *Ukrainian Canadian*, October 15, 1948²⁴⁶

"...so the women can relax for once in fifty years."

-1971 Planning Document explaining why the dinner celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the AUUC Women's Branch should be held in a hotel banquet facility and not at the Toronto Ukrainian Labour Temple²⁴⁷

Women played critical roles in the formation and development of the Ukrainian Left in Canada. Within the movement, women, like men, were active participants in cultural, social and political activities like choir, drama, orchestra, socials, banquets, parties, political rallies, strike support, and peace protests. Despite similarities in the nature of their involvement with the Ukrainian Left, the degree of involvement and opportunity an individual woman enjoyed was defined, like that of men, significantly by the intersection of gender with class

²⁴⁵Letter from URV dated December 1, 1922 (RCMP translation) in Report re "Ukrainian Labor Temple Association--Women's Branch, Winnipeg and District," dated Nov. 1, 1922 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792, "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba", part 1.

²⁴⁶Mary Myscough, "Lively Conference Plans Work in Montreal Area," *UC*, October 15, 1948.

²⁴⁷AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC.

and ethnicity.

Overall, women tended to be relegated to positions of lesser authority and power than men, particularly male leaders. Although male rank-and-file members also shared a similar position in the Progressive Ukrainian community, male members, regardless of their station in the movement, had the opportunity to move up in the organizations of the Ukrainian Left if they so chose to work in that direction. For women, however, because of proscribed gender roles within the movement and the community, responsibilities in the home, and, for some, a need to work for pay outside the home, such opportunity was relatively limited. As such, women as a group experienced the Ukrainian Left differently than men.

One of the most significant ways in which women's secondary status was manifest was in the activities with which women tended to be most involved. Despite the radical nature of the progressive Ukrainian community, women's roles and activities typically mirrored and reinforced traditional European gender models, particularly during the interwar era of the movement's history. Then, women's participation was framed largely through traditional peasant female roles as wives and mothers. While still involved in many activities that men were, most often, women were encouraged-and preferred-to function in a support capacity--cooking for meetings or conventions, holding bake sales, bazaars, or canvassing to raise money for the movement, or cleaning the hall and making and laundering costumes for drama productions. As such, the ways in which women practised and expressed their activism and Ukrainianness were different than men.

During the Second World War, women were needed to take on

additional responsibilities, particularly in unprecedented roles as leaders, because so many male members and leaders were away, serving overseas or incarcerated by the federal government as a threat to national security. Circumstances thus dictated a temporary shift in gender roles. As male leaders were gradually released or returned from overseas, older women's roles and responsibilities reverted back to what they had been prior to the war. At this time, however, a new, younger cohort of women, many of whom had come to the fore during the war, held on to some of the power women enjoyed during the war and continued in active roles as leaders and activists on the Ukrainian Left. Able to function in both English and Ukrainian, these women were comfortable conducting their work both inside the Ukrainian Left and in conjunction with external women's groups. Moreover, having grown up in Canada, they were less limited by the peasant cultural baggage and resulting gender limitations that had hampered women of the Ukrainian Left's founding immigrant generation.

Nonetheless, in many ways, these younger women still experienced more difficulty than male members did in accessing power and opportunity within the movement. Those who did attain an upper level position tended to be exceptions to the rule, often only able to do so because they were willing to coordinate women's or children's work at the national level or because, as single and/or child-free women, they were unencumbered by familial responsibilities. Furthermore, while their presence and activism was significant, it, along with the increased authority and responsibility women enjoyed during the war, did little to change or enhance women's overall traditional place and methods of activism in the movement. Continuity rather than change therefore

characterized women's work in the postwar period.

Just as Progressive Ukrainian women had experiences that paralleled those of their male counterparts, so, too, were their experiences similar to those of other socialist women, particularly with regard to the important support roles they played and the lack of power at their disposal. Despite these similarities, however, Progressive Ukrainian women, because of the influence of ethnicity on gender, tended to experience their political and social lives differently than other socialist women. Typically, though the Ukrainian Left was affiliated with radical organizations, the most obvious of which was the Communist Party of Canada, most women on the Ukrainian Left preferred to conduct their activism and spend their leisure time with activities coordinated by and within the Progressive Ukrainian community. This was especially evident during the interwar phase of the movement's history when cultural maintenance was a priority and language was an insurmountable barrier for many women of the immigrant generation. Though language ceased to be a hindrance for subsequent generations of Ukrainian-Canadian women, many still continued to devote their activist and leisure time to options provided through the Progressive Ukrainian community because of familial ties and the movement's emphasis on expression and preservation of Ukrainian culture. Examples of solidarity with women outside the Ukrainian Left were certainly evident to varying degrees throughout the movement's history. For the most part, though, cultural solidarity and interests dictated the venue in which women of the Progressive Ukrainian community expressed their activism.

Despite the limited formal authority and power they possessed,

Progressive Ukrainian women, like other radical women, still succeeded in shaping and directing their work according to their particular interests and priorities, oftentimes coming into conflict with those of male leaders. This action was sometimes overt. At times, usually sporadically and spontaneously and inspired by isolated instances of individual men's bad behaviour, women protested the marginal status they enjoyed and the oppression they faced as women within the Progressive Ukrainian movement. While certainly acting as a critique of male domination of the political hierarchy of the Ukrainian Left, this type of protest, given its unplanned nature and lack of broader theoretical underpinnings and base of support, did little to change women's overall station in the Progressive Ukrainian community. After the Second World War, younger female leaders of the Canadian-born generation of Progressive Ukrainian women came to articulate a socialist-feminist point of view which managed to regularly make its way into the publications and activities of the Ukrainian Left. Nonetheless, while they were able to convince the male-dominated leadership of the Progressive Ukrainian community to support their efforts, at least formally, the presence of this feminist discourse did little to shift the gendered power structure of the movement as a whole.

In terms of resistance to male domination, more effective, though not overtly critical of Progressive Ukrainian women's oppression, were the many subtle and likely unconscious ways women acted to shape and direct their work and activism. Women exerted agency in their labour temple involvement by opting not to attend political meetings or activities that failed to address their interests as working-class Ukrainian women or by carefully choosing the causes or events to which

they might donate time and effort. Though limited in the overall power they possessed relative to male members of the movement, through the choices they made with regard to the activities they pursued, women eked out a space where they could practise their activism and define what it meant to be a Progressive Ukrainian woman on their own terms.

Ukrainian women, Progressive or otherwise, have received little attention from historians, and, in general, femininity or masculinity remain largely unexplored as variables that shaped the Ukrainian experience in Canada. Most books on Ukrainians in Canada consider the pioneer experience, political and religious divisions, community formation, the relationship with Ukraine, and cultural preservation, usually from a male-centred perspective.²⁴⁸ Other than in a handful of books, usually produced to celebrate a significant community event or milestone or featuring prominent or exceptional women, women are largely absent from the history of Ukrainians and Ukrainian Canadians.²⁴⁹ The women that do appear in these works tend to be exceptional: they are generally among the few who fulfilled some leadership role in the

²⁴⁸Some examples include Jaroslav Petryshyn's *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891-1914* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1985), Myrna Kostash's, *All of Baba's Children* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977), Orest Subtelny's, *Ukrainians in North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), Jars Balan's, *Salt and Braided Bread: Ukrainian Life in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1984), and Vera Lysenko's, *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1947).

²⁴⁹Recent examples include Natalie Ostryzniuk's "Savella Stechishin, an Ethnocultural Feminist, and Ukrainian Culture in Saskatchewan" (*Saskatchewan History* [Canada] 1999 51(2): 12-28), Beverly Rasporich's "Vera Lysenko's Fictions: Engendering Prairie Spaces" (*Prairie Forum* [Canada] 1991 16(2): 249-263). Examples of such literature produced by the Ukrainian Left are Peter Krawchuk's *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope: Stories of Ukrainian Canadian Women Pioneers* (Toronto: Kobzar, 1991) and Peter Prokopchak's history of the ULFTA/AUUC Women's Branches entitled *Al'manakh p'iatdesiatyrychchia zhinochykh viddiliv Tovarystva ob'iednanykh ukraïns'kykh kanadtsiv, 1922-1972* (Toronto: Kobzar, 1976).

community, while ordinary women of Ukrainian descent are largely absent from the picture of the experience of Ukrainians in Canada. Certainly, part of this comes because it is difficult to get at the voices of Ukrainian women. So many available sources were written or controlled by men in some capacity, there were few female leaders compared to male ones, and many women of the immigrant generation were illiterate and did not leave behind written documentation of their lives. Most important, however, is that male experiences, particularly those of male leaders, continue to be treated as normative, "neutral," and reflective of the entire community's history, and it continues to be acceptable to frame projects from a male perspective.²⁵⁰

A noteworthy exception to this rule is, of course, Frances Swyripa's *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (1993). Here, Swyripa sets out to analyse "female images, roles, and myths as cultivated by the [Ukrainian Canadian communities]--at both the elite and grassroots levels, by both men and women."²⁵¹ From the book, we come to have a sense of the general roles of women in the organized Ukrainian communities in Canada and how various groups defined femininity based on their diverse priorities and ambitions. However, given her primary focus on literature related to

²⁵⁰Orest Martynowych's much lauded book *The Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (1991) is an excellent example of this historiographical problem. Martynowych describes his work as "essentially a history of public events and institutions, punctuated by dramatic episodes caused by prominent (male) personalities." He overtly excludes analysis of women (and often ordinary men) because, as he explains, they were "rarely at or near the centre of power." As this and other chapters will show, when examined through a gendered lens, the history of Ukrainian immigrants takes on a different and more heterogeneous shape.

²⁵¹Francis Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (Toronto: 1993), 258.

the regulation of femininity in the organized Ukrainian community, her work as it relates to the Ukrainian Left is limited in the degree of analysis that can be applied to the community as a whole. Moreover, when one moves beyond the sources Swyripa consults and her focus on proscriptive literature, portions of her analysis of the Ukrainian Left can be called into question. Most significantly, her argument that for Progressives, "Ukrainianness has been less important than class"²⁵² seems true only if one looks at "official" or proscriptive community literature, on which Swyripa relies heavily to examine "the propaganda and programs devised"²⁵³ for women by men.

Consultation with other records, particularly those produced by and focussing on grassroots elements of the Ukrainian Left indicate a different community vision, especially among women and rank-and-file men, for whom class and Ukrainianness were equally important. Cultural preservation, within an environment that supported and defended workers, was a key reason so many women and men were attracted to the work and activities of the Progressive Ukrainian community, particularly during its golden era of the interwar period. For women, especially, Ukrainianness and Ukrainian cultural work were central to their everyday participation. Ukrainian food, handicrafts, the chance to mingle with other Ukrainian women, and the opportunity to educate their children in the Ukrainian language and traditions were all functions of their day-to-day attraction to the Ukrainian labour temples. This was true for both the immigrant and Canadian-born generations of women who came to the hall. Even in the postwar period when a Ukrainian language venue

²⁵²Ibid., viii.

²⁵³Ibid., ix.

was less necessary to support the class struggle, vibrant political and Ukrainian cultural work continued to attract women to the movement.

Over the past twenty years, increased attention has been paid to women and their place in the labour movement, radical politics, and working-class communities, communities with which Progressive Ukrainian women were certainly linked. These works have been useful in helping to understand the work of women on the left in Canada. Joan Sangster's *Dreams of Equality: Women on the Canadian Left, 1920-1950* (1989), Janice Newton's *The Feminist Challenge to the Canadian Left, 1900-1918* (1995), and Linda Kealey's *Enlisting Women for the Cause: Women, Labour, and the Left in Canada, 1890-1920* (1998) are especially important for their thoughtful consideration of Anglo-Celtic women on the left in Canada.²⁵⁴ The books argue that women played integral roles building parties like the Social Democratic Party (SDP), the CPC, and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). At the same time, while simultaneously working for the class struggle, these women attempted, albeit often to a limited degree, to direct their efforts toward improving conditions for women in the parties. In some cases, their work challenged the Left to deal with the "Woman Question" in ways that addressed the realities of women's experiences. These books illustrate how gender interacted with class to determine (and often limit) activities to which women had access to improve conditions in their own and other workers' lives in Canada.

Unfortunately, as is the case with literature on Ukrainians in

²⁵⁴Joan Sangster, *Dreams of Equality: Women on the Canadian Left, 1920-1950* (Toronto: M&S, 1989), Janice Newton, *The Feminist Challenge to the Canadian Left, 1900-1918* (Montreal: 1995), and Linda Kealey's *Enlisting Women for the Cause: Women, Labour, and the Left in Canada, 1890-1920* (Toronto: 1998).

Canada, Ukrainian women have received little attention in these works as well, which tend to focus on English language political organizations and Anglo-Celtic women's experiences. Ukrainian women are brought in, but it is usually only when their experiences or activities are in keeping with the Anglo-Celtic model. Moreover, when such connections with the Ukrainian Left are made, those women who do appear tend to represent the exception rather than the rule when it comes to experiences of Ukrainian women with the Left in Canada. This framework, with its emphasis on the work and struggles of Anglo-Celtic women is limited in exploring the distinct experiences of Progressive Ukrainian women who conducted their activism within their own so-called 'ethnic' community organizations, outside the realm of so-called mainstream unions or political parties especially during the interwar period. As such, while these books are important for putting women, especially those of Anglo-Celtic heritage, on the historical landscape and analysing the key contributions they made to the left in Canada, the picture is not complete until we can move beyond a framework that privileges the Anglo-Celtic woman's experience as normative and the Ukrainian woman's as exceptional.

The past twenty years has also seen the development of feminist scholarship exploring the relationship between gender, class, and ethnicity as they functioned in immigrant and working-class communities in Canada. Drawing cross-cultural comparisons is perhaps the most useful method by which one can begin to develop a theoretical framework through which Progressive Ukrainian women (and men) can be most adequately explored. Important contributions to the field include Ruth Frager's *Sweatshop Strife: Class, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Jewish*

Labour Movement of Toronto, 1900-1939 (1992) and Franca Iacovetta's *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto* (1992).

Significant parallels exist between the experiences documented in these books and those of the Ukrainian Left as a whole and Progressive Ukrainian women in particular. Especially important is the way in which ethnicity and class often united women and men in the groups Iacovetta and Frager study, even in the face of divisions that existed along gender lines. Such working-class "ethnic" solidarity was certainly present in the Progressive Ukrainian community and had both positive and negative effects in the lives of women as this chapter will show.

As these works illustrate, the experiences of so-called "ethnic" women cannot be analysed in isolation from the working-class communities of which they were a part, nor can we fully understand the nature of the class struggle as defined by Canada's socialist and communist movements without taking into consideration gender and ethnicity. It is with this crucial framework in mind that this chapter seeks to understand the experiences of Progressive Ukrainian women in Canada over the course of the twentieth century.

Women on the Ukrainian Left enjoyed a common set of experiences in the interwar period. Generally speaking, women's roles were centred around and shaped by three main overlapping elements: Ukrainian cultural work, the Women's Branch, and the Progressive Ukrainian language newspaper for women, *Robitnytsia (Working Woman)*. Aside from some cultural activities, women's activism was typically limited to work in the segregated, women-only, Ukrainian-speaking women's branches. As a result, they were often isolated from men in the movement. Because of male attitudes and gendered notions of Ukrainian womanhood, women's

roles within the movement were restricted, and they therefore enjoyed very little formal power. At the same time, though these experiences were similar to those of many non-Ukrainian-speaking Progressive women, women on the Ukrainian left were isolated from camaraderie with other women because of language.

Nonetheless, despite this isolation, the roles ascribed to them as a result of gender, and their limited access to formal political and organizational power, Progressive Ukrainian women managed, although at times in a limited fashion, to shape their own activism and activities around causes and interests that appealed to their experience as members of an immigrant working-class community. Through this work, like other radical women, they played important roles in the movement by raising and saving money and by supporting a variety of political causes through canvassing, voting, or marching in protests. Undoubtedly, without the support of women and their crucial fundraising efforts and volunteer labour, the Ukrainian Left could have never grown or enjoyed the influence it possessed during the interwar period.

Women who were a part of the founding generation of the Ukrainian Labour Temple movement were drawn, like men, from the first two waves of Ukrainian immigration from 1891-1914 and 1925-1930.²⁵⁵ These women, who came from the regions of Galicia and Bukovyna of what is now known as Ukraine, were born into a peasant village culture. There, as Francis Swyripa has explained, "they were essential to the functioning of the family as the basic unity of production, yet they were regarded as

²⁵⁵The Ukrainian Left received few reinforcements from the third wave of Ukrainian immigration which was made up primarily of displaced persons hostile to socialist politics.

inferior beings subject to the authority of their menfolk."²⁵⁶ The social and political culture they experienced there would be similar to that encountered in Ukrainian communities in Canada.

Women made up but twenty percent of emigres during most of the first wave of migration to Canada, and, during both waves, most who made the journey came, unlike men, not on their own but with their families. Once here, usually ensconced on homesteads, illiterate, and unable to speak English, these women experienced isolation and a continued marginal status within the community.²⁵⁷ Few of these women worked outside the home for wages before World War II. For those who did, they were usually found toiling in difficult, low-paying, low-status occupations such as waitress, domestic servant or as factory worker.²⁵⁸ This waged work, for many, tended to end upon marriage since many Ukrainian men seemed to feel "working wives lowered their status" as husbands.²⁵⁹

It is not difficult to understand why, based on their experiences as female peasants in Galicia and Bukovyna and Ukrainian immigrants in Canada, so many women were attracted to early manifestations of the Ukrainian Left in Canada and the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple movement after 1918. For many, like their male counterparts, exposure to radical politics in their villages prior to coming to Canada would have created a strong predisposition for involvement with the Progressive Ukrainian community. Such was the case for Mary Slobodian. She arrived in Canada in 1914, and, thanks to her father "who had been a radical in the old

²⁵⁶Swyripa, 26.

²⁵⁷Ibid., 21.

²⁵⁸Ibid., 68, 70-71.

²⁵⁹Ibid., 72.

country," Slobodian already "held progressive views."²⁶⁰ For others, the working conditions they encountered upon their arrival were sufficient to underscore the inequality inherent in the capitalist system and Canadian society. Pauline Bartko, for example, gained her class education in Canada through ties to the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (USDP), where she learned concepts about class exploitation that made sense in light of her own work experiences.²⁶¹

Moreover, like their menfolk, many women gravitated to the Ukrainian Left because of anti-clerical sentiments developed prior to coming to Canada. Other women joined not on their own or because of prior radicalization but because others drew them into the movement. They were often introduced to the Ukrainian Left in Canada by husbands, fathers, brothers, or in some cases, female relatives, who had earlier journeyed to Canada and had joined the ULTA or ULFTA or other groups affiliated with the movement. Mary Kostiuk, for example, became a member of the Drumheller, Saskatchewan Women's Section in 1922 after marrying a man active in the ULTA.²⁶²

As the interwar period wore on, increasing numbers of females, like males, came to be born into the movement and were drawn into adult activities from the ranks of children's and youth activities held at the hall. Helen Weir-Hale, who lived in the Alberta mining town of Hardieville, grew up in the organization, as did Anna Skulsky, who took part in youth activities, mandolin classes, and orchestra in Calgary,

²⁶⁰Mary Slobodyn in Krawchuk, Peter, ed. *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, (Toronto: Kobzar Publishing Co., Ltd., 1991) 165-167.

²⁶¹Pauline Bartko in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 29-32.

²⁶²Mary Kostiuk, in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 116-118. See also Paraskevia Fedosenko, Irene Diachuk in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 113-115, 35-36.

Alberta.²⁶³ For many young women for whom the hall was a powerful source of politicization and cultural identity (and was like a second home growing up), it likely seemed a natural transition for them to continue with branch activity upon reaching adulthood.

One of the most popular attractions of the labour temple movement in the interwar years was its Ukrainian cultural activities. For many women, cultural activity conducted in a progressive environment was the main reason why they joined the labour temple movement, and many chose to devote all their organizational energies to these pursuits. Nadia Tytarenko of Hamilton, Ontario, for example, was most active on the stage in choir and drama, eschewing participation in other organizational activities.²⁶⁴ Tytarenko, then, chose cultural work as the manner in which to express her support of the progressive Ukrainian cause. While they contributed in ways that were similar to men and youngsters as cultural participants women also supported and shaped the movement in several distinct and important ways. Many areas of cultural production were the sole preserve of women in the movement. In particular, with their behind-the-scenes work for stage productions and their traditional Ukrainian embroidery skills, women made unique and crucial contributions to cultural preservation and expression at the Ukrainian Labour Temples. Participation in these women-only cultural activities, then, meant that their experience with cultural work was distinct in many ways from that of other members.

On the stage, be it in plays, choirs, or recitations, women could act as powerfully as men. Women, like other members of progressive

²⁶³Helen Weir-Hale, Anna Skulsky in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 499-506, 93-95. See also Alice Bilecki, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

²⁶⁴Nadia Tytarenko in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 376-378.

Ukrainian cultural groups, could be a commanding means for delivering this message of class consciousness. A colourful example of this came at a concert held in 1924 at the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple at which an RCMP informant witnessed a female participant make a recitation. After the audience heard the 'International' played by a mandolin group and songs sung by a choir, the woman in question took to the stage. According to the troubled informant, the woman's piece "was of a violent revolutionary character," and her delivery "almost inspired everyone of the audience to take axes, guns and other weapons and to begin immediately the slaughter of the bourgeoisie [sic]."²⁶⁵ While the informant may have been embellishing what he witnessed, it is nonetheless clear that women made important contributions as participants on the stages at the Ukrainian Labour Temple, certainly enough to warrant RCMP special notice.

Some of the most important contributions women made to cultural work for the Ukrainian Left, however, took place not on the stage but behind the scenes, often backstage or in their own homes. Women were responsible for sewing and laundering costumes and cleaning up the stage after performances.²⁶⁶ This unpaid work was crucial to the success of labour temple performances, and it was expected that women take care of these functions. When the wardrobe master of the East Kildonan Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg reported to the ULFTA (men's) branch that the wardrobe area was "dirty and there is no one to clean up," the men present, after a "short discussion" passed a motion "to give the job

²⁶⁵Report re "Ukrainian Labour Temple Association Play and Concert at the ULT" dated October 27, 1924 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792, "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 3.

²⁶⁶Paraskevia Fedosenko in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 35-36.

to the *Tovarishky*.”²⁶⁷. Without the involvement of women like Fedosenko, it is unlikely that the elaborate interwar concerts and productions of Progressive Ukrainian drama and dance groups could have been staged.

In addition to this, many other women chose to take part in cultural activities within the movement not on the stage but through the creation of traditional Ukrainian embroidery. Sometimes this work was conducted individually at home, while at other times women gathered to socialise and embroider together. Displays of this handiwork were frequent at labour temples across Canada, on performers on stage or on tables as exhibits. Like performances, women's handiwork also illustrated the ways in which cultural and political work were inextricably linked for members of the Ukrainian Left. At times, women incorporated communist symbols like hammers and sickles into their work. Moreover, their embroidery work, like plays and concerts, helped to raise funds for causes associated with the Ukrainian Left. In addition to this, the work was important for attracting new members to the cause. Needlework was one of the most popular ways through which women and girls were drawn to the halls. At nearly every Ukrainian Labour Temple, classes were organized where older women taught younger women and girls traditional methods of Ukrainian embroidery.²⁶⁸ In these ways, then, women made important contributions to the cultural work of the Progressive Ukrainian community during Canada's interwar years.

In addition to obligations to cultural expression, women's place

²⁶⁷Monthly meeting, June 5, 1926, Minutes, ULFTA, East Kildonan Branch, 1926-28, translation by L. Stavroff.

²⁶⁸Program from "Canadian-Ukrainian National Music Festival, Toronto, July 15th-16th, 1939" in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4677, "Matthew Shatulsky," file part 2; Mary Naviziwsky, Serafina Romak, Waylyna Alexiewich in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 461-463, 26-28, 119-127.

in the movement was also shaped by their roles as mothers and, to a lesser extent, working-class housewives.²⁶⁹ As a result of this, most of the activities with which women were involved (aside from those that took place in mixed gender cultural groups) during the interwar period were conducted in a sphere separate from that of many male members. Interestingly, while the role of breadwinner was certainly important to notions of Progressive Ukrainian manhood, men's roles as fathers contributed little to the ways in which masculinity was manifest within the Ukrainian left. Responsibility for children, both at home and at Ukrainian Labour Temple activities, was clearly defined by both the movement and the peasant culture from which immigrants were sent as a female obligation. Women were to be self-sacrificing and focus their personal and organizational energies on the sacred responsibility they possessed to raise a generation of class-conscious children. In 1924, for example, at a concert put on by the Working Women's Branch in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Matthew Shatulsky spoke in this vein illustrating the point using examples from the life and death of Lenin. According to Shatulsky, "when people came to mourn after Lenin, before the palace where his body was laying in state, Lenin's mother and wife went out, and speaking to the people told them not to mourn, but to continue Lenin's work."²⁷⁰ Shatulsky went on to emphasize that "This shows the courage of a revolutionary woman, who is left alone in the world and whose children gave their lives for the proletariat...."²⁷¹ He finished

²⁶⁹For a detailed discussion of symbolic and proscribed roles for both Nationalist and Progressive Ukrainian women see Swyripa.

²⁷⁰Report re "Ukrainian Labour Temple Association - Winnipeg. Re ULT Concert, Feb. 3, 1924" in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4677, "Matthew Shatulsky," file part 1.

²⁷¹Ibid.

by reminding those present that "we cannot expect a revolutionary generation if the women will stay away from the organization."²⁷² The ideal Progressive Ukrainian woman thus devoted her energies to ensuring that her children were equipped with the proper tools to take up the struggle of their fathers in the international proletarian movement.

It is no surprise, then, that work with children and youth was often viewed as women's responsibility, especially for those women who were mothers of young children.²⁷³ Responsibility was also placed on women when this work did not thrive. When the Youth Section failed to achieve a desired membership growth in the early 1930's, the Women's Section was blamed. In a report by the Central Committee of the Women's Section entitled "Our Immediate Tasks" members were scolded for neglecting to work hard enough to win over the youth. According to the article, "this is why the Youth Section is suffering and not growing and [the youth newspaper] *Boyova molod* (*Youth's World*) is in such a bad way."²⁷⁴ Women were especially encouraged to undertake work with the children of the junior section, and typically, in most localities, they could be found doing a variety of such work teaching Ukrainian language, dance, drama, and choir.²⁷⁵

Beyond motherhood, Progressive Ukrainian women's roles were also shaped by other domestic functions they served in the working-class home. As has been mentioned, the vast majority of Ukrainian women during the interwar period carried out the bulk of their labour

²⁷²Ibid.

²⁷³Executive meeting, July 3, 1931, Women's Branch, Winnipeg, 1931 Minute Book, WBA, Winnipeg, Manitoba, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

²⁷⁴*Robitnytsia*, January 15, 1932, June 15, 1926, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

²⁷⁵Mary Skrypnyk, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

conducting unpaid work as housewives, and few worked outside the home for pay. This experience carried over to the roles they were to fulfill on the Ukrainian Left. While men were organizing the overall movement, liaising with the Party, making speeches, and controlling the press and other institutions of the Progressive Ukrainian community, women expressed their activism by carrying out valuable, though underappreciated, work that mirrored the domestic burden they shouldered in the home. Cooking, cleaning, sewing, mending, and washing all fell within the realm of women's work at the halls. Women's experience with the movement, as such, was significantly different than men's because of the domestic roles they took on at the Ukrainian Labour Temples.

Women's contributions in this capacity act as a further example of how cultural preservation and expression were inextricably linked with political action for members of the Progressive Ukrainian community. Food preparation was, in fact, one of the best examples of this phenomenon. Cooking for special events and for fundraising reflected the need for food but also mirrored what women knew how to cook. In most cases, traditional Ukrainian dishes were on the menu at halls, providing a venue in which this traditional food was validated, celebrated, and served. Food and women's preparation of it, then, was an expression of Ukrainian culture but was also crucial as a form of political activism. By cooking, women kept costs down which in turn allowed men in the movement and often in the Party to continue their work without having to worry about these matters.

Where and for what women provided food also highlights the link between politics and Ukrainian culture. For example, when the Ukrainian Labour Temples were being built throughout the interwar period, women's

culinary efforts were central to the building process. Women in Lethbridge not only cooked during the period of construction but also worked after the fact to commemorate the existence of their new gathering space and to ensure any debt incurred was paid off quickly. To save men the time of going home for lunch, local women members cooked traditional Ukrainian dishes like *holubtsi* and *pyrohy* which fed the volunteers daily for twenty cents each. After construction was completed, the women held a week-long bazaar and concert, raising \$700 to pay off construction costs and celebrate the opening of the new building.²⁷⁶ The connection between politics and Ukrainian culture was also evident when women cooked in times of crisis. Often, in the instance of a strike situation, for example, an impromptu kitchen might be set up in a Ukrainian Labour Temple so local women, when they were not showing their solidarity by walking the picket lines, could cook for strikers. This was the case when bush camp workers struck in the early 1920's around Fort Frances and Atikoken, Ontario. Anna Sawchuk was there, and she recalled, "Our members of the Women's Section of the ULFTA helped the strikers. They set up a kitchen in the Ukrainian Labour Temple, collected money from those who were working and collected food from neighbouring farmers."²⁷⁷ In addition to this, the women also showed up at the local train station at two in the morning to help prevent strikebreakers from entering the community and undermining efforts of the local striking workers.²⁷⁸

For many women, cooking for the class struggle was the preferred method through which they expressed their activism, and women believed

²⁷⁶*Robitnysia*, January 15, 1934, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

²⁷⁷Anna Sawchuk in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 252.

²⁷⁸*Ibid.*

that their culinary contributions were important. Moreover, they engaged in this type of work because they were good at it, they enjoyed it, and the kitchen gave them a site away from male scrutiny and control. Here, unlike other areas of the movement, women had greater autonomy over their work and, for once, they--and not the male leaders or members of the movement--were the experts and the leaders of this form of cultural preservation and political activism. Men could not claim or demonstrate a superior base of knowledge when it came to kitchen work.

Among men, however, the significance of kitchen work was less valued. Though public declarations of thanks were made at events where women provided food and other forms of domestic service, the importance of kitchen work as political activism was rarely acknowledged by male leaders of the Ukrainian Left. This is most clear from the way this activity was supported at the halls in comparison with other activities. The priorities of the movement in this regard are best reflected in the physical structure of the Ukrainian Labour Temples built in the interwar period. When the halls were constructed, stages, meeting rooms, and gathering spaces were always included in the design. Kitchens, on the other hand, were few and far between. This design represented the male power dynamic at work and men's views on what was important work and what constituted valuable activism within the movement. Women usually had little control over funds at the halls--despite the fact that their work raised most of this money--and their needs for quality kitchen space were disregarded.

Since kitchen facilities did not exist in many labour temples,

much of this work was often done by the women in their own homes.²⁷⁹

Women also had to compensate for a lack of suitable culinary tools and other equipment necessary for cooking and serving food to large numbers of people. The Women's Branch in Winnipeg in 1931 used money they had raised from their treasury for purchasing and paying for dishes, pots, and silverware to be used for events at the Ukrainian Labour Temple, spending \$298.24 to properly outfit the hall in this regard.²⁸⁰ It was largely through this work of women that bazaars, picnics, banquets, dances, and concerts could take place. Though undervalued, these contributions of women, both financially and manually, played a crucial role in the building of the Ukrainian Left and meant that male leaders and organizers had the manpower, monetary resources, and time to carry out the broader political and cultural objectives of the movement.

In the earliest days of the Ukrainian Labour Temple movement, such women's work was loosely organized around the halls but was never organized in a formal fashion until the early 1920's. Prior to this, some women were members of the ULFTA, while many others took part in a variety of other activities, particularly those of a cultural nature, without possessing a formal membership in the movement. The Women's Branches mentioned above did not come into existence until 1922.

In the early 1920's, conditions in Ukraine intensified the participation of women at the Ukrainian labour temples and underscored how their efforts could be profitably used for the betterment of the

²⁷⁹See for example Maria Vynohradova in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 265-272.

²⁸⁰Membership Meeting, January 12, 1931, Women's Branch, Winnipeg, 1931 Minute Book, WBA, Winnipeg, Manitoba, translated by Larissa Stavroff. See also Anna Andreyko in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 517-521.

movement and the causes to which it was attached. In 1921, drought and crop failure created famine conditions²⁸¹ affecting parts of Russia, southern Ukraine, and the Volga regions of Eastern Europe. Wanting to support the fledging socialist state and fellow Ukrainians, the ULTA responded to calls for aid by organizing a committee of women members, thus forming the Ukrainian Women's Unit of the Famine Relief Committee. Maria Vynohradova was a member of the committee at the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple. She and other committee members spent the fall of 1921 going door-to-door collecting funds and textile goods to send overseas. Going outside the confines of the Ukrainian Left was difficult for these women because few possessed fundraising experience, most only spoke Ukrainian, and, given the crisis situation, time was of the essence. As Vynohradova recalled, "In order to cover the territory quickly, we went singly instead of in pairs, and this was very difficult, especially when people asked questions."²⁸² The women's committee also hosted concerts and held lectures in various communities to support their famine relief efforts.²⁸³ Funds raised by women quickly added up. By 1923, for example, the Timmins, Ontario, famine committee had raised \$6000.²⁸⁴ As the backbone of the famine relief committee, then, women supporters of the Ukrainian Left proved themselves as ample fundraisers. As Vynohradova put it, "the men saw that the women were capable of doing important work in the organization."²⁸⁵

²⁸¹Richard Pipes, *Russia under the Bolshevik Regime*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994, p.411.

²⁸²Maria Vynohradova in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 265-272.

²⁸³Report, Winnipeg, December 30, 1921 re "Famine Relief Committee for Soviet Russia, Women's Unit" in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol [John Navis; pps 001-501, 1919-1942].

²⁸⁴Krawchuk, *Our History*, 367.

²⁸⁵Maria Vynohradova in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 265-272.

In the wake of this success, particularly in light of the chronic debt the movement was facing in many communities with the building of the halls, the costs of publishing newspapers, and the expenses incurred by male leaders travelling to promote the Ukrainian Left and its activities,²⁸⁶ male leaders seized on the opportunity to organize women into a formal, manageable reserve army of permanent fundraisers. They also saw the idea of a women's group as a way to educate women supporters about the class struggle and get them more involved in the political machinations of the Ukrainian Left and, many hoped, the Communist Party of Canada. The CPC itself began organizing Women's Labour Leagues in 1922,²⁸⁷ and it was likely that many male leaders of the Progressive Ukrainian community saw a Ukrainian women's organization as a way to bring Ukrainian women in line with the objectives of the Party. Already active in cultural and social activities at the halls, women's energies, with the development of a separate women's organization, could then, male leaders hoped, be managed and shaped in a direction most complimentary to the class struggle. Making this task easier was the fact that the women themselves had enjoyed working on the Famine Relief Committee and came to demand a separate organization within the Ukrainian Left.²⁸⁸ On March 1, 1922, the founding meeting of the "Section of Working Women" (later renamed "Women's Section" in 1925²⁸⁹) took place in Winnipeg at which fifty-two women signed on as

²⁸⁶In *Our History*, Krawchuk outlines the financial costs associated with running the ULTA in his section on early conventions, 363-379.

²⁸⁷Sangster, 28.

²⁸⁸"The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Women's Branches of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (1922-72)" in "Conventions" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, National Archives of Canada.

²⁸⁹*Robitnytsia*, April 1, 1925, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

members.²⁹⁰

Throughout the 1920's and 1930's individual Women's Branches and their members carried out a variety of important functions. Kitchen work continued, as did work with children, and cultural work overlapped with organizational work in the Women's Branches. In addition to this, most branches held regular membership meetings and organized a variety of important activities designed to raise money, class consciousness, and membership numbers. Typical was the experience described by the Vancouver Women's Section in 1926. At their annual meeting, it was reported "There were in the past year nineteen sessions of the Board, three special meetings...two readings, two entertainments, one concert, two picnics...[and]...nine members took part in every meeting and also assisted in the young people's school."²⁹¹ As organizers within the Women's Branch, women were prolific participants in the Ukrainian Left.

Two entities were created to further the development of the Section of Working Women and the education of female members of the Progressive Ukrainian community. One of these grew out of the Winnipeg Section of Working Women. As Mary Naviziwsky recalled, many of the new branches in other parts of the country immediately began looking to the women in Winnipeg for guidance. After "letters asking for advice began to arrive in Winnipeg,"²⁹² the Central Executive Committee of the ULTA created a Central Women's Committee (CWC) based in Winnipeg to help expand women's work and better address the needs of fledgling branches. This committee acted as a coordinating body and clearing house of information and helped to maintain a sense of uniformity of goals and

²⁹⁰HR, January-February, 1923, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

²⁹¹Robitnytsia, February 15, 1926, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

²⁹²Mary Naviziwsky in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 461-463.

actions for women's activities.²⁹³ Though the existence of the Section of Working Women meant that women were sequestered from power and leadership opportunities within the mainstream Ukrainian Left some women were able to emerge out of the CWC to play leading roles among women. The work carried out by these women nearly always related to encouraging expansion of the Women's Section. For example, regularly throughout the interwar period, several women were sent by the CWC to visit Ukrainian communities to help organize and stimulate new branches of the Section of Working Women. Katherine Stefanitsky was one such woman. She toured Southern Ontario in 1928 and "helped to organize Women's Branches in Welland, Brantford and a few other places."²⁹⁴ The CWC and its organizers were important to the development of the vibrant and active Section of Working Women that emerged in the Progressive Ukrainian community during the 1920's.

The second entity created was a newspaper called *Robitnytsia* geared towards educating and politicizing women and helping them to understand the nature of the class struggle in Canada and abroad as defined by male leaders of the Ukrainian Left and the CPC. Initially the monthly was called *Holos robitnytsi* (*Voice of Working Woman*), and it was created at the 1923 convention of the ULTA, the first one held after the organization of the Section of Working Women, ULTA in 1922.²⁹⁵ A few years later the name was shortened to *Robitnytsia* (*Working Woman*), and its publication increased to twice monthly issues. Many male organizers supported the need for a women's paper for several reasons. Within the

²⁹³Ibid.

²⁹⁴Katherine Stefanitsky in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 489-496.

²⁹⁵"Introduction" and Likeria Danylchenko in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 22, 286-290.

progressive Ukrainian community, the press was perceived as essential for educating and reaching out to members, recruiting new ones, promoting literacy and publicising activities. The convention intended that the paper would help the progressive Ukrainian movement to grow among working-class Ukrainian women, drawing new women to the class struggle and creating new branches of women's activity across the country. The paper was also meant to help ensure uniformity in activity among Women's Sections across the country. As well, since not all communities were large enough or had supporters of the Ukrainian Left living in close enough proximity for a Women's Section to exist,²⁹⁶ *Robitnytsia* was also to function as a tool for communication with women living in areas too remote for regular branch activity.²⁹⁷

As a result of *Robitnytsia*, the CWC, and the interest of women, the Section of Working Women expanded rapidly throughout the Progressive Ukrainian community across the country. The Semi-annual Report of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Labour Temple reported in September 1923 that twenty-eight branches of the Section of Working Women existed across the country, possessing a membership of approximately 600 women.²⁹⁸ By April of 1925, reports indicated that the Women's Section had over 1000 members across the country.²⁹⁹ This number remained constant into 1926, when Katherine Shatulsky reported the Women's

²⁹⁶"The Ukrainians in Canada, Pt. II: Communist Organizations," in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 150, vol: 128, File AH-1999/00263; Maryn, Sonia, *The Kiew Hall: Narrative History* (Alberta: November 1984), 136.

²⁹⁷Report re "'Golos Robitnyci' - (The Voice of Working Women) Ukrainian Monthly Magazine - Winnipeg. Re: Activities of the Working Women's Section of ULTA; Semi-annual Report of the Central Committee at the Ukrainian Labour Temple" dated September 24, 1923 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792, "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 2.

²⁹⁸Ibid.

²⁹⁹*Robitnytsia*, April 15, 1925, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

Section had 1064 members in its thirty-six branches across the country.³⁰⁰ By 1927, the number of branches had grown to forty-one,³⁰¹ and by 1928, fifty-two branches existed with a membership of 1335.³⁰² These membership levels remained steady throughout the 1930's.³⁰³ The Women's Branch in the interwar period, then, was a popular method through which women could express their activism in the Progressive Ukrainian community.

In addition to attracting new female members to the movement, *Robitnytsia* was geared to educating women about the class struggle and the role they were to play supporting their male comrades. Women, many male leaders believed, needed special assistance when it came to understanding the class struggle. Often, male leaders of the Ukrainian Left bought in to the notion that women were inherently conservative with some going so far as to suggest that women were 'backward'. This perception grew partly out of the lack of opportunity women had for formal education in the Old Country and partly out of the belief that women were inferior to men. As a result, the women's paper was meant to supply women with a basic political education in Marxist-Leninism and help them to understand and mobilize for the class struggle. Beyond this, male leaders hoped to use the paper to further emphasise to women their place within the class struggle and the contributions they had to make to ensure successful prosecution of the eventual revolution.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁰Krawchuk, *Our History*, 376.

³⁰¹*Ibid.*, 379.

³⁰²"The Ukrainians in Canada, Pt. II: Communist Organizations" in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 128, File AH-1999/00263.

³⁰³For a sense of the number of new members gained as well as those lost in the women's branch in the 1930's, see convention reports in Krawchuk's *Our History*.

³⁰⁴Sangster, 36-37.

Organizers designed the paper to appeal to and attract a broad audience and to encourage interest in all elements and activities of the Ukrainian Left. To reinforce the importance the movement placed on Ukrainian cultural activities, *Robitnytsia* regularly included articles, poems, and graphics related to Ukrainian culture, literature, and tradition. News from the regions now making up Ukraine was also featured frequently in *Robitnytsia*.³⁰⁵ *Robitnytsia* was, furthermore, a source for organizational news and other information. Conferences, local controversies, and special events were featured regularly. Child rearing, recipes, and other topics related to women's domestic role in the working-class home also regularly appeared in *Robitnytsia*.³⁰⁶ To illustrate the nature of the class struggle as it was manifest in Canada and abroad, the editors also ensured that plenty of attention was paid to stories related to Marxist-Leninism. Articles on Soviet Russia were also frequent inclusions, especially as they related to the lives of women. Improvements in the lives of women allegedly brought about by the revolution in Russia were emphasised as a means of encouraging women of the Ukrainian Left to follow in their Soviet sisters' footsteps and to work for such change in Canada.

Robitnytsia was also crucial to assisting with other educational work for women, and, together with the Women's Section, acted to supply women in the movement with a comprehensive educational program. For example, in addition to learning from *Robitnytsia* individually, women were also expected, as men and youngsters were in their respective branches, to attend 'educationals' held as part of the Women's Branch

³⁰⁵*Robitnytsia*, October 1, 1927, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

³⁰⁶For example, see *Robitnytsia*, March 1, 1928.

meetings. For these sessions, women were encouraged by male leaders and editors to make "the best of *Robitnytsia*,"³⁰⁷ meaning that, since "*Robitnytsia* is your teacher and your guide,"³⁰⁸ discussions should be based upon information and articles gleaned from the women's journal. While it was not always the sole source of information, it is clear that many women made use of the paper for discussion topics and knowledge where particular issues were concerned.

The separate space of the Section of Working Women meant that women experienced the educational differently than men. As was the case with the men's branch, most Women's Branch educationals centered on topics directly related to the class struggle, and like *Robitnytsia*, most often the political objectives of the Ukrainian left were topics for discussion. Sometimes these sessions were led by male organizers, like the following one held in 1922. According to an RCMP source, sixty women attended a lecture in Winnipeg given by a *tovarish* "on 'Party and classes', in which he made a distinction between Parties and classes from the radical point of view, and how they came into existence."³⁰⁹ Unlike men's groups, however, women had the benefit, in addition to being taught by men, of also hearing and having educationals coordinated by women. This gave women like Pauline Bartko a chance to teach and engage in public speaking. She gave a talk in 1923 "entitled *Religion as a Narcotic*."³¹⁰ Seeing other women speak and speaking themselves expanded women's organizational horizons and enhanced their self-worth

³⁰⁷*Robitnytsia*, June 1, 1924, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

³⁰⁸*Ibid.*

³⁰⁹Report re "Ukrainian Labor Temple Association--Women's Branch, Winnipeg and District" dated June 30, 1922 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792, "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 1.

³¹⁰Pauline Bartko in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 39-32.

as members of the movement. As East Windsor Women's Branch member Anna Woynarsky recalled, "We saw that we were able not only to cook and look after children but also to take part in discussions."³¹¹

The separate space of the Women's Section educational also meant that women had the opportunity to shape the direction of at least some of the discussions to reflect their own interests outside of those isolated by male organizers as the overall priorities of the Ukrainian Left. As a result of this, unlike the Men's Section, not all talks centred on political topics. A variety of general subjects to do with current events, contemporary social issues, or topics of specific interest to women such as health, children, and food³¹² were often discussed at Women's Branch educationals. Moreover, sequestered in the Women's Section, women were also free from male scrutiny that might have prevented them from actively participating in discussions. If a concept or theory was not rapidly understood, women had less to fear admitting it in a Women's Branch meeting than they might have at a general hall meeting or concert. The Women's Branch also allowed women the chance to discuss issues that concerned them that might otherwise have been viewed as frivolous or detracting from the class struggle.

Where *Robitnytsia* and the Women's Branches were especially important in the educational program for women was as a resource and outlet for literacy and organizational training. Literacy was viewed as essential to building a strong movement of class-conscious women.

³¹¹Anna Woynarsky in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 507-508.

³¹²Membership Meeting, January 12, 1931, Joint Meeting of the New and Old Executive, January 16, 1931, Women's Branch, Winnipeg, 1931 Minute Book, translated by Larissa Stavroff, found WBA, Winnipeg. For additional examples see also *Robitnytsia*, January 1, 1929, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

Because so many women who came to Canada from Ukraine were illiterate or semi-literate, literacy classes were needed and implemented in many branches during the 1920's.³¹³ As the Central Committee of the Working Women's Section explained at a meeting in Winnipeg on August 6, 1923, such classes were important to attract the many illiterate Ukrainian women to the Ukrainian Left so that they could not only learn to read, but, so that in the process, organizers could "introduce to them the cause of the workers through books or daily papers."³¹⁴ Moreover, in terms of the movement's emphasis on women's roles as mothers, literacy was central to child rearing and women were reminded that "only a literate mother can bring up her children properly" in the spirit of the class struggle.³¹⁵

Both the Women's Section and *Robitnytsia* were essential to this program of literacy training by supplementing literacy classes and by functioning as a tool to teach and encourage women to read and write. ULFTA organizers and newspaper editors especially encouraged that "educationals" in the Women's Section be structured around group readings of *Robitnytsia* so as increase the overall literacy and reading comprehension of the membership when it came to articles on complex political subjects.³¹⁶ Moreover, *Robitnytsia* and the Women's Section were meant to act as a training ground for women to practise their

³¹³ Women's Branch, Winnipeg, Minutes, 1931 [located at WBA, Winnipeg]; Maria Vynohradova, Mary Naviziwsky in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 265-262, 461-463.

³¹⁴ Report dated September 24, 1923 re "'Golos [sic] Robitnyci' - (The Voice of Working Women) Ukrainian Monthly Magazine - Winnipeg. Re: Activities of the Working women's section of the ULTA, Semi Annual Report of the Central Committee at the Ukrainian Labour Temple" in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792, "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba", file part 2.

³¹⁵ *Robitnytsia*, January 15, 1928, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

³¹⁶ *Robitnytsia*, November 15, 1925, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

skills. As soon as women demonstrated an ability to read and write, they were encouraged to put these skills to immediate use for the movement. Olena Holowchuk learned to read and write at the East Kildonan, Manitoba Women's Branch, and, as a result, she was able to assume "various responsibilities on the executive of the Women's Branch from the very start."³¹⁷ Moreover, in addition to assisting with Women's Section organizational matters, the editors of *Robitnytsia* also encouraged women to make use of their new literacy skills to build the movement by contributing articles, letters, and reports of their own to the paper.³¹⁸

It is clear that in terms of educational activities, some methods were more popular with women than others. Interestingly, it is with the educationals that one can see how the priorities of the ULFTA leadership did not converge with the interests of the membership of the branches. Minutes of meetings and articles in *Robitnytsia* consistently contained complaints that educationals were poorly attended compared to other events and activities at the halls. An article in the journal published in 1927 lamented, "It's embarrassing to read the annual reports [of the Women's Branches]. What little attention is paid to educational work and what an excess is paid to 'socials'."³¹⁹ Over the course of the interwar period--and probably for the entire history of the progressive Ukrainian left in Canada--most members and supporters were interested in the movement for the social and cultural activities it offered. As a Women's Section Conference preparation article lamented in 1932, "Our *tovarishky* are far more eager to get involved in manual labour than to

³¹⁷Olena Holowchuk in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 256-257.

³¹⁸Mary Naviziwsky in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 461-463.

³¹⁹*Robitnytsia*, February 1, 1927, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

inform themselves."³²⁰ For working-class women with demanding schedules, it seemed the prospect of spending their precious leisure time listening to repetitive lectures on the class struggle had less appeal than organizing kitchen work or singing in a choir.

Educationals aside, *Robitnytsia* and the Women's Branches overall, however, seemed consistently popular outlets to which women turned for information or interaction. This is certainly clear from women's behaviour toward and support of the paper and the ways in which women worked to ensure that it met their needs and reflected their interests and lives fairly. Though, as has been shown, *Robitnytsia* was controlled by men, women still managed to shape *Robitnytsia* as their own. Women made their presence known by writing to the paper, and the *robkorky*, many of whom were prolific reporters, were especially crucial to ensuring awareness of women's activities and interests.³²¹ That the paper was valuable to these women as an outlet for expression and knowledge is evident in the course of such reports in which many *robkorky* lauded the paper for its educational and organizational significance. For example, in 1924, *Robitnytsia* published a report from the *robkorka* of the Leniuk, Alberta Working Women Section which asserted great hope for the possibilities the paper offered to women. She asserted, "I believe *Robitnytsia* will lead the way for us out of this misery."³²² In this way, then, while they never had ultimate control of

³²⁰*Robitnytsia*, June 15, 1932, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

³²¹In 1931, for example, the *robkorka* for the Winnipeg Women's Branch reported to the annual membership meeting that she had contributed eleven articles to the paper over the course of the previous year detailing the group's work for the Ukrainian Left. Membership Meeting, January 12, 1931, Women's Branch, Winnipeg, 1931 Minute Book, translated by Larissa Stavroff, WBA, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

³²²*Robitnytsia*, July-August 1924, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

the paper, women still valued what it had to offer and shaped its content by writing about themselves and their contributions to the Progressive Ukrainian movement.

That women found the paper valuable and important is further evident from the work they put into ensuring its continued publication. Many women, like Sophie Sawchuk of Sudbury, Ontario, went door-to-door selling the paper.³²³ Women's Branches also organized special events to help benefit the paper.³²⁴ Most branches consistently took part in the paper's annual fundraising campaign which took place during the month of March to coincide with International Women's Day celebrations.³²⁵ Thanks to these annual efforts and special events throughout the year, *Robitnytsia* enjoyed a fourteen year run, managing to survive much of the Depression. When the decision was made in 1937 at the Annual Convention of the ULFTA to discontinue the paper for financial reasons, the women present were loyal to *Robitnytsia*, fighting to the end for its survival. According to an RCMP convention observer, "This was a rather difficult matter to deal with as many women insisted on the continuance of the journal and after considerable persuasion it was agreed to be discontinued."³²⁶ From that point on, women had to settle for news from one of the two remaining newspapers, *Ukrainski robitnychi visti*

³²³Sophie Sawchuk in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 387-391.

³²⁴Report re "Ukrainian Labor Farmer Temple Assn., Edmonton, Alta." dated November 29, 1927 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3814, "AUUC Women's Branch, Edmonton, Alta. corresp. to 11.6.58 incl."

³²⁵See for example, *Robitnytsia*, March 15, 1928, translated by Larissa Stavroff. See also Joint Meeting of the New and Old Executive on January 16, 1931, Women's Branch, Winnipeg, 1931 Minute Book, translated by Larissa Stavroff, found WBA, Winnipeg.

³²⁶Report re "ULFTA Convention, Winnipeg, 1937" dated July 30th, 1937 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792, "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 7.

(*Ukrainian Labour News*) and *Farmerske zhyttia* (*Farmers' Life*)³²⁷ where women's issues were limited to a few special columns.

Women felt similarly protective of the Women's Section, which fortunately did not meet the same fate as *Robitnytsia*, though, here, too, women had to exert pressure to ensure that their work could exist in a manner that addressed their needs and interests as working-class Progressive Ukrainian women. This was not always easy. Like *Robitnytsia*, in the early years of the existence of the Section of Working Women, male leaders of the Ukrainian Left attempted to direct the branch's work. Men like Matthew Popovich, John Navis, and Matthew Shatulsky were all instrumental assisting in the early days. Founding Section of Working Women member Mary Naviziwsky recalled the complicated and sometimes difficult relationship the women enjoyed with their male advisors. Initially, she explained, "a member of the Men's Branch attended the meetings of a branch of the Women's Section. His task was to instruct us how to conduct meetings and to advise us in other matters."³²⁸ Their first instructor "was William Panchuk" and, according to Naviziwsky, "he was a good teacher...[and] There were other advisers who also helped us a good deal."³²⁹ On other occasions, however, the women in Naviziwsky's branch were less fortunate. As she remembered, "there were some persons who, in fact, were 'dictators' and ordered us around."³³⁰ She and the other women did not appreciate this treatment. As she described, "we decided that we no longer needed an instructor because we knew how to run our organization by ourselves."³³¹ Though

³²⁷Ibid.

³²⁸Mary Naviziwsky in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 461-463.

³²⁹Ibid.

³³⁰Ibid.

³³¹Ibid.

many male leaders had hoped that the Women's Section might be a means to control women's work and shape it to benefit male priorities and interests, thanks to the agency of its female members, the direction of the Women's Section came to be determined not solely by men from the ULFTA, but often largely by the women themselves.

While not all men were unsupportive, trouble with men and male attitudes towards women were a recurring theme in the interwar Women's Branches. No organized resistance was ever mounted by the women to challenge male interference. Instead, typically in the interwar era, women challenged the domination of men on the Ukrainian Left through sporadic bouts of resistance or quiet refusal to accept certain tasks or to participate in particular activities (as was the case with the aforementioned 'educationals'). No distinct brand of Progressive Ukrainian feminism developed to challenge the gendered division of labour or lack of power women enjoyed relative to men. Moreover, because *Robitnytsia* was controlled by men, their ideas and values came through in the articles printed. Thus, feminist ideas that might have challenged male control of the movement never materialized on the pages of the Progressive Ukrainian press. Furthermore, in terms of the "woman question," women's oppression as women was never a priority to male leaders of the movement. It was only the oppression women shared with men as members of the exploited working class that was considered important (and non-threatening) to male leaders of the movement. Moreover, because of an inability to speak or read English, most Progressive Ukrainian women were unable to access materials of a feminist nature that might have helped them to challenge men in a more organized manner. Nonetheless, even without a Progressive Ukrainian

feminism of their own, the women of the Women's Branch worked, wherever possible, against male domination over their activities.

In addition to contesting male control over and criticism of the Women's Section, women also often had to deal with male indifference and hostility to their work in and around the Ukrainian Labour Temples. In many localities, women's work in the interwar period existed in spite of, rather than because of, the input of male *tovarishy*. During the 1920's, for example, numerous *tovarishky* complained that the men in their communities refused to support their activities in and around the halls. In many cases, women made use of *Robitnytsia* to air these grievances and challenge men's negative behaviour. In 1923, women of the Olena Kobyljanska Branch of the Section of Working Women in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, wrote to the paper protesting that when they had tried to carry out work in the past "from every side the men laughed at us and mocked us instead of supporting and helping...they tried all sorts of methods to discourage us and stand in our way."³³² According to the account, the women attempted to resist the men's attitudes and behaviour: "...we fought against it but some women gave in to the attacks and out of sixteen there are nine of us left."³³³ Though some *tovarishy* had begun to help the branch, the report called for unity, demanding to the hostile *tovarishy*, "Why do you take it out on us who are workers just as you? It's time to stop thinking that a woman is a weak creature whom you can attack at any time because she does not have the means to defend herself."³³⁴ The case for women in Toronto was

³³²HR, March 1923, translation by Larissa Stavroff.

³³³Ibid.

³³⁴HR, March 1923, translation by Larissa Stavroff. See also *Robitnytsia*, August 15, 1927, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

similar. The hostility the women encountered trying to work as a group at the Ukrainian Labour Temples was so fierce at times that it came to the attention of national organizers. When Anna Moysiuk toured Eastern Canada during 1927 to assist with the coordination of the Women's Section, she found male indifference to women's work and needs to be "the worst and most unforgivable" shortcoming of the ULFTA.³³⁵

Male indifference, hostility, and attempts at dominating women within the Progressive Ukrainian community had deep roots linked to traditional gender roles in Ukrainian peasant villages. Many men saw little need for the Women's Branches or found it laughable that women should have a high profile as organizers in the Ukrainian Left. Other men, believing a woman's place was in the home, feared losing the labour their wives provided if these women were to become active in Women's Section activities. While on tour, Moysiuk reported that she found many men forbade their wives to take part because, as she put it, "they fear trouble."³³⁶ What sort of trouble? The account from the Sault Ste. Marie women suggested that many men believed that, with Women's Section involvement, wives would "want to abandon their husbands or force them to cook and wash dishes."³³⁷ It is unknown whether any men suffered such a fate. However, it is clear, that as a result of peasant roots, gender roles reinforced by the movement, and seemingly chronic harassment from some *tovarishy*, women had a very different organizational experience with the Ukrainian Left than their male counterparts.

The framing of women's experiences through their domestic and motherhood functions, differences in women's experiences with Ukrainian

³³⁵*Robitnytsia*, October 1, 1927, translation by Larissa Stavroff.

³³⁶*Ibid.*

³³⁷*HR*, March 1923, translation by Larissa Stavroff.

cultural activity, and the existence of the Women's Branch and *Robitnytsia* meant that a gendered division of activism was clearly at work among adults on the Ukrainian Left. These separate spheres carried over to influence the ways in which women and men experienced other activities with which the Progressive Ukrainian community were tied. Nowhere was this more evident than in how Progressive Ukrainian women and men encountered the Communist Party of Canada. The Ukrainian Left has been labelled "Communist" or "Pro-communist"³³⁸ by a variety of individuals taking up study of the movement's history. Unfortunately, because of the overemphasis placed on institutional and traditional definitions of the political and a limited vision of what constitutes activism, only the male experience with the Party—and particularly that of men who worked in the highest echelons of the movement—has been examined in any depth. The contributions and commitment of women, which do not fit into this male model of experience, have thus been unexplored. Generally speaking, Progressive Ukrainian women were further away from the Party than their male counterparts were.

At the same time, Ukrainian women experienced the Party differently than women in other leftist groups during the interwar period. In terms of the support roles women played on the Ukrainian Left and the emphasis placed on their function as wives and mothers, they shared experiences similar to women in other political movements.³³⁹

³³⁸See for example Orest Martynowych, *The Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Years, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: CIUS, 1991).

³³⁹For examples of support roles played by women in various socialist and left-wing movements, see Joan Sangster, *Dreams of Equality: Women on the Canadian Left, 1920-1950* (Toronto: M&S, 1989), 53, Janice Newton, *The Feminist Challenge to the Canadian Left, 1900-1918* (Montreal: 1995), 48-49, and Linda Kealey's *Enlisting Women for the Cause: Women, Labour, and the Left in Canada, 1890-1920* (Toronto: 1998), 6-9. Similar examples abound for women in religious organizations and

This commonality aside, for most of the interwar era, Progressive Ukrainian women were relatively isolated from other socialist women, their ideas, and their work. Because of the importance of Ukrainian cultural preservation for Progressive Ukrainian women and the fact that few spoke English, Ukrainian women tended to prefer to carry out their activism almost exclusively through the Ukrainian Left. While they supported other women outside their communities, rarely were Progressive Ukrainian women in direct or frequent contact with other women.

Progressive Ukrainian women were no less radical than their menfolk or other radical women. They supported ULFTA and Party activities, turning out for traditional events like protests and rallies usually as representatives of the ULFTA Women's Section. Helen Kassian, for example, remembered that in Winnipeg during the Depression, members of the Women's Section, along with other local mothers took part in May Day and other demonstrations. According to Kassian, "it was a great honour for the women, pushing carriages with their babies in them, to head the parade."³⁴⁰ Regularly throughout the interwar era, Progressive Ukrainian women raised money for the Party and its press, often using the same strategies they employed in this capacity for the ULFTA.³⁴¹ Usually, however, even when conducting activities similar to those of other women, Progressive Ukrainian women chose to express their activism differently and in different venues than both Ukrainian men and other Progressive women. While Ukrainians were, for much of the interwar

right-wing political groups.

³⁴⁰Helen Kassian in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 441-448.

³⁴¹See for example, Report dated January 19, 1928 re "Ukrainian Labor Farmer Temple Assn., Edmonton, Alta." NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3814: "AUUC Women's Branch Edmonton, Alta. corresp. to 11.6.58 incl." On this day, Edmonton women held a dance to benefit both the Ukrainian Labour Temple and *The Worker*, a CPC publication.

period, "the second largest group in the CPC,"³⁴² rarely would any of these Ukrainians be women. Few Progressive Ukrainian women chose to channel their efforts through formal Party membership, nor did they work directly for the Party through the Women's Labour Leagues as other radical women might have during the interwar period.³⁴³ Instead, Ukrainian women confined their work to the Women's Branches of the ULFTA where they carried out their efforts in the Ukrainian language, infusing elements of Ukrainian culture into their activism. For example, when asked to help with a Young Communist League picnic in June of 1931, Winnipeg Women's Branch members volunteered to contribute a traditional Ukrainian dish of *holuptsi*.³⁴⁴ In this way, then, the women of the Ukrainian Left, on their own terms, supported the work of the Party.

A number of factors related to the intersection of gender with ethnicity played into this separation of Progressive Ukrainian women from their male counterparts and from other radical women during the interwar era. First, women's interests in terms of activity appeared to be different than the male activist model. Moreover, the criticism women faced from men for allegedly being ignorant or 'backwards' likely created a chilly climate making women feel unwelcome at Party meetings dominated by men. The activities for which they were expected to be responsible at the Ukrainian Labour Temples and the demands this work placed on their already busy lives as working-class homemakers and mothers also made it hard for women to take on additional work with the Party. For these reasons, Progressive Ukrainian women, unlike men, were

³⁴²Avakumovic, 35.

³⁴³Sangster, 148.

³⁴⁴Membership Meeting, June 22, 1931, Women's Branch, Winnipeg, 1931 Minute Book, WBA, Winnipeg, Manitoba, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

less apt to turn to the Party as an outlet for activism.

Moreover, Ukrainian women were separated from other women who supported the Party for additional reasons. Few Progressive Ukrainian women of the immigrant generation spoke English and, given the ethnic character of the working-class neighborhoods in which they lived and the availability of newspapers published in the Ukrainian language by the Ukrainian Left, many found that they could get by knowing only Ukrainian, so long as they remained within their particular ethnic enclave. While they may have had other experiences in common, differences in language meant that Progressive Ukrainian women and their Finnish or English-speaking cohorts could not communicate effectively with one another to engage in significant political activities together. Hints of sisterhood and women's solidarity were certainly evident. Women's Branch members, particularly in Party-led labour disputes, often lent support to other women workers by donating money or picketing to support female strikers as the Winnipeg Women's Branch did to support striking dressmakers in Toronto in 1931.³⁴⁵ Progressive Ukrainian women also worked with other radical women on annual events. The most important of these would have been International Women's Day celebrations, which were often held at Ukrainian Labour Temples across Canada. For the most part, however, women on the Ukrainian Left worked together in isolation from other radical women.

Even those women who led the ULFTA Women's Branches, worked with the CWC, and liaised with male leaders of the Ukrainian Left felt most comfortable carrying out their work in the Ukrainian setting. In 1930,

³⁴⁵Executive Meeting, January 23, 1931, Women's Branch, Winnipeg, 1931 Minute Book, found WBA, Winnipeg, Manitoba, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

Women's Branch member *Tovarishka* Zen was selected by the Party to join a tour to the Soviet Union "to help build support for the USSR in Canada."³⁴⁶ Upon her return, she spent part of 1931 writing articles for the Progressive Ukrainian press and touring Canada describing the Soviet Union and praising conditions there, particularly as they existed for women.³⁴⁷ Much to the Party's chagrin, however, Zen was only comfortable carrying out this work in Ukrainian. She and a Finnish comrade "frustrated the Party with their reluctance to write articles or speak in English."³⁴⁸ Toward the end of the 1930's, a smattering of politicized younger Ukrainian women began to emerge as a bilingual link between women of the Ukrainian Left and other radical women. However, most at the time were still too young to bridge the language gap in a far-reaching manner. It was only during and especially after the war that these women would help to develop stronger ties with women of the Progressive Ukrainian community and other women. Until then, language continued to act as an effective barrier to considerable joint activity between Ukrainian and other radical women.

Because of this isolation, Progressive Ukrainian women experienced the Party differently than both Progressive Ukrainian men and other women. One of the most significant ways in which this was evident was the way changes in Party policy during the 1920's and 1930's did little to practically change the nature of Ukrainian women's activities and activism despite the power and influence the Party gained overall in Canada at that time. During the Third Period, for example, the

³⁴⁶Sangster, 69-70.

³⁴⁷Meeting of Women's Section, January 26, 1931, Women's Branch, Winnipeg, 1931 Minute Book, found WBA, Winnipeg, Manitoba, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

³⁴⁸Sangster, 70.

Comintern called for increased focus on the organization of female industrial workers as part of the "Turn." For their part, male leaders of the Ukrainian Left pushed women to follow the Party's decrees at events at the halls, particularly "educationals" which increasingly employed revolutionary language as the decade progressed. At the same time, the male editors of *Robitnytsia* made sure the paper took on a new, more militant tone and focus. In 1931, for example, *tovarishky* were reminded in one headline to "Build the Party of your Class: Join the Ranks of the CP!"³⁴⁹ while in 1934, poems such as "Vanguard", "Hunger March", and "To the Fascists" were regularly published.³⁵⁰

While some Ukrainian women did embrace the new Party line, as evidenced in the letters they wrote to the papers, the work of most Ukrainian women hardly shifted at all. They continued to work along the same lines as they always had, organizing bazaars, raising money for the press, taking part in cultural activities (despite Party criticism of these activities), and cooking for Ukrainian Labour Temple functions. In doing so, they disappointed male Ukrainian leaders by refusing to redefine their methods of activism to suit the model proscribed by the Party and thus bore the brunt of continued criticism from men in the organization. So little did Ukrainian women adjust to the Party line that some Ukrainian Left male correspondents argued in *Robitnytsia* that the Women's Branch should be liquidated, a suggestion which the women opposed virulently on the pages of the paper. Joan Sangster suggests that for Ukrainian women, "reluctance...to embrace the 'turn' was due in part to their occupational segregation-as housewives-from wage-earning

³⁴⁹*Robitnytsia*, May 15, 1931, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

³⁵⁰*Robitnytsia*, November 1, 1934, translated by Larissa Stavroff.

women."³⁵¹ Adding to this reluctance was likely the threat of deportation for so-called subversive activities that hung over the heads of immigrant families, as well as the problems many women faced communicating in a language other than Ukrainian. Like all members of the Ukrainian Left, women became more militant in their work as the Depression wore on. How much this had to do with Party decrees and how much it had to do with dire economic circumstances is difficult to know. Nonetheless, even with increased militancy, women's work changed little. Rather, their prior efforts intensified and took on a new urgency as women dealt with their own circumstances as impoverished members of the working class while at the same time trying to assist others dealing with economic hardship. Kitchen and other domestic work, especially, continued to be important. Collectively, in labour temples across the country, women set up kitchens to cook and provide other much-needed services for the unemployed. In West Toronto, according to Anna Andreyko, "during the years of economic crisis of the thirties, unemployed people, in transit from one city to another, used to sleep in our Ukrainian Labour Temple. We helped them by laundering their clothes and providing food for them."³⁵²

Women also supported causes associated with the Party and helped the under and unemployed. When local workers struck, ULFTA women helped out by providing sustenance for picketers. Pauline Dmytruk walked the picket line in solidarity with workers on strike at Swift and Canada Packers in Edmonton in 1937 and along with other Ukrainian Labour Temple

³⁵¹Sangster, 5.

³⁵²Anna Andreyko in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 517-521, see also Eugenia Makutra, 457-460, Mary Swityk, 251-252.

women helped to make sandwiches and coffee for the strikers.³⁵³

Progressive Ukrainian women could be just as militant as men in these demonstrations. Anna Mokry marched in a Hunger Trek of the Unemployed which took place in Edmonton in 1932. She explained, "The members of the Women's Section of the ULFTA walked in the front ranks of this march and many of us were beaten by the police...I was one of those who were beaten during this trek...."³⁵⁴

In many ways, however, despite the importance of this grassroots activism in the lives of countless individuals fed and otherwise assisted by Progressive Ukrainian women, overall during the 1930's, as a result of Party policy, the work of these women came to be further devalued in the eyes of many male organizers, both from the ULFTA and the Party. Criticism for Ukrainian women's alleged backwardness increased as they continually failed to live up to male expectations for and male models of activism. Despite the work they conducted raising money, keeping the halls clean and organized, cooking, and participating in social, political, and cultural activities, women were increasingly criticized for not being active enough. From the late 1920's until the end of its run in 1937, *Robitnytsia* constantly contained articles berating women and the Women's Branches for lack of class-consciousness, a failure to educate themselves and for neglecting to adequately inform the paper of local branch activities. Notwithstanding the workload and obligations placed upon women in their own branches and groups, female members were also scolded for not doing enough work with the main ULFTA

³⁵³Pauline Dmytruk in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 136-138. See also Likeria Danylchenko, Anna Nahorniak in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 286-290, page.

³⁵⁴Anna Mokry in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 151-156.

branches and for not working enough with the activities of their male counterparts in the class struggle.

Some of this criticism may have lightened with the advent of the Popular Front in the mid-1930's, a period of organization where grassroots activism was encouraged and "tactics were designed to politicize women around their day-to-day experiences as wives and mothers."³⁵⁵ However, it is unlikely that many links were made between Progressive Ukrainian women and other women, Ukrainian or otherwise, as the Party hoped when it encouraged its female supporters to take part in "mainstream women's organizations."³⁵⁶ For one, language remained a barrier for Progressive Ukrainian women, impeding to their access to English language groups. At the same time, links with other Ukrainian women, particularly those who participated in church activities, were difficult to forge since many were not favorably disposed to aligning themselves with so-called Communists. While they may have found it difficult to participate in the Popular Front outside of their own organizations, women were still active, as they had been in other ULFTA/Party causes and periods, working on activities to support anti-fascist efforts in Canada and around the world. One of the most celebrated of these Popular Front efforts, of course, centered around supporting men, particularly those from the Progressive Ukrainian community, who volunteered to go overseas to battle Franco and his forces in the Spanish Civil War (1936-39).

All in all, then, aside from intensity of activity, the only way in which women's work changed over the course of the Depression was with

³⁵⁵Sangster, 137.

³⁵⁶Ibid.

the particular struggles they supported, and it is with this that the Party did have a hand in shaping the focus of the Women's Branch. Otherwise--and no matter what the cause--Progressive Ukrainian women continued to act as they always had by cooking, cleaning, and canvassing, preferring to channel their efforts through the Ukrainian speaking milieu of the Progressive Ukrainian community. The Party benefitted both directly and indirectly from their efforts, though never in the way Party and ULFTA leaders hoped women would contribute. Few women became members of the Party. Thus, by taking a gendered approach to the history of the ULFTA and its CPC ties, we see that the community experience was much more diverse than had previously been documented by historians.

World War II and the events resulting from the King government's ban on the institutions of the Ukrainian Left had serious ramifications for Progressive Ukrainians. For women, the change meant many things. To replace the interned men, men keeping a low profile for fear of being interned, and men who had gone overseas to fight, women shifted the ways in which they expressed their activism, and temporarily took on roles that had, in previous decades, been designated as the domain of male members and supporters. Though there were still men involved with leadership in the movement, this work of women could not go unnoticed.

While both older and younger women were important during this time of crisis, much of this work was assumed by the bilingual, Canadian-born generation of young women who had grown up and were socialized and politicized in the movement during its first twenty years of existence. Many, but not all, were married to men who were interned. During much of the war, these young women became responsible, in addition to their

regular duties in the home, for central positions of leadership on the Ukrainian Left during a time when the movement faced potential liquidation at the hands of the federal government. Thanks to the ban and the multicultural backgrounds of those interned from across the radical left, these women also gained new, valuable, and substantial experience working in tandem with other Progressive women. Together both older and younger Progressive Ukrainian women carried the Ukrainian Left through the particularly difficult early years of the Second World War, bringing the movement to a place of rebuilding at war's end, while in the meantime managing to continue its cultural and political work and also contributing significantly to Canada's war effort.

These shifting gender roles certainly did not permanently challenge the Ukrainian Left's male-dominated power structure. However, wartime opportunities for women's leadership propelled several of these younger, bilingual women into key roles as organizers in the movement, positions they retained as Progressive Ukrainian women's coordinators at war's end. Their work also fostered permanent links with women outside the Ukrainian Left which remained intact and grew into important socialist feminist connections well into the postwar decades.

For Progressive Ukrainian women, taking on national and grassroots positions was challenging. Because the Ukrainian Labour Temples were closed by government order, women had to find new venues for meetings and cultural activities to replace those that had been confiscated. Moreover, since the movement's newspapers and other channels of communication had been lost in the ban, women were forced to coordinate activities of the Ukrainian Left with few resources at their disposal. In addition to these difficulties, female relatives of the interned had

to cope with a variety of other hardships. Besides having to deal with the unexpected loss of their husbands, fathers, and brothers, many women also had to contend with the sudden deprivation of financial support these men had provided, most of whom would have been the primary breadwinners in the household. These women were often forced to divide their energies between campaigning for the release of their loved ones and devising strategies to eke out an existence amidst difficult social and political conditions in wartime Canada. Other women, though not married to interned men, still often had the additional challenge of balancing their organizational work with the necessity of employment outside the home in factory and other jobs vacated by men serving overseas. In terms of paid labour and organizational work, World War Two certainly shifted the roles and experiences of many Progressive Ukrainian women.

In the wee hours of July 6, 1940, Mary Prokopchak and her husband were prematurely awakened by the sounds of knocking at their door. As she explained, that morning, "using special 'Red Squads', the RCMP raided the homes of seventeen Ukrainian anti-fascist leaders in Winnipeg. Our leaders were arrested and interned in concentration camps, without charge or trial. Among them was my husband Peter."³⁵⁷ For days, Prokopchak and other wives had no idea where their husbands were, nor for how long or why they were being detained.

The wives of the interned were among those members and supporters of the Ukrainian Left who experienced the most significant change during the Second World War. With their husbands, often the sole means of family support, behind bars, many women had to contend with the need to

³⁵⁷Mary Prokopchak in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 468-482.

find alternative methods of income to support themselves, and, in many cases, their children. Some women pressured the government to help them provide for their families. As early as August, 1940, the wives of the interned, as a group, began demanding material support from the local relief office in Winnipeg.³⁵⁸ Some women turned to other methods to bring in income. Katherine Shatulsky, for example, supported her young son Myron and maintained her household while her husband Matthew was interned by renting out a portion of the family home and working outside the home for pay. Those women who could not support themselves and their children on their own came to rely on extended family during the internment crisis. Alice Bilecki left Winnipeg and returned with her ten month old son and sister-in-law to Montreal to be closer to family when rumours of the possibility of arrest began to fly. Shortly after she left, her husband Anthony, who had remained behind in Winnipeg working for the Ukrainian left, was arrested along with the eighteen other leaders.³⁵⁹ The two-year internment changed drastically the living standard and day-to-existence of the wives left behind.

In addition to maintaining their families, wives of interned Ukrainian men worked individually and with other women whose husbands were imprisoned as a result of the ban on the CPC to secure their release. Progressive Ukrainian women wrote letters, participated in protests, and were active with groups such as the Committee for the Release of Labour Prisoners (CRLP) and the National Committee of

³⁵⁸Report "Ukrainian Labour Farmers Temple Association" dated August 1, 1940 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792, "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba", part 9.

³⁵⁹Alice Bilecki in *'Forgotten Legacy': Contribution of Socialist Ukrainians to Canada*. Winnipeg: CSULR, 1997, 3-6; Alice Bilecki, interviewed by RLH, 1998. See also Helen Weir-Hale's story in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 499-506.

Democratic Rights (NCDR). Through these activities and the shared experience of their husbands' internment, many ties with other Progressive women outside the Ukrainian Left developed.

The women employed many tactics in their struggle. In 1942, Mary Naviziwsky, for example, wrote to Minister of Justice Louis St. Laurent challenging the government's justification for the internment of her husband, John.³⁶⁰ Other women engaged in acts of public protest. For example, Mary Prokopchak, as a member of the CRLP, along with other wives like Helen Krechmarowsky and supporter Norman Penner, son of interned Communist Party alderman Jacob Penner, journeyed as a delegation to Ottawa on several occasions to demand the release of the interned.³⁶¹

Wives and supporters, while pushing mainly for the liberation of the interned, also pressured for improved conditions in the internment camps. Prokopchak explained, "we demanded their release, pending that, their segregation from fascists in the concentration camps, [and] that their status be that of political prisoners and not prisoners of war or enemies of Canada."³⁶² Other women, many of whom did not have husbands in the camps but supported the prisoners and plans for their release, contributed goods and well-wishes to the men in an effort to improve their material circumstances. Interned Matthew Shatulsky and the other men appreciated the food and other items. On one occasion, he wrote to his wife asking her to send thanks to "Mrs. N. Klybonaowsky and Mary from Edmonton" from whom he had received a parcel with "cabbage,

³⁶⁰Letter from Mary Navis to Hon. L. St. Laurent, Minister of Justice dated August 14, 1942 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol [John Navis; pps 2234-1714--Internment Records].

³⁶¹Mary Prokopchak in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 468-482.

³⁶²Ibid.

carrots, corn, apples, pears and so on" which he "divided among our boys" in the camp.³⁶³ The varied efforts of wives and supporters of the progressive Ukrainian community helped to make the time in the camps more bearable. Work, then, while focussing on the ultimate goal of release was also necessarily inclined toward improving the lot of the interned while they remained in government custody.

Though it was a long time coming, the Ukrainian men and their comrades were eventually released. Their freedom came as a result of a variety of factors, one of the most significant being the continued pressure being applied by women like Prokopchak and Naviziwsky who, along with other wives continued to demand their husbands' release. The support the wives and their allies had amassed made it difficult for the government to ignore the fact that the internees enjoyed widespread support in their calls for freedom³⁶⁴

Though the men made their way back to the Progressive Ukrainian community two years after the ban was imposed, the community itself was not fully intact. The ULFTA was still illegal, and most of the properties and materials that had been confiscated had not yet been returned. The ban imposed on the ULFTA by the federal government was a terrible setback to the work of the progressive Ukrainian community. As a result of the crisis, women, like all members of the movement, found the early years of the war emotionally and psychologically challenging. Interwar Women's Branch member Eugenia Makutra and her friends "wept as we walked in front of the Ukrainian Labour Temple which we were

³⁶³Letter from M. Shatulsky to wife Katherine and son Myron dated September 2, 1940 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4677, "Matthew Shatulsky," file part 2.

³⁶⁴Helen Weir-Hale, Mary Prokopchak in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 499-506, 468-482.

forbidden to enter."³⁶⁵ Regaining the halls was, quite obviously, one of the most important priorities for the Progressive Ukrainian community and to this struggle women contributed much.

Unfortunately, it was not until after 1943 that the Ukrainian Left got back most of their halls or compensation for ones that had been sold in deals that could not be reversed. Even once returned, at many of the Ukrainian Labour Temples materials and equipment had often been damaged or destroyed. Nonetheless, despite these problems, throughout the conditions of the ban and beyond, women still managed to maintain significant vestiges of cultural and social activity within the Ukrainian Left. This helped to boost the morale of the community as a whole and was especially important for raising money, creating a positive image of the Ukrainian Left, and greatly aiding in garnering support and sympathy for the internees.

Obviously, with the Ukrainian Labour Temples padlocked, one of the most difficult problems the women had to face was finding meeting places. In some cases, members of the movement rented halls from other organizations sympathetic to their plight. In other instances, women opened their homes to the movement, allowing gatherings, classes, and rehearsals to take place under the radar of Canadian authorities. Anna Andreyko recalled that, in Toronto, "we held banquets in houses and rehearsed plays which we put on in halls that we rented wherever we could get them. Although it wasn't very often, we did manage to put on plays and we continued with our organizational work."³⁶⁶

While persisting with cultural and organizational activities as

³⁶⁵Eugenia Makutra in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 457-460.

³⁶⁶Anna Andreyko in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 517-521.

best as they could, women also gave of themselves in the campaign to have the halls returned. After 1942, much of this work was publicly managed by the newly-released interned male leaders. The overall success of the cause lay, however, with the tireless efforts of women working at the grassroots level using a variety of tactics. Probably the most popular method used was the petition. In 1944, Kalyna Bazhansky of Hamilton, Ontario, recalled collecting, along with other local labour temple members, more than 3,600 signatures on a petition calling for the return of the Hamilton Ukrainian Labour Temple to the ULFTA. Women also worked to amass extensive public support for the Ukrainian Left by networking with supportive groups and individuals outside the Progressive Ukrainian community.³⁶⁷ In the end, Bazhansky recalled, "It was a great victory when we got our hall back because now we had our own quarters, our hall."³⁶⁸ Rightfully, when the halls were returned, women were at the helm of the victory celebrations. Anna Andreyko, for example, presided over the concert held to mark the reopening of the West Toronto Ukrainian Labour Temple held on April 29, 1944, which collected \$700 to assist with the hall's restoration to its pre-war condition.³⁶⁹

While fighting for the return of the halls and awaiting word of the release of the interned, numerous women also joined in work to support the war effort. Many had sons, brothers, and husbands in the armed services from the earliest days and were thus interested in a

³⁶⁷Mary Skrypnyk, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

³⁶⁸Kalyna Bazhansky in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 350-355; see also Kalyna Mateychuk, 262-264.

³⁶⁹N. Kobil, "We Resume Activities in the Ukrainian Labor Temple," *UZ*, June 8, 1944 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4677, "Matthew Shatulsky," file part 2.

successful and short prosecution of the conflict.³⁷⁰ Women's work in the war effort was most substantial at the local level. Women's Branch members took part in a variety of activities across the country. Some acted to support the Soviet Union directly and shape Allied efforts. Waylyna Alexiewich, for example, remembered standing with other women on street corners handing out leaflets pushing for the opening of a second front in Western Europe to expedite the defeat of Hitler.³⁷¹ Others did what they could to lend comfort to soldiers overseas. In West Toronto, women created a committee to gather gifts and cigarettes to be mailed to Ukrainian soldiers serving in the Canadian services. In addition to this, Anna Andreyko, a member of this committee, recalled that the group regularly corresponded with thirty-eight soldiers.³⁷²

Young women began to evolve during the war as a force in their own right for the war effort. Mary Skrypnyk, for example, had been well on her way to becoming an important female leader in Winnipeg in the years immediately prior to the war. Unlike other women with links to the CPC, no Progressive Ukrainian women were interned³⁷³ probably since few were members of the Party or were involved in positions of authority in the ULFTA like men were. However, Skrypnyk's importance as an emerging leader was demonstrated by the fact that she was given money to flee

³⁷⁰See for example Mary Naviziwsky in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, Peter Krawchuk, *Interned Without Cause*, and John Navis records of Internment in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol [John Navis; pps 2234-1714--Internment Records].

³⁷¹Waylyna Alexiewich in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 119-127.

³⁷²Anna Andreyko in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 517-521. See also Maria Vynohradova in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 265-272.

³⁷³Several Anglo-Celtic women with ties to the CPC were arrested and imprisoned in the Portage la Prairie jail. For more information on these women, see Sangster, 166-169.

Winnipeg when the wave of ULFTA arrests began. She returned to her hometown of Hamilton, Ontario, where she obtained work in an anti-aircraft gun factory. Thanks to her training at the Higher Educational Course and experience as an organizer with the progressive Ukrainian movement, she was able to take on positions as shop steward and union representative. At the same time, Skrypnyk also contributed to the rebuilding of the Ukrainian left and its work during the war by writing a special column, "Women's Work in the War Effort," for the movement's new Ukrainian language newspaper, *Ukrainske zhyttia*.³⁷⁴ As a young woman, Skrypnyk thus became important as a national leader among women during the war, a role she would maintain well into the postwar years.

In addition to the new and important roles some young women like Skrypnyk came to play at the national level, at the local level during WWII, an important division began to emerge among women that would become even more pronounced in the post-war period. Able to communicate in both Ukrainian and English, educated in the Canadian school system and often through the Ukrainian Left's Higher Educational Courses for promising youth, the daughters of the ULFTA's Women's Branch began to shine as a distinct force as leaders and participants. Getting their feet wet in the ULFTA just prior to the war, in the anti-internment campaign (often to free their husbands), and in the Ukrainian Left's war effort, these young women gained valuable skills and experience. Moreover, not content to work in the same ways as their mothers and grandmothers, these women began to form associations reflective of their generation and interests. Less encumbered by the peasant cultural

³⁷⁴Mary Skrypnyk, interviewed by RLH, 1999; Mary Skrypnyk in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 483-488.

baggage that shaped lives of the immigrant generation women, many of these younger women would come to hold key positions of women's leadership in the postwar period. Especially important would be the intercultural links with other progressive women's groups these young, bilingual, Progressive Ukrainian women would forge during the postwar period.

The first signs of a pronounced intergenerational split among adults came with the creation of Young Women's Victory Clubs as part of the war effort in 1941.³⁷⁵ These clubs were formed across the country wherever a large enough contingent of young, usually married women (many of whom had young children) was present. The women had a special interest in supporting the war effort as many were married to men serving overseas.

One of the original and most dynamic Young Women's Victory Clubs was in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Mary Kardash, active as a ULFTA leader prior to the war, was one of the founding members. According to Kardash, club members took part in a variety of activities, sometimes on their own and at other times with the older women. As she recalled, "We conducted cultural-educational work among Canadian women, we worked together with the older women members of the ULFTA in the Red Cross campaigns and the Committee for Aiding the Soviet Union, we sent parcels to our fighting men, and so on."³⁷⁶ Like the other older women's branches, the Young Women's Club knit items like mitts, socks, and scarves and raised money for cigarettes for the troops. The clubs served an important social and support function for the young women. For example, Eloise Popiel

³⁷⁵Beth Krall, "40th Anniversary Tribute," *UC*, June 15, 1962; Mary Kardash in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 295-303.

³⁷⁶Mary Kardash in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 295-303.

remembered that although a lot of the work would be done individually at home, meetings would be held bi-weekly so the women could socialize and display the results of their efforts.³⁷⁷

There were several reasons why these clubs had appeal for younger women. The Young Women's Victory Clubs gave younger women a chance to meet and work with others of similar age and experience. That this work, unlike that of the Women's Branches, was conducted in the English language was particularly important. This is why Joyce Pawlyk, for example, joined the Winnipeg Young Women's Club in Winnipeg.³⁷⁸ Though many of these young women would have grown up in homes where Ukrainian was spoken and might have studied the language at Ukrainian school growing up in the halls, having been educated in the Canadian educational system, many were most comfortable conducting their work in English. The Young Women's Clubs also presented younger women with the opportunity to shape and control their own group and activism. The Women's Branches were controlled by the immigrant generation of women, and many of the activities in which they engaged did not necessarily interest younger women. The establishment of a Young Women's Club meant that younger women would have a venue in which to discover and have autonomy over activities that most interested them. This work and the interests of younger women would have a profound influence in shaping the roles and opportunities of all women after war's end.

Overall, then, women played important roles on the Ukrainian Left during the Second World War. As leaders and supporters in the anti-internment cause, the campaign to return the halls, and the war effort,

³⁷⁷Eloise Popiel, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

³⁷⁸Joyce Pawlyk, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

they performed a variety of functions essential to keeping the Progressive Ukrainian movement alive during the difficult war years. For younger women, especially, the war was crucial to shaping the positions they would come to play in the postwar rebuilding of the Ukrainian Left, particularly among women. As such, while World War Two was an important watershed for the Progressive Ukrainian community in general, it was particularly significant for shaping the place of women in the postwar period.

After the war ended, Progressive Ukrainian women and the movement as a whole entered a new era. In terms of the work and activities of women, the period was broadly marked by both continuity and change. In terms of the ways in which women's roles were framed and the sort of activities with which they were engaged at the halls, continuity prevailed. Change came as a result of the increased and permanent division between the older, immigrant generation of women and the younger, usually Canadian-born generation of women who had grown up in the movement. Change was also felt thanks to external economic and social issues that influenced the experiences of women in the Progressive Ukrainian community. At the same time, unlike the interwar period, which was one of growth for the Ukrainian left, the postwar period and women's involvement with the Progressive Ukrainian community, though at times still vibrant, played out against a backdrop of slow, steady decline in the movement's influence and activities.

In terms of continuity, women's traditional domestic roles and motherhood remained central defining characteristics that shaped opportunities and functions for women in the movement. Unfortunately, however, this characterization did not measure up well with the reality

of postwar life for many Progressive Ukrainian women, particularly those of the Canadian-born generation. For example, though the majority of women continued to take on the responsibilities of motherhood, many also took on the charge of a job outside the home. Numerous women in the interwar period had, at times, held paid work, but it was often sporadic and impermanent, usually to get the family through a period of economic calamity. After the war, however, many younger women increasingly and permanently entered the labour force. Be that as it may, the Ukrainian Left, like other radical political groups, failed to move away from a domestic characterization to one that spoke more to women's experiences as workers in their own right. These attitudes were especially problematic for women who engaged in paid labour within the Progressive Ukrainian community. As the Ukrainian Left's links with Soviet Ukraine developed, so, too, did many new business ventures evolve within the movement, creating a need for service sector workers. Despite their being skilled, bilingual workers and the Ukrainian Left's progressive political stance, few women encountered equal treatment, pay, or opportunity when working for the movement's businesses. Instead, like their work at the halls, women tended to be relegated to lower paid support roles. Women, themselves, working within the Progressive Ukrainian community and through external women's groups, had to attempt to challenge and reshape roles for and attitudes toward women on the Ukrainian Left to better reflect the reality of their experiences.

Much of this work was carried out by the bilingual generation of younger women who had come to the fore during WWII. Unlike the immigrant generation during the interwar period, younger women did have additional opportunities within the community. Though men still

dominated the Ukrainian Left, a handful of younger women were often able to take on new positions of leadership in the movement at the national and local levels. Through these roles they were able to shape (though often only in a limited fashion) policy and activities as they related to women and the movement generally.

Interestingly, the disadvantage the immigrant generation of women had enjoyed in terms of leadership roles and power benefited these younger women at this time to the point that they enjoyed opportunities not available to Canadian-born men. Younger men did not have a parallel route of entry into the leadership. While space existed for younger women to move into leadership roles coordinating women's and children's activity, younger men were marginalized and kept from significant power on the Ukrainian Left by the older, immigrant generation of men who had led the movement from its earliest inception just after WWI and refused to give up power, often hanging on to positions well into old age.

After the war, women also moved outside the Progressive Ukrainian community to express their activism. Because language was no longer a barrier for younger women as it had been in the interwar era for the immigrant generation, isolating them from other socialist women, increasingly the Canadian-born women tended to work with women from other leftist groups like the CPC, the Congress of Canadian Women, Voice of Women, and, later, a variety of new left and feminist groups. As leaders of the Ukrainian Left, their work was also important in maintaining links and unity among the older and younger women's groups at the halls.

Attempts at such unity were important as the gulf between the immigrant and Canadian-born generations of women continued to widen

because of language, age, authority, and interests. Older women continued to be the mainstay of Women's Branch activities, while younger women created new forms of work and activity at the halls based on their own priorities and interests. Similarities certainly existed between the two groups. Both cohorts of women, for example, continued to be relegated to support roles in the movement. Their volunteer labour remained the mainstay of funding and guaranteed the existence of many activities at the halls. It was in how this work was carried out that differences emerged. Older women, for example, tended to dominate kitchen work and hall maintenance (labour with which they had been engaged prior to the war), carrying out their work through the Women's Branch. Younger women, on the other hand, framed through their roles as mothers, often looked after local children's activities.

In terms of cultural activity, continuity in activity was also evident. Women continued to participate in the types of cultural work as they had in the interwar period. However, after the war, women's handiwork took on a special importance for promoting the Ukrainian Left publicly and helping to illustrate how the community had integrated itself into Canadian society. As an act of diversity in citizenship, the embroidery of women was crucial to creating a positive image of the Progressive Ukrainian community. Moreover, women's abilities to pass on their cultural skills to younger generations became emphasized as well given the concern about assimilation and the desire of many young parents to have their children educated in Ukrainian traditions.

Action for social change also remained central, though in the postwar period many of these activities came to take on new forms, often because of the influence of contemporary Canadian social trends, popular

culture, and changes in women's experiences. This change also came about because many of the issues for which the Ukrainian left had fought in the interwar period had been resolved or had become less relevant as established Ukrainians in Canada came to experience increasing upward mobility and better conditions as members of the working class in the prosperous economy of postwar Canada. Women still continued to work with their male counterparts on labour and social issues, but they also expressed their activism by working for causes like peace, price controls, and, later on, the women's rights movement.

Much work needed to be done when the war ended. The Ukrainian Left had to be rebuilt, halls had to be repaired, and activities that had been stunted by wartime events had to be begun anew. The movement was keen to continue the momentum it had gained as a result of participation in the war effort. Women were key to the rebuilding of the rejuvenated postwar Ukrainian left. This was evident with the variety of activities women took on and the higher levels of authority and involvement they were able to gain within the Progressive Ukrainian community after the war. For example, at the 1946 AUC convention, three women were elected to the national executive of the organization, the body that oversaw and linked all activities of the Progressive Ukrainian community. Sofia Hreban was selected as assistant secretary for the women's division, while Mary Prokopchak and Jessie Martyniuk held executive positions on the board.³⁷⁹ Though still outnumbered by men, these women played important roles, particularly in areas related to

³⁷⁹"Alberta School Principal Heads Ukrainian Canadians," *Winnipeg Free Press*, January 1, 1946 and Report dated February 15, 1946 re "Ukrainian-Canadian Association - National Convention - Winnipeg, Man., January 11th to 16th, 1945" in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4677, "Matthew Shatulsky," file part 2.

women's involvement. Their contributions were especially important in maintaining unity among women of differing generations.

At the grassroots level, the generational division among women was most evident in branch activity. Women of the immigrant generation tended to conduct their activity as they always had through the Women's Branch. After the war, the AUUC formed formal English-speaking Branches to stem the tide of assimilation and serve the needs of younger people interested in taking part in the movement but who were uncomfortable with working in the Ukrainian language. The Young Women's Clubs formed during the war were not branches in and of themselves, but instead they fell under the auspices of the English-speaking Branches.³⁸⁰ The Women's Branch, on the other hand, remained a fully-functioning branch of AUUC activity, enjoying, at least officially, an equal status with the Men's Branch, the Youth Section, and the English-speaking Branches.

During the postwar period, women's activity in these branches and clubs continued in much the same way it had in the interwar period, and parallels existed between the work of older and younger women. The work in which both groups participated continued to reflect, for example, the support capacity to which women tended to be relegated within the Ukrainian Left and also through which many preferred to conduct their activism. The Young Women's Clubs participated in a variety of activities similar to those of the Women's Branch, and in many ways, their work fit the pattern of support labour that had been conducted by women in the movement since it began. In 1947, for example, the Young Women's Club in Winnipeg took care of outfitting club rooms to be used for meetings and other activities at the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour

³⁸⁰"40th Anniversary Tribute," *UC*, June 15, 1962.

Temple,³⁸¹ while in 1953 the Edmonton, Alberta group made jackets for the Labour Temple's Christmas production of *Hryts*.³⁸² Across Canada, Young Women's Clubs took part in AUUC bake sales, bazaars, teas, and handicraft activities, organizing these events both on their own and in tandem with the Women's Branch.³⁸³ The Women's Branch also continued to take part in similar activities, persistently raising money and organizing events to benefit the Progressive Ukrainian movement as they had in the interwar era.³⁸⁴

Of course, one of the most important fundraising and money-saving activities for women in the movement continued to be kitchen work. For many women this was the way through which they preferred to support the movement and conduct their activism. While most often this labour was coordinated by the older women's groups at the halls, younger women also often joined in to assist. In many localities after the war, particularly in larger urban centres and thanks to the introduction of properly outfitted kitchens in many halls, women's kitchen work even expanded to catering to outside groups renting hall space or selling foodstuff to the public newly interested in purchasing Ukrainian food which increasing became renowned as a delicacy. Throughout the 1950's,

³⁸¹Executive Meeting, November 30, 1947, Minutes, 1947-48, English-speaking Branch #324, Winnipeg, Manitoba, found at Worker's Benevolent Association, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

³⁸²"AUUC Doings by Rose Mickoluk," *UC*, December 15, 1953.

³⁸³For examples of activities, see letters from Mrs. Victoria Kassian and Emma Shewchuk in Vol 13, File 7: "AUUC - English-speaking Branches, Edmonton, 1956" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC; Report from delegate from Winnipeg English-speaking Branch in File 20: "AUUC - 8th National Convention" [1958] in Container 2: "Conventions" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC; letter from Hazel Strashok, Young Women's Club, Edmonton in Vol 13, File 4: "Correspondence: AUUC - English-speaking Branches, 1961-62" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC.

³⁸⁴See for example report re "Oshawa, Ontario" in *UZ*, December 17, 1958, in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 128: "AUUC Oshawa."

the Calgary Women's Branch, for example, catered weddings and parties at their Ukrainian Labour Temple, while the Regina group, during the early 1970's sold perogies out of the hall on Sundays.³⁸⁵

This kitchen work, which brought in substantial funds for the halls, was appreciated, though not in proportion to the value it contributed to the organization. The work itself did not tend to enjoy a high status within the movement, and often engagement in the kitchen precluded involvement in more higher-status, potentially-influential activities. The "upstairs-downstairs" status of kitchen work is evident from the following description of the AUUC National Convention held in Toronto in 1948. According to a report in the *Ukrainian Canadian*, "Toronto women who had put in so much work to feed the delegates (oh, those *vareniki* and *holubtsi!*) were given a surprise. They were called up to the stage amid ringing cheers of the delegates and had corsages pinned on them...then they went downstairs to prepare supper."³⁸⁶ Thus, while women's work kept the movement running, helped to fund newspapers, pay the salaries of the mainly male organizers, and allowed conventions to be run on a shoestring, the women who conducted this work held little sway when it came to larger decision-making power in and direction of the Progressive Ukrainian community.

The preservation of Ukrainian culture also continued to be important to women in the postwar period. Like men, children and youth, they took part in plays, choirs, orchestras, and concert performances.

³⁸⁵ "On Organizational Activity of the Women's Branch of the AUUC in Calgary in 1954" in *US*, February 16, 1955, translated by RCMP, in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3818: "AUUC - Women's Branch, Calgary, Alta.," part 1; *UC*, December 1971.

³⁸⁶Mary Skrypnyk, "Highlights of the Convention," *UC*, March 1, 1948.

They also made special contributions to the Ukrainian Left through the creation of Ukrainian embroidery and displays of other traditional handiwork. This work, in particular, was important for generating income and for creating a widespread positive image of the Progressive Ukrainian community throughout Canada. It was also central to attracting younger members, especially women and girls to the movement, who were interested in learning about and creating Ukrainian handiwork themselves.

The continued importance cultural activity had in keeping members and supporters interested in the work of the Ukrainian Left was most evident when one examines other areas of the movement's work, particularly the educational program. One of the most striking similarities to the interwar period had to be the general malaise much of the membership showed toward educational issues and their overall favouritism of cultural work. Across the country in the press, correspondence, and local minute books, complaints abounded that educational work was being neglected by branches and members. Some branches even gave up attempting to hold educationals. In 1955, the Women's Branch in Vancouver wrote to the National Committee of the AUUC saying that educational work was low on their list of priorities. Given their members' interests, the amount of work for which the branch was responsible, and that "there are too few evenings," the only meetings they held were ones related to cultural or organizational, rather than educational, work for the movement.³⁸⁷ In terms of successful

³⁸⁷Letter from Vancouver Women's Branch dated 1 December 1956 in Vol 11, File 24: "Branches" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC, translated by Myron Momyruk. See also Letter from Timmins Women's Branch dated 12 September 1954 in Vol 11, File 24: "Branches" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC, translated by Myron Momyruk.

educational activities, those relaying information related to Ukrainian cultural topics were most important and prevalent in the postwar years. Throughout the postwar period, particularly around significant anniversaries, the lives of Ukrainian literary figures such as Ivan Franko, Taras Shevchenko, and Lesia Ukrainka, continued as cornerstone foci of the AUUC educational program.³⁸⁸

Thus, cultural activity in the postwar period remained one the most popular draws for attracting women of all ages to the Ukrainian left. Mary Magoski, for example, was typical of many older women in the movement. In addition to being president of the Women's Branch in Saskatoon, Magoski also liked to sing in the choir and take part in plays at the hall.³⁸⁹ Cultural work was also important to attracting women to events and activities at the hall who were not interested in being active in other groups for women on the Ukrainian Left. Mary Milan, for example, was neither a member of the Women's Branch nor the Young Women's Clubs and instead only took part in performances on stage at the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple.³⁹⁰ Were it not for the cultural activity available at the hall there, Milan might not otherwise have taken part in the movement at all.

Moreover, in the postwar period, women increasingly came to hold important positions as cultural teachers. Though they had always done such work in the past to a limited degree, as jobs outside the movement became more available and better paying for men, the movement

³⁸⁸See for examples Membership Meeting, April 10, 1962, October 29, 1953, AUUC English-speaking Branch Minutes Winnipeg, c. 1960's, WBA, Winnipeg; "Seventh National AUUC Convention, 1956" in *UZ*, translated by RCMP, NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 128".

³⁸⁹Mary Magoski, interviewed by Clara Swityk, 1976. See also Alice Bilecki, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

³⁹⁰Mary Milan, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

increasingly turned to women to fill these vacated positions after the war. In the early 1950's, for example, women in Regina were holding important positions in the local Ukrainian Labour Temple's cultural groups. Josie Hawenka and her sister Dolly led the dance group there, while Anne Lapchuk directed the choir in the early 1950's.³⁹¹ Thus, in terms of cultural work, because of need and experiences the Ukrainian Left welcomed more women into positions of responsibility and authority in the postwar era.

One of the most important cultural activities in which women engaged continued to be Ukrainian embroidery. Embroidery had always been a popular means for attracting new members, particularly younger women who wanted to know and participate in Ukrainian handicraft activity. In the postwar era, its importance increased as a way to bring younger and older generations of women together at the hall. In labour temples across the country, older women taught younger women and girls how to embroider traditional Ukrainian patterns and designs.³⁹² With fewer younger women possessing a competence in the Ukrainian language, embroidery, for which language proficiency was not necessary, was easily accessible as a form of artistic expression for Canadian-born generations of women. It was also easily adaptable to a variety of media and through this activity younger women were given an outlet through which to express both their Canadian and Ukrainian heritage. In October 1969, for example, a headline in the English-language paper the

³⁹¹Letter from Regina English-speaking Branch dated February 8, 1951 in Vol 12, File 28: "AUUC - English-speaking Branches, 1951" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC. See also Mary Skrypnyk, "Windsor Festival-A Triumph," UC, April 1, 1961.

³⁹²See for example ZS, March 2, 1970, translated by RCMP in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3818: "AUUC - Women's Branch, Calgary, Alta.," part 3.

Ukrainian Canadian read "Ukrainian Cross-stitch Goes Mod." According to the article, the Toronto Ukrainian Labour Temple was holding classes in embroidery, and for a fashion show, young women were making clothes which integrated traditional Ukrainian embroidery patterns with contemporary fashions.³⁹³ Thanks to the adaptability and accessibility of Ukrainian embroidery, it was an attractive means of cultural expression for women of all ages within the Progressive Ukrainian community and thus helped the movement remain relevant in the lives of younger women after the war.

In the Ukrainian Labour Temples, embroidery also continued to serve as an important source of revenue, method of celebration and commemoration, and means by which to create a positive public image for the movement, particularly as the Ukrainian Left became vilified as a result of the Cold War climate. In the past, handicraft displays had primarily taken place within the walls of the Ukrainian Labour Temples or other movement-related venues, and exhibits often included Ukrainian handiwork that featured Progressive and Communist symbols. While displays at the halls continued, gone were the hammers and sickles. Moreover, as part of the effort to exhibit loyalty to Canada and a commitment to Canadian citizenship, such displays were just as likely to take place in more mainstream venues with the Ukrainian Left using women's handiwork to celebrate events with a broader Canadian purpose. As early as June 1947, for example, Toronto women took part in an "Exhibit of Ukrainian Embroidery and Handicrafts" held at the Toronto

³⁹³"Ukrainian Cross-stitch Goes Mod," *UC*, October 1969.

Art Gallery.³⁹⁴

Such displays were important to the overall Progressive Ukrainian movement, particularly given the often-negative reputation the movement enjoyed as a result of Cold War politics and rivalry with other Ukrainian groups. The leadership of the Ukrainian Left was well aware of the importance of women's cultural contributions, particularly where embroidery was concerned. As a National Executive Committee memo suggested in 1965, the handicrafts produced by women "not only beautify our exhibitions, but also bring financial help as well as extend our influence among our co-citizens of other nationalities who buy them."³⁹⁵ In this way, then, women's cultural production provided not only funds and generated interest for the movement but also much needed positive publicity, softening the image of the Ukrainian Left in what was often a difficult period politically. In the postwar era, then, women's cultural participation took on new levels of importance within the Progressive Ukrainian community.

Women also participated in the Ukrainian Left in new ways in the postwar era. One of the areas where this was most evident is when it came to paid employment with the movement. In the interwar period, women had held some paid positions on the Ukrainian left as cultural teachers, touring organizers, and as support staff with enterprises like

³⁹⁴Mary Prokopchak in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 468-482. See also "Manitoba AUUC Plans Geared to Centennial" by Mike Mokry, *UC*, April 1, 1967 and letter dated December 2, 1965 from Mary Prokop, Secretary of National Women's Committee and Minutes of National Women's Committee Meeting, June 12, 1967 in file 4: "AUUC - National Women's Committee, 1963-69" in Vol 4: "National Committee" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC.

³⁹⁵Memo from National Executive Committee to Women's Branch and Clubs dated October 19, 1965, translated by RCMP, in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 128.

the WBA, the People's Coop Dairy, and Labour Temple cultural and language schools. During the postwar period, women continued to work for various organizations on the Ukrainian left, and as the movement expanded its business and publishing interests, women's roles as (inexpensive) workers expanded and took on new importance. The majority of those women who worked for the Ukrainian Left at this time tended to come from the Canadian-born generation. Their ability to speak both Ukrainian and English was a much-needed skill essential for these new enterprises that developed after the war to serve the Ukrainian-Canadian community and Soviet Ukraine. Like women across Canada, then, Progressive Ukrainian women began to enter the permanent paid work force--and the service industry in particular--en masse in the decades following the war, and many of them found paid work through the Ukrainian Left.

In older Ukrainian Left-related business enterprises, women continued to hold similar positions as they had in the interwar period. Some women were even able to achieve positions of influence and authority. In the press, where women had in the past contributed as unpaid correspondents, they began to be hired as editors and columnists and for a variety of other positions. Being child-free and/or single could help a woman's chances at moving up. Mary Skrypnyk, Canadian-born, single, and a graduate of the 1938 Higher Educational Course, was recruited as a linotypist in 1943 for *Ukrainske zhyttia*. She also contributed articles to the paper and to the newly-created English language paper the *Ukrainian Canadian*. Soon, she was made an editor of the *Ukrainian Canadian* in 1953, the first woman to hold such a position on the Ukrainian Left. Never married, she spent the remainder of her

career working in various high-level positions for the Progressive Ukrainian community.³⁹⁶

The availability of a pool of bilingual women workers was essential to the development of the slate of new businesses developed within the Progressive Ukrainian community as a result of its monopoly on economic and political connections with Soviet Ukraine. Two of the most significant of these enterprises were the Globe Trade and Travel Agency and the Ukrainska Knyha, a book and parcel service which dealt primarily with Ukraine and mainly employed women. For many women jobs with these international firms created many interesting personal and work-related experiences. Betsy Bilecki worked for Globe Tours in Toronto during the 1970's. Early in that decade, she began making regular trips to Soviet Ukraine and to the Soviet Union, particularly Moscow, on business. As she explained, the job "gave her a chance to see a large part of the world."³⁹⁷

While a position with the movement proved to be a positive experience for many women, others found that, despite the progressive political nature of the Ukrainian left, conditions for female employees were unfavourable. Most women found that the progressive ideals of equality espoused by the Ukrainian Left did not carry over into its treatment of its women workers. They encountered a low glass ceiling, were paid less than male workers, and often received few benefits. Semanowich, for example, faced discriminatory conditions when she worked at the People's Coop Dairy. She saw that, "women did not hold the same

³⁹⁶Mary Skrypnyk, interviewed by RLH, 1999; See also the experiences of Eloise Popiel and Mary Semanowich, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

³⁹⁷EA Bilecki, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

positions as men, they were paid less, women got the smaller jobs, men got the promotions."³⁹⁸ She left the Coop for a time but returned to working part time there in 1977. Unfortunately, she found that little had changed. In an act of resistance, Semanowich approached then head Bill Kardash, complaining that when it came to women "management did not practise the socialist policies they preached."³⁹⁹ As an employer of women, then, the Ukrainian Left, despite the progressive ideals on which it was founded, for the most part, mirrored and reinforced rather than challenged contemporary notions of gendered workplace segregation and discrimination.

Women's political work was also important in the postwar period. Progressive Ukrainian women continued to be preoccupied with political action for a variety of causes. However, increasingly the issues they chose to support and the ways in which they carried out their activism highlighted and functioned as a challenge to the male-dominated order of the Ukrainian Left. As was the case in the interwar period, women's efforts--and especially their volunteer labour--were central to the coordination of many of these activities which took place on local and national levels. This continued, but increasingly in the postwar period, women as a group came to shape and control the sorts of activism which they pursued to an unprecedented degree. More and more, they came to choose causes that directly sought to improve conditions for women.

Again, this change, like so many others in the postwar years, was due in part to the efforts of the active cohort of Canadian-born women leaders and their ability to interact and work with women from other

³⁹⁸Mary Semanowich, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

³⁹⁹Mary Semanowich, interviewed by RLH, 1998. See also Olga Shatulsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

Progressive political and/or so-called ethnic groups. These younger women tended to take on women's activist leadership positions within the Ukrainian Left and acted as liaisons between the Ukrainian Left and other women's activist groups. They were also key to the process of politicization of other women at the halls by publishing newspaper articles, coordinating educationals reflecting new political priorities for women, and arranging events and activities in which immigrant generation women and rank-and-file women--and sometimes rank-and-file men--took part.

As a result of the increased input and authority of younger Progressive Ukrainian women, political action with which women engaged in the postwar era came to be defined not only by the priorities of the Ukrainian Left and the organizations with which it was connected, but also significantly by the experiences, needs, and desires of the movement's women members and supporters. This, combined with the postwar social context that saw women playing a more active role as paid workers, meant that, unlike the interwar period, along with peace and other issues, feminism and women's rights began to take centre stage in the activist work of women on the Ukrainian Left.

Nonetheless, while change was evident in the way political action was carried out by women, so, too, did continuity exist with the interwar era. Though many women expanded their role in their families and the Ukrainian Left as paid workers over the course of the postwar period, as was the case in the interwar years, Progressive Ukrainian women's roles and suitability for activism, like that of many other politically-radical women, continued to be framed through images of domesticity and, especially, motherhood. As a result, many of the

causes the Ukrainian Left encouraged women to support reflected these ideals. Certainly Progressive Ukrainian women took part in political activities that were of a general concern to the community. However, as a speaker from the Winnipeg English-speaking Branch explained, women were also frequently urged to concern themselves with issues such as "milk prices...home and school clubs...juvenile delinquency...[and] strapping in schools" because, the speaker argued, "these questions are of vital importance to every mother of the AUUC."⁴⁰⁰

Immediately after the war in the late 1940's, the women on the Ukrainian left, along with women in other progressive groups--particularly the LPP--were increasingly concerned with challenging rising prices. Women in the AUUC worked for this issue both within their own groups at the halls and outside by supporting the efforts of organizations like the Housewives and Consumers Association (HCA), an organization founded by the LPP.⁴⁰¹ Progressive Ukrainian women for their part, raised funds, assisted with petitions, and contributed support to delegations protesting pricing issues. For example, in tandem with International Women's Day in 1947, AUUC women in Winnipeg organized a supper social to support the upcoming "Housewives' Delegation" to Ottawa.⁴⁰²

Of all the causes with which the Ukrainian left--particularly its female members and supporters--was involved in the postwar period, none took centre stage more than the campaign for peace. Peace work began to

⁴⁰⁰Report from Winnipeg English-speaking Branch delegate in File 20: "AUUC - 8th National Convention" [1958] in Container 2: "Conventions" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC.

⁴⁰¹Sangster, 185.

⁴⁰²Executive Meeting, February 27, 1947, AUUC English-speaking Branch [Winnipeg] #324, Minutes, 1947-48, WBA, Winnipeg.

intensify among members of the Ukrainian left after WWII, and much of the movement's activities centred around its affiliation with the Canadian Peace Congress, an organization founded in 1948 and headed by James Endicott.⁴⁰³ The Peace Congress, whose efforts opponents attempted to discredit by labelling it a communist front organization, conducted its work in a vein that endorsed the Soviet Union, a view which the Ukrainian Left could easily support.⁴⁰⁴

Peace work took on many forms, and progressive Ukrainian women more than any other constituency of the Ukrainian Left were central to these efforts. During the 1950's, for example, the AUUC was committed to work on the Congress' petition to ban the bomb. This was a major undertaking for the AUUC, and the bulk of the work contributed by the organization was conducted by its female base of immigrant and Canadian-born members and supporters. Women went door-to-door across Canada soliciting support for the petition, a task that was not easy for many women, particularly those of the immigrant generation. In Timmins, Ontario, for example, where peace work was conducted in tandem with women and men of other national groups, the AUUC immigrant born women persevered gathering signatures despite the fact "that it was very difficult for them to explain what was going on and what the petition was about because they did not speak English well."⁴⁰⁵ Notwithstanding

⁴⁰³Victor Huard, "The Canadian Peace Congress and the Challenge to Postwar Consensus, 1948-53," (*Peace and Change* 1994 19(1): 25-49) 29.

⁴⁰⁴For an extensive discussion of the policies of the Canadian Peace Congress and the views and work of Endicott, see Victor Huard's "The Canadian Peace Congress and the Challenge to Postwar Consensus, 1948-53" (*Peace and Change* 1994 19(1): 25-49).

⁴⁰⁵Letter from Timmins Women's Branch dated May 24, 1955 to National Women's Committee, AUUC, translated by Myron Momyruk, in File 24: "Branches" in Vol 11: "Correspondence - Women's Branches," AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC.

such difficulties, however, overall, the campaign for signatures was successful. The Vancouver Women's Branch, for example, related in 1955 that they had gathered 1450 signatures in support of the petition.⁴⁰⁶

A casualty of the cold war and red-baiting, the Canadian Peace Congress entered a steady decline in the early 1950's.⁴⁰⁷ This did not mark the end of women's work for peace on the Ukrainian Left, however. Women continued their peace activism throughout the 1950's and 1960's. In 1955, for example, *Ukrainske zhyttia* reported that members of the Edmonton Women's Branch were "taking an active part in a campaign against the rearming of West Germany [by] collecting signatures to cards and petitions, and circulating leaflets, against 'remilitarization', thus to 'influence the government not to vote for the ratification of the London and Paris agreements.'"⁴⁰⁸ Women also extended their work to providing immediate material aid to individuals living in war-torn countries, just as they had in the interwar era. Knitting and sewing for Vietnamese women and children, for example, made up a large part of the activity of progressive Ukrainian women across Canada as did raising money to aid peoples living in war-torn areas.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁶Letter from Vancouver Women's Branch dated May 18, 1955 to National Women's Committee, AUUC, translated by Myron Momyruk, in File 24: "Branches" in Vol 11: "Correspondence - Women's Branches," AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC.

⁴⁰⁷Huard, 46.

⁴⁰⁸UZ, January 20, 1955, RCMP translation in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3814: "AUUC Women's Branch, Edmonton, Alta. corresp. to 11.6.58 incl.;" For additional example, see Letter from Young Women's Club dated March 8, 1959 to Duff Roblin and Mayor of Winnipeg in envelope labelled "AUUC Women's Committee, Handicraft Display and Baking Sale" in envelopes labelled "Provcom Women's Committee" at WBA, Winnipeg, MB.

⁴⁰⁹Mary Prokop, "Introduction and Discussion of Resolution on Work in the Women's Field" in File 29: "AUUC - 13th National Convention, 1968" in Container 2: "Conventions" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC; Letter from Beth Krall and Mary Kardash, Provincial Women's Committee, Manitoba, dated December 18, 1968 to National Women's Committee, AUUC,

As the threat of nuclear war intensified in the 1960's, underscored by events, notably the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 and the Vietnam War (1954-75), so, too, did women's peace work intensify in the AUUC. Again, in this social climate, women's obligation to the peace movement continued in many ways to be predicated on their roles as mothers. Leader Hannah Polowy emphasised this in 1963 in her report to the AUUC Women's Conference in British Columbia when she declared, "If we are to guarantee life to our children then we as women and mothers must exert every ounce of energy and support to the peace movement in Canada which is demanding that we not become a nuclear power."⁴¹⁰

International Women's Day and Mother's Day continued to be celebrated in Ukrainian labour temples across Canada, often in the name of the cause of peace. In 1963, Moose Jaw women held a tea for International Women's Day where Ann Lapchuk encouraged women to soldier on in the struggle for peace despite difficulties they encountered with the work.⁴¹¹

Women's rights also became an important issues for women on the Ukrainian Left, and this activist work, like that of so many other postwar feminists, often grew out of work in or ties to the peace movement in Canada. For example, women from the Ukrainian Left were active in the formation and activities of the Congress of Canadian Women (CCW), an organization that grew out of the HCA. The CCW was formed on International Women's Day, March 8, 1950 as an umbrella group designed

Toronto in envelope marked "Correspondence: Provincial Women's Committee, AUUC, 1969-70" in collection of envelopes marked "Provcom Women's Committee" found at WBA, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

⁴¹⁰Hannah Polowy's Report to the Women's Conference, AUUC, BC, 1963 in "AUUC Women's Committee Correspondence, Mailing List" at WBA, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

⁴¹¹A. Latham, Moose Jaw, "Women Urged to Give More Effort for Peace," UC, April 15, 1963.

to encompass women's groups affiliated with or sympathetic to the LPP. As AUUC member Mary Kardash explained in 1952, the CCW at its founding, "adopted a program of working and fighting for women's rights and the well-being of our children. As a section of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), it also has as its aim the mobilization of women for the cause of peace."⁴¹² Throughout the 1950's and beyond, AUUC women participated in local chapters of the CCW, and individual AUUC women joined CCW delegations to other countries in the hopes of fostering peace and international understanding. Katherine Stefanitsky of the Toronto AUUC Women's Branch, for example, was a member of the CCW's five member delegation to China during the 1950's.⁴¹³ As a result of ties to the CCW and the cause for peace and workers' rights, as well as their experiences as members the Progressive Ukrainian community in Canada, a unique brand of feminism emerged influenced by Progressive Ukrainian women's experiences with class and gender roles.

By the 1960's women were active representatives of the Progressive Ukrainian community in the second wave of the feminist movement, though admittedly sometimes with only tepid support from the male leaders of the Ukrainian Left. Again, much of this participation was coordinated and shaped by women of the Canadian-born generation. Beth Krall, of the Winnipeg Young Women's Club, remembered frequently attending women's conferences and related events with Canadian-born Mary Kardash as representatives of the AUUC. Despite this interest among AUUC women in advocating for women's rights, the overall attitude of the mostly-male dominated leadership remained largely unchanged from the interwar

⁴¹²Mary Kardash, "March 8-Women's Day," *UC*, March 1, 1952.

⁴¹³Katherine Stefanitsky in *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope*, 489-496.

period. While the leadership supported the idea of women's rights, the cause remained peripheral to the more general labour-related priorities of the Ukrainian left. As Krall explained, "women's issues weren't the main concern of the Ukrainian Labour Temple," and she "thought nobody cared that she and Mary Kardash went to women's meetings."⁴¹⁴ As a result of these attitudes, women were encouraged to move outside the Progressive Ukrainian community to pursue activist work for women's rights.

Despite lukewarm support for many of their initiatives for women within the movement, AUUC women's groups continued during the 1960's to champion various causes geared to improving conditions for women in Canada. Though they moved beyond the Ukrainian Left to pursue these issues, many that they championed nonetheless continued to reflect the working class, Progressive political legacy of the Ukrainian Left. In 1965, for example, they collected some three thousand signatures for a "petition to lower the age of women for old age pension to sixty."⁴¹⁵ Work with the CCW also continued, and women like Mary Kardash travelled to countries like Cuba and the Soviet Union to raise awareness of international women's issues.

The AUUC, represented by four of its leading female members, was also among those groups in 1968 that presented a brief to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada. The document was prepared by Mary Prokopchak, a member of the AUUC National Women's Committee (NWC). It was presented by fellow NWC member Mary Skrypnyk, who was

⁴¹⁴Beth Krall, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁴¹⁵Memo from National Women's Committee, NEC, AUUC dated November 10, 1965 to Women's Branches and Club re: Upcoming Campaign in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 128.

accompanied by an AUUC delegation made up of Prokopchak, Anne Andreyko, and Helen Kassian. Here, too, improved working conditions and educational opportunities, issues that touched the lives of most Progressive Ukrainian women, were central to the construction of their socialist feminist analysis of Canadian society. In their brief, they complained that women were socialized into secondary roles from a young age and were pushed into educational opportunities that encouraged them towards homemaking occupations. Furthermore, they argued, because the cost of higher education was prohibitive for many families, boys, who were perceived as future breadwinners, were often chosen over girls in a family to attend university. The AUUC brief called for guarantees for higher education for girls. It also went on to analyse women's experiences as workers and argued that daycare should be available for children of all women. The AUUC women also advocated for equal pay for work of equal value and that maternity leave should be standard for all women without fear of being fired. Moreover, they asserted, birth control and abortion should be readily accessible and paid for by medicare. Whether to have children and when, they argued, should be a woman's choice and was no one else's business. The brief concluded by advocating for income tax deductions for both childcare and household help, as well as old age security for women at age sixty.⁴¹⁶

Progressive Ukrainian women in the postwar period, then, were central to activist work on the Ukrainian Left. In the fight for fairer prices, peace, and a variety of other causes, they were crucial to ensuring success and awareness. Increasingly after the war, women

⁴¹⁶"Free Education Important Point in AUUC Brief on Status of Women," *UC*, June 15, 1968.

played a much more active role in shaping the activities in which they took part, and some that they chose, like women's rights, challenged in an organized fashion the traditional male-dominated power structure apparent in the Ukrainian Left. To do so, in many cases, they had to move outside the movement itself, aligning themselves, largely through the work of Canadian-born women, with other radical women's groups. The fight for women's rights, in particular, is evidence of this type of action.

It is clear that women's activities on the Ukrainian left continued with a degree of vibrancy well into the postwar period. By the 1960's, however, a steady decline became noticeable throughout the movement in all branches of activity. While certain common reasons for decline existed throughout all constituencies of the Ukrainian Left (the Cold War, Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin in 1956, general postwar upward mobility), several specific reasons for decline among women were evident.

Like the rest of the Ukrainian Left in the interwar era, both the Women's Branch and the Young Women's Clubs suffered for want of members, but for somewhat different reasons. Like other areas of the movement, women's groups, particularly those of the immigrant generation, were able to attract few new members in the interwar period. This problem was evident in the decline of the Women's Branch. Because they were Ukrainian-speaking branches, they received few members from the primarily English-speaking Canadian-born generation who chose to form their own branches. Moreover, they had virtually no new Ukrainian-speaking female recruits from the post-World War II wave of Ukrainian immigrants who, like their male counterparts, had little interest in

supporting any cause related to buttressing the communism they had fled. As a result, the number of new members attracted to the Women's Branch in the postwar period was never enough to ensure a sustained growth for this particular division of the AUUC, particularly into the 1960's and 1970's.⁴¹⁷ As those who had joined in the early years of the movement aged, experienced ill health, or passed away, the Women's Branches rapidly diminished in size. As early as 1964, for example, an RCMP observer described Calgary's Women's Branch as being made up of "elderly females."⁴¹⁸ Once the founding members of this section of the movement became too old to continue their work, Women's Branch activity drew to a halt. In 1972, when national celebrations were held to commemorate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Women's Branch, the majority of these groups had either ceased to function or were nearly defunct because the membership base on which they had drawn was of advanced age and in a state of declining health.

A similar, albeit slower decline occurred among younger women's groups as well, although for somewhat different reasons. Many women who had grown up in Canada and in the mixed-sex children's and youth groups at the halls, unlike their mothers, were comfortable and welcome in

⁴¹⁷See for examples Vol 6: "Organization/Fund-Raising Campaigns" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC; Letter from NEC, AUUC, Toronto dated September 19, 1963 to all provincial and district committees and branches, AUUC, RCMP translation, NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 128; "AUUC Organizational Campaign in 1963" in UZ, April 24, 1963, RCMP translation, NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 128; "New Membership Report for Period Between X and XI Conventions" in Vol 2: "AUUC - 12th National Convention 1966" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC; National Membership Totals since 33rd and 32nd and 33rd Conventions" in Vol 5: "National Executive Committee - Minutes" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28, V 154, NAC.

⁴¹⁸Report dated September 30, 1964 re "AUUC Women's Branch, Calgary, AB" in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3818: "AUUC - Women's Branch, Calgary, Alta.," part 2.

mixed-sex adult groups like the English-speaking Branch. Often, they saw no need for a separate women's group and instead chose to participate as formal members in the Ukrainian Left through the English-speaking Branches. Lucy Nykolyshyn and her sister Olga Shatulsky were women who chose this route. Like many women of her generation, Nykolyshyn saw no reason for a separate women's group at the hall.⁴¹⁹ Shatulsky, too, was not interested in separate women's activities. She saw the women's groups as duplicating what was taking place in the general English-speaking Branch.⁴²⁰

Moreover, as has been shown, younger women were increasingly able to go outside the movement for work, political activism, and social opportunities. Many found the Ukrainian Left unappealing for its failure to adequately address issues of concern to women (feminism is a key example) and turned to other political and women's groups to fulfill their activist needs. English-speaking and able to access much of what mainstream Canadian society had to offer, many younger women found that the organizations of the Progressive Ukrainian community spoke little about issues that concerned them as Canadian-born Ukrainian Canadians.

At the same time, throughout the history of the movement, marriage, particularly when coupled with motherhood, had often marked the greatest shift in a woman's capacity to devote time and energy to the hall. It had always been difficult for women to balance marriage, motherhood, and, at times, paid employment outside the home with hall labour. As the postwar period wore on, more younger women entered the paid labour force to keep up with the demands of the rising consumer

⁴¹⁹Lucy Nykolyshyn, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁴²⁰Olga Shatulsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

economy and to fund their children's post-secondary education. As a result, fewer and fewer of these women found the time to be active members of the labour temple community.

Decline aside, Progressive Ukrainian women, nonetheless, enjoyed a rich history. As mothers, consumers, cultural participants, workers, members, and fundraisers, they helped to build and shape the vibrant social and political movement that became the Ukrainian Left. Without the contributions of women's--usually unpaid--labour, it is unlikely that the Progressive Ukrainian community would have been as successful or as enduring as it was. Their efforts funded the building and maintenance of halls and enabled events such as socials, picnics and concerts to be run on shoestring budgets.

Despite belonging to the same or similar movements, Progressive Ukrainian women's history was distinct from Progressive Ukrainian men and from other women involved with radical politics. The intersection of gender with ethnicity and class meant that women held positions subordinate to men, a subordination largely based on traditional Ukrainian peasant culture as well as Canadian models of gender relations. Moreover, the crossing of gender with ethnicity also guaranteed that Ukrainian women often experienced their activism differently than other socialist women, especially in the interwar era of the movement. Studying Progressive Ukrainian women, then, is important for the way it illustrates the diversity of experience that existed among socialist women and also among Ukrainians in Canada and Ukrainian Leftists in particular. Such an examination shifts our perceptions of the roles of members and activities of the Progressive Ukrainian community, particularly with regard to the important symbiotic

role cultural, political, and social activities played in building the movement through its attraction of members. As such, our understanding of the Canadian Left is enriched and expanded when examined from the perspective of the women who, despite encountering systemic discrimination and cultural barriers, gave of themselves to build and shape the movement throughout the twentieth century.

Raised in the Spirit of the Class Struggle: Children, Youth
and the Progressive Ukrainian Community

In 1951, a fictional account of the experiences of a young member of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians' Junior Section appeared in the association's English language newspaper the *Ukrainian Canadian*. Called "Little Irene," the story centred on a little girl's first performance at a Ukrainian Labour Temple:

Little Irene now had what she wanted most of all: she stood on the stage of the Ukrainian Labour Temple with the rest of the school choir, a little frightened, but very proud, dressed in her very pretty Ukrainian costume, with its bright red skirt, lovely embroidered apron and shirt, black velvet jacket, colourful beads and a wreath of flowers on her head.⁴²¹

The story goes on to describe the thoughts running through Little Irene's head as she sings songs about peace as well as traditional Ukrainian folk songs for the audience of family and friends. In particular, she reflects on one song to be sung by the children's choir called "In Defence of Peace." According to Little Irene her teacher at the Ukrainian Labour Temple:

had explained the whole thing to them telling them that there were people in this world who wanted war, because they made a great deal of money out of it. They did not care that millions of people were killed and millions of little children, too. Little Irene felt very badly that anyone could be so cruel.⁴²²

Little Irene's teacher had gone on to explain that "most of the people all over the world, like her mummy and daddy, who worked hard for a living, did not want a war."⁴²³ Little Irene felt that other children felt that way too and that

⁴²¹Mary Skrypnyk, "Little Irene," *UC*, September 1981 (special edition in honour of 90 yrs of Ukrainians in Canada), pages 60-61. Reprinted from *UC*, 1951.

⁴²²Ibid.

⁴²³Ibid.

they wanted to grow up and learn all sorts of things and see all sorts of things without having to go out and kill people. Besides she liked people very much, all kinds of people...most of all the people that came to the hall, for as mummy put it, these were "our people", and that made them practically relatives.⁴²⁴

The tale of Little Irene reflects the experiences of several generations of children and youth who grew up on the Ukrainian Left in Canada. Young people's roles and activities varied depending on the ways in which class, gender, and ethnicity intersected with age in a given situation. Sometimes children and youth took part in activities that mirrored those of all adults at the hall. At other times, young people had experiences similar to the experiences of some, but not all, adults, particularly women and rank-and-file men. In other instances, youngsters experienced the Progressive Ukrainian Left in ways that were completely distinct from adults. For example, as a defining variable, gender was less influential in determining the experience of youngsters involved with the Ukrainian left than it was for their adult counterparts. In all cases, however, young people's agency was crucial to shaping not only their own activities but the overall face of the Ukrainian left throughout the movement's history. This chapter will explore youngsters' resistance and agency in order to understand how they experienced and shaped the Progressive Ukrainian community over the course of the twentieth century.

In many ways, how a child experienced the Progressive Ukrainian movement depended on a complex interaction of life cycle position, generation, and gender. Generally speaking, the younger a girl or boy was, the more likely she or he was to experience egalitarian treatment

⁴²⁴Ibid.

within the movement as far as gender was concerned. Unlike adults, young people participated in groups and activities that were rarely segregated by gender at the labour temples. Girls and boys were encouraged to participate equally and hold a variety of positions within their realm of activity. As a child aged, and depending on the generation to which they belonged, their opportunities and activities tended to be more greatly determined by gender.

The development of activity among children and youth followed a pattern similar to that of the adult members of the hall. The interwar period was marked by intense growth in all fields of work, particularly among younger people. This was a particularly heady time when Ukrainian culture and politics were heavily intermingled. World War II signalled a turning point for the movement and youngsters, like adults, found their activities shifted to accommodate the wartime upheaval the Progressive Ukrainian community experienced. At war's end, while the movement did experience a surge in activity and general support for its work during the late 1940's, the postwar period, though still vibrant, can be most characterized by decline in both interest and membership. As a whole--and for a variety of reasons--children and youth growing up on the Ukrainian left after the Second World War had less commitment and attachment than their parents and grandparents had had in the inter-war period. This decline in interest among young people was key to the overall weakening in influence the Ukrainian left experienced throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, and it also illustrates one of the most significant--and unfortunate--ways young people shaped the Progressive Ukrainian community.

Examining children and youth within the context of the interwar

Progressive Ukrainian community lends us a broader understanding of the diversity of childhood experiences in Canada over the course of the twentieth century. With the notable exception of Neil Sutherland's recent *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television*,⁴²⁵ the history of children in Canada tends to focus largely on state institutions, particularly as they relate to social welfare programs, education, work, and juvenile delinquency.⁴²⁶ Much, therefore, is known about the ways in which children's lives have been shaped by the state and adults in general. Unfortunately, such a focus precludes any meaningful sense of childhood agency. As Robert McIntosh argues, "children tend to be portrayed as passive beings who are the objects of welfare and educational strategies," and, as a result, "the history of childhood becomes the history of the efforts of others on children's behalf."⁴²⁷

The history of childhood is limited in other ways as well. Few studies exist, for example, that examine childhood in the context of the immigrant experience.⁴²⁸ This is certainly the case where Ukrainians in

⁴²⁵Neil Sutherland, *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

⁴²⁶See for examples Joy Parr, ed., *Childhood and Family in Canadian History* (Toronto: M&S, 1982), Patricia Rooke and RL Schnell, *Studies in Childhood History: A Canadian Perspective* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1982), Russell Smandych, Gordon Dodds, and Alvin Esau, *Dimensions of Childhood: Essays on the History of Children and Youth in Canada* (Winnipeg: Legal Research Institute, 1990), Craig Heron's "The High School and the Household Economy in Working-class Hamilton, 1890-1940" in *Historical Studies in Education* [Canada] (1995 7(2): 217-259).

⁴²⁷Robert McIntosh, "Constructing the Child: New Approaches to the History of Childhood in Canada" in *Acadiensis* 1999 28(2): 126-140.

⁴²⁸Selma Cantor Berrol examines childhood in the context of the immigrant experience in the United States in her book, *Growing Up American: Immigrant Children in America, Then and Now* (New York: Twayne, 1995). Her discussion of the commonalities of experience among different waves and generations of immigrant children is particularly useful for the ways it addresses the important role children play in the

Canada are concerned. Mary Ashworth's *Children of the Canadian Mosaic* (1993) contains a chapter on Ukrainian children.⁴²⁹ However, like so many other histories of childhood, it primarily focuses on education, particularly how Ukrainians were affected by the Public School Act of 1916 in Manitoba. This, unfortunately, forestalls any broader understanding of the experiences of Ukrainian children outside the educational system as well as any sense of continuity and change in subsequent generations of Ukrainian children over the course of the twentieth century.

In terms of politically radical activity, recent literature has looked at children and their function within larger political communities and, in some cases, their contributions to political activism. Paul C. Mishler, in his book *Raising Reds: The Young Pioneers, Radical Summer Camps, and Communist Political Culture in the United States* (1999), examines programs created by the American communist movement to politicize children. Mishler argues that "in the programs that they organized to give their children an alternative oppositional culture, American Communists constructed a political culture of their own...which provided a space in which the Communists could confront the tensions of their relationship with American society and with history."⁴³⁰ While the book certainly describes the activities of children in a detailed and engaging manner, Mishler's concern is not with the children themselves for, as he states, "I want to look at these

process of assimilation within immigrant communities.

⁴²⁹Mary Ashworth, "Ukrainian Children" in *Children of the Canadian Mosaic* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1993), 69-80.

⁴³⁰Paul Mishler, *Raising Reds* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

activities for what they illustrate about the culture of the adults who created them." As such, analysis of the important role children undoubtedly played in shaping the American Communist movement unfortunately receives little place in *Raising Reds*.

Ester Reiter, too, considers children and radical politics, but within the Jewish immigrant community. Her article, "Secular *Yiddishkait*: Left Politics, Culture, and Community" (2002), discusses the immigrant Jewish radical community in Canada from the 1920's to the 1950's, including the activities in which children took part, many of which paralleled those in which children on the Ukrainian Left were involved.⁴³¹ Unfortunately, because of the broad scope of the article, discussion of children is necessarily limited, although a sense of the important place of children in the community is evident.

Young people and radicalism is also a central component of Douglas Owsram's book *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (1996). In it, he examines the critical role this cohort of young people played in developing a countercultural movement, particularly as far as the rise of the New Left is concerned. He argues that because of the size, affluence, and influence the generation enjoyed, they were more likely than others to expect that "if society did not meet their needs, then society should adjust" as "deference to authority and to established rules [had] never been a part of the baby boom's generational character."⁴³² It was such attitudes and predisposition to agency, he suggests, that laid the necessary

⁴³¹Ester Reiter, "Secular *Yiddishkait*: Left Politics, Culture, and Community" (*L/LT* 2002 (49): 121-146).

⁴³²Douglas Owsram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 315.

foundation for the rise of radical activism among this generation in the 1960's. While Ooram does acknowledge the "Old Left," he argues that the New Left "saw itself as distinct from those causes that had gone before."⁴³³ While this is certainly true, a crucial continuum did exist between the Old and New Left. This was manifest most evidently in the participation of young boomers who grew up, in the words of Josh Kornbluth, as "Red Diaper Babies," particularly those who emerged out of one of the significant progressive, communist party-linked so-called "ethnic" segments of the Old Left. Ooram, unfortunately, does little to attempt to trace this important connection in his work, nor does he adequately consider how ethnicity influenced the character of the baby boom. Thus, it is unclear what role a progressive or communist or Jewish-, Ukrainian-, or other "ethnic"-Canadian upbringing might have had in the lives of those youth involved with the New Left in Canada during the 1960's.

There has been no research that directly confronts the experiences of Ukrainian children and youth, particularly on the Ukrainian Left in Canada and the important role they played in shaping the movement as a whole. Even those works that have studied the Progressive Ukrainian community generally have shown little concern for the inclusion of youngsters in their analysis.⁴³⁴ This study seeks to first and foremost address this void. In doing so, it certainly shares common characteristics with and builds on the aforementioned research on childhood while at the same time moving beyond these works. For example, the structure under which these young people functioned was

⁴³³Ibid., 226.

⁴³⁴For examples, see Krawchuk, Martynowych, and Kolasky.

within an institutional framework created and managed by adults. Moreover, following Mischler's illustration, studying children and youth on the Ukrainian Left tells us a great deal about adult priorities and hopes for the movement. Parallels can certainly be drawn between the Progressive Ukrainian community's patterns of activity and those of the mainstream North American Communist movement and its "ethnic" constituencies in particular. Thus, this chapter, while building on Mischler's work, moves further in order to understand differences that existed. In particular, while adult priorities in relation to children will be discussed, emphasis will also be placed on the ways in which children's activities and agency shaped the movement. This serves to illustrate not only the ways through which youngsters were shaped by the programs, priorities, policy, and institutions of the Ukrainian Left, but also the ways in which children and youth were a key force that in turn shaped the movement throughout its existence during the twentieth century.

Thus, like O'ram, this chapter is concerned with the agency and power, however limited, young people might have possessed and to what degree this agency was available to youngsters depending on historical context. However, it also builds on the work of O'ram, by bringing in ethnicity as a variable with which to analyse the experiences and shape of the baby boom generation in Canada. As far as postwar Ukrainian Canadian youngsters are concerned, this chapter seeks to understand how their and their families' ethnic identities influenced the way they experienced being part of the baby boom and being Canadian generally. In doing so, it becomes clear that young Ukrainian Canadians who grew up on the Ukrainian Left experienced a political and cultural movement

different from that which their parents were simultaneously experiencing and a Canada distinct from that of their non-Progressive Ukrainian peers.

For this chapter, it is of course important to bear in mind that, childhood and adolescence and age generally, though seemingly biological states are, like gender, class, and ethnicity, cultural constructions. As Neil Sutherland explains, "...what constitutes childhood for any particular society, or group or class or gender in that society, is a matter of human decision rather than biological necessity."⁴³⁵ Moreover, childhood and children's roles in the family and community are, as Joy Parr suggests, "shaped by historical rather than biological processes; they are social rather than natural relationships; they form and are transformed by their economic and cultural context."⁴³⁶ Constantly, within the culturally-constructed category of childhood and youth in any given historical period, children can be both "subjects of, as well as objects in, their own lives."⁴³⁷ As is the case with any community, childhood was defined in a particular way through a variety of means within the history of the Ukrainian Left in Canada.

Children of members and supporters of the Ukrainian Left most often had their first contact with the movement from their earliest years, likely being brought by their parents to functions at or coordinated by a Ukrainian Labour Temple. Typically, once they began attending public school, they would be enrolled in after-school and weekend activities at their local Ukrainian Labour Temple. Depending on age and the availability of programming in their particular locality,

⁴³⁵Sutherland, x.

⁴³⁶Parr, 10.

⁴³⁷Sutherland, ix.

they would, perhaps around the ages of eleven to thirteen graduate to participation in youth activities. The period of youth functioned as a much more transitional--and ambiguous--stage of movement life. When one ceased to be defined as a youth and began to be an adult within the context of the Ukrainian Labour Temple community had very little to do with age. Instead, the move from youth to adult activities had more to do with the whims, needs, and priorities of the male leadership of the movement, and it was also determined by life milestones such as public school completion, marriage, parenthood, the move into the workforce, and socio-economic context.

Though there are clear differences characterising the categories of child and youth on the Ukrainian Left, it is nonetheless appropriate to discuss them in tandem since within both age categories, activities followed a similar pattern, existed for similar reasons, enjoyed similar status within the movement, and were together often distinct from the activities of adults. When discussed together, children and youth will be referred to as "youngsters" or "young people" for the purpose of this chapter. Otherwise, when specific age categories of youngsters are discussed, "children" and "youth" will be used.

Children and youth who were active during the interwar period on the Ukrainian Left in Canada were the offspring of parents who chose to come to Canada during one of the first two waves of Ukrainian immigration, 1891-1914 and 1925-1930. Some of these young people were born in Canada, while others made the journey with their parents as children. Evidence is scant on young people's work with the Ukrainian Left in the early years of the movement's history. A clearer picture emerges after 1918 when activities for children and youth began to be

established when the first Ukrainian Labour temple opened in 1918. With English being declared the sole language of instruction in public schools in the three prairie provinces during the second decade of the twentieth century,⁴³⁸ Ukrainian families were forced to turn to outside institutions to provide Ukrainian educational and cultural experiences to supplement that taught in the home. At the first convention of the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association, Ukrainian Worker Children's Schools were established to teach Ukrainian language, history, and culture⁴³⁹ and to offer an alternative to children's activities run by Ukrainian churches in Canada. These schools were one of the key ways by which children enjoyed a unique experience with the Ukrainian Left compared to adults.

Over the course of the early 1920's, numerous Ukrainian Worker Children's Schools were opened in Progressive Ukrainian halls across Canada. A ULFTA Central School Board coordinated the schools at the national level and worked to ensure a standardized national curriculum. Thanks to this body, the schools tended to function in much the same manner across the country. Typically, children would be grouped by grade or age in Ukrainian school, although this might also depend on a child's ability and knowledge of the language.⁴⁴⁰ In most localities, the schools combined training in the Ukrainian language with musical and cultural training, and students worked under a rigorous schedule, often attending every night of the week to take part in the various classes

⁴³⁸Mary Ashworth, "Ukrainian Children" in *Children of the Canadian Mosaic* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1993), 77-80.

⁴³⁹Peter Krawchuk, *Our History: The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Movement in Canada, 1907-1991* (Toronto: Lugus, 1996), 245.

⁴⁴⁰Ollie Hillman, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

offered. This was the case for young scholar Maria Yastremska of Kamsack, Saskatchewan, who explained in 1927: "We attend school every evening. We learn to read and write, Ukrainian grammar, singing, music theory, and mandolin playing."⁴⁴¹

Throughout the 1920's and 1930's, schools constantly expanded, both in number and size and also in terms of activities offered. In 1927, for example, the ULFTA National Convention voted to include folk dancing as a new activity for Ukrainian school children.⁴⁴² With interest in these activities keen, the Ukrainian Worker Children's Schools enjoyed a striking degree of popularity over all other activities coordinated by the Ukrainian Left. By the time the 1933 ULFTA convention took place, the Ukrainian Left had forty-five schools functioning across Canada with some 2000 students attending.⁴⁴³ In 1937 the number of schools had grown to fifty-four with the number of students remaining steady at 1,945.⁴⁴⁴ These numbers were certainly comparable to and were usually higher than those of contemporary adult branches and activities.

At the Ukrainian Worker Children's Schools, and also through general social, political, and cultural activities at the labour temples, Ukrainian cultural and language training was often facilitated through the use of Progressive literature, songs, drama, and poems. In this way, cultural education frequently combined with political lessons.

⁴⁴¹*Svit molodi*. March 1927, translation by L. Stavroff.

⁴⁴²Report dated January 20, 1956 "re AUUC - Montreal, P. Que." NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3757: "AUUC - Case History Canada," part 1.

⁴⁴³Translation of *Ukrainian Labour News*, March 18, 1933. NAC, Record of CSIS, "AUUC, Women's Section, Canada," RG 146, vol. 3758, part 1.

⁴⁴⁴"Sixteenth Convention of ULFTA, May 8, 1937. NAC, Record of CSIS, "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," RG 146, vol. 3792, part 8.

To facilitate teaching of the Ukrainian language, children would read folk stories and also literature that emphasized the nature of and their need to join their parents in the revolutionary class struggle. This illustrates the equal value the Ukrainian Left placed on Ukrainian culture and radical politics.

Their politicization was further continued with their exposure to and participation in cultural work didactic in nature that emphasized the political work of the movement. For example, children of the Ukrainian Worker Children's School frequently attended and/or took part in plays and concerts put on by the adult branches at the halls. Through this, young people learned about issues important to the Progressive Ukrainian community. A typical example of this can be seen in the following RCMP report on labour temple activities in Winnipeg. According to an RCMP informant children at the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple played significant roles in the Ukrainian language play "How the World Went Upside Down," which was presented in 1922. In it, he observed:

In the last act, the scenery shows barricades down, telegraph, telephone and light poles down, common workers giving orders, Priests and Noblemen cleaning the streets, clothed in rags, and children marching from the schools with Red Flags singing the 'International' (the last act was performed by a body of children from the Ukrainian Labor Temple school for children).⁴⁴⁵

Thanks to the wide scope of activity at the halls, youngsters learned both Ukrainian and working-class political values through a variety of effective means.

⁴⁴⁵Report dated November 7, 1922 "re Ukrainian Labor Temple Association, Winnipeg, Concert Given at the Ukrainian Labor Temple, November 25th, 1922." NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792, "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba," file part 1.

The effectiveness of this combination of teaching methods and the importance of the cultural/political intersection in activity is evidenced in the experience of young Nadya Niechoda. Born into the labour temple movement, Niechoda recalled that at age three, after attending concerts at the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple where dancers, choirs, and orchestras performed, at home she "used to sit on the bottom stair and play a make-believe mandolin on a broom, and sing *The International*."⁴⁴⁶

For the most part during the interwar period of the movement's history, children and youth worked together with members of the opposite sex in their cultural activities. While there were sometimes separate groups for cultural work for boys and girls, neither group enjoyed a reduced or raised status in the organization because they had a predominantly male or female membership base. All groups were expected to do what they could to help build the movement. In 1925, for example, a big attraction produced by the Ukrainian Left was the Girls' Mandolin Orchestra from Winnipeg. These girls toured Ontario to help promote the ULFTA. Throughout the 1920's they made several such excursions, raising funds and awareness of the progressive Ukrainian movement and inspiring other young people to join or create cultural groups in their own communities.⁴⁴⁷ Their presence was an important force that attracted many individuals, young and old, to the labour temples. This tended in

⁴⁴⁶Nadya Niechoda, Autobiography. *CSULR Symposium: 'Forgotten Legacy': Contributions of Socialist Ukrainians to Canada*, (Winnipeg: CSULR, 1996).

⁴⁴⁷"The Return of the Mandolin Orchestra from its Tour," in *URV*, August 6, 1925 in report dated August 11, 1925 re "'Ukrainian Labour News' - Winnipeg, Man., August 6, 1925," in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792, file: "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 3; *SM*, October 1927.

many ways to mirror the cultural experiences of adults, though among children and youth, girls seemed to participate more equally with boys than women did with men in the interwar period.

Another of the most obvious ways through which children and youth experienced the Ukrainian Left in a way different from adults was with the important role physical culture played among young people. Sports were one of the most popular attractions at the Ukrainian Labour Temples, and organizers viewed the presence of physical activity groups as crucial to recruiting and retaining a strong membership base of working-class-minded children and youth. Moreover, like the Ukrainian Worker Children's Schools, sports at the Ukrainian Labour Temples offered an important, labour-centred, radical alternative to those offered by religious groups. An organizer, speaking critically of the YMCA, explained in 1933, "These are bourgeoisie clubs, the youths there are being cultivated in the bourgeoisie way. They are absolutely kept in ignorance of the class struggle in the economic life of the people. Therefore we must support and build up our own Sports Club."⁴⁴⁸ Sports were a particular strategy local branches were especially encouraged to employ during the summer months, when the normal ULFTA cultural season (which followed the pattern of the public school year) had ended, in order to ensure that young people remained in the progressive web of activity and therefore would be more likely to return to movement activities in the fall.⁴⁴⁹

As well as supporting the interests of offspring of ULFTA members,

⁴⁴⁸Report dated February 3, 1933, Report "re Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Ass'n, Winnipeg-Sports Club Performance, Feb 2," NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792, "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba," file part 6.

⁴⁴⁹*Svit Molodi*, March 1927, May 1929, translation by L. Stavroff.

organizers hoped that, through the use of sports, young people from other Ukrainian, non-Ukrainian, and non-progressive groups would be attracted to ULFTA activities out of a desire to participate in sporting activities.⁴⁵⁰ During the 1930's, particularly during the CPC's United Front period, the Junior and Youth wings of activity were especially encouraged to organize sports to try to draw in such a variety of children and youth. In this way, organizers hoped that with sports as an attraction more young people would be pulled to take part in the class struggle.

All halls eventually came to have some form of physical activity linked with the work of youth and children. Popular activities included baseball, hockey, track and field, and gymnastics.⁴⁵¹ Gymnastics, in particular, was an important way whereby physical culture was combined with progressive working-class culture. It was not unusual during the inter-war period to see group gymnastics formations incorporating Soviet symbols.⁴⁵² Young people involved with these sporting activities would frequently perform at special events and concerts, which in turn helped the ULFTA raise money for and awareness of its other activities. Clara Babiy, for example, remembered seeing her sister, a member of the Welland Ukrainian Labour Temple gymnastics group, perform pyramid formations at a festival in Toronto.⁴⁵³ In this way, then, through the use of sports, children and youth experienced and contributed to the

⁴⁵⁰*Resolutions of the Provincial Conference of ULFTA Youth Section, September 1-2, 1934*, (Toronto: Provincial Secretariat of the Youth Section of the ULFTA, 1934), translation by L. Stavroff, Stavroff Private Collection.

⁴⁵¹Mike Seychuk, Vera Woremiuk, interviewed by RLH, 1998;

⁴⁵²For examples, see *Album of the Workers Trading Cooperative Limited* (Toronto: Workers Trading Cooperative Limited, 300 Bathurst, 1933).

⁴⁵³Clara Babiy, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

Ukrainian Left in ways distinct from adults.

In addition to lessons learned through sports and cultural and language schools, organizers of the ULFTA also sought to teach children and youth how to function as formal members within the organization. To do this, a "League of Ukrainian Working Youth" was formally created at the 1924 ULFTA Convention, and by 1925, twelve branches had been formed. In 1926, the name was changed to "Youth Section ULFTA,"⁴⁵⁴ and over the course of the 1920's, it, like the Ukrainian Workers' Children's Schools, expanded into numerous communities across Canada. By 1927, the ULFTA boasted thirty-two youth branches and 1508 members in its youth division.⁴⁵⁵ In 1931, a ULFTA Junior Section was created to serve the organizational needs of children aged seven to ten whose interests could not adequately be addressed through membership in the Youth Section.⁴⁵⁶

Branches for young people were deliberately structured so as to be similar to those of adults. This is clear from the work of Mary Skrypnyk, who was put in charge of the Junior Section during the late 1930's. She explains that she "tried to make it a small organization for children, like a smaller model of the larger organization."⁴⁵⁷ As a result, aside from being centered on age-appropriate activities, experiences of youngsters who were members of the Youth or Junior Sections were strikingly similar and parallel to those which adults would have had in Women's or Men's Branches.

Like many adult branches, membership meetings for young people's

⁴⁵⁴"Youth, A Focal Point of Pride and Concern," *UC*, April 15, 1968.

⁴⁵⁵*Svit molodi*, March 1927, translation by L. Stavroff..

⁴⁵⁶Krawchuk, 389; *Boyova molod*, September 1932, translation by L. Stavroff.

⁴⁵⁷Mary Skrypnyk, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

sections were generally scheduled for Sunday. As one former member recalled, the Junior Section children used to refer to it as their Sunday School.⁴⁵⁸ Instead of the religious instruction that took place in Ukrainian churches, however, in these groups, youngsters would learn, like adults, how to elect executives, hold meetings, pay dues, and plan events. Branch activities for youngsters were similar in intensity to those of women and men. For example, as one young member of the Youth Section branch in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, explained in 1927, their branch had held in their three months of existence, "five administrative meetings, seven group readings, two concerts independently, seven concerts with their Finnish comrades, one annual meeting with the election of the new executive, [while at the same time] collecting money for a library."⁴⁵⁹ Youth and Junior Sections, like adult groups, were also encouraged to assist other ULFTA branches in fund-raising for the progressive press, the organizational fund, and other labour-related projects. Other activities, like cooking classes, gymnastics, wall gazettes, and crafts, were also part of the work of the junior and youth sections, just as they might have been in adult branches.⁴⁶⁰

Like other activities for young people, children's branch activities were not defined along gender lines. Junior members were not forced to adhere to rigid definitions of femininity or masculinity, nor were they confined to branches and activities based on whether they were male or female. Both girls and boys were encouraged within their groups to hold executive and committee positions, and girls were often found in

⁴⁵⁸Joyce Pawlyk, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

⁴⁵⁹*Svit molodi*, March 1927, translation by L. Stavroff..

⁴⁶⁰Joyce Pawlyk, Mary Skrypnyk, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

positions as president in a junior or youth section club.⁴⁶¹ The meanings of femininity and masculinity began to become apparent within youth section activities and were most solidified when the time came for a youngster to join an adult branch at which time they could go into either the men's or women's branch.

As was the case for Women's and Men's Branch members, one of the most important components of the Junior and Youth section mandate was the "educational." Junior and Youth section "educationals" were similar to those that took place in adult branches, usually consisting of a lecture by a ULFTA leader or a group reading of a ULFTA newspaper. Youngsters would be taught how to be good, class conscious young people and about the history of the Soviet Union and other issues relevant to them as working-class Ukrainian children and youth. Like some adults, some youngsters were profoundly influenced and politicized by these lessons. This was certainly the case for young Nick Hrynchyshyn, a Youth Section member during the Depression. According to Hrynchyshyn, writing in 1936, the Youth Section

has given me a correct outlook on the world so that now I can understand the reasons for the present hardships and sufferings of the working class and the working class youth in particular. But more than that, it has shown me the way out of these present miserable conditions and the way to a happy new world.⁴⁶²

These lessons undoubtedly contributed to Hrynchyshyn's motivation and decision to make a career out of involvement with the Ukrainian Left as a prominent leader in postwar activity with the movement in Ontario. It

⁴⁶¹*SM*, October 1927; *UC*, May 15, 1952.

⁴⁶²Nick Hrynchyshyn, "What the Youth Section ULFTA Has Given to Me and What It Can Give to You" in *Unite the Youth*. [published in honour of the Tenth Anniversary of the Youth Section, ULFTA], c. 1936, Stavroff private collection.

was hoped that all young people would follow a similar path after being politicized and trained through the Junior and Youth Sections.

Other young people, like adult branch members, found the educational and even many of the branch activities dull and did what they could to help improve branch life or, if it proved too difficult, left the organization. This is evident from the letter M. Dembitski wrote to an organizational newspaper in 1931 on the topic of "Why are Some Members Leaving the Youth Section" in an effort to exact change in the Youth Branch. He argued that members stayed away because the meetings were simply not interesting. He suggested that, in order to keep members engaged, the Youth Section needed to spend less time holding meetings, paying dues, and emphasizing "slogans" in terms of educational work.⁴⁶³ It is clear from the letter that, although adults coordinated the Junior and Youth Sections, some youngsters, in this way, exercised agency and power by complaining or voting with their feet when activities arose that they did not enjoy. This is similar to the ways in which many adults attempted to influence the shape of their branches.

Despite such complaints, for the most part, the Junior and Youth Sections, like the Ukrainian Worker Children's Schools, enjoyed a strong following and a great deal of popularity as movement activities. The expansion began in the 1920's continued into the 1930's. By the time the 1933 ULFTA convention rolled around, the membership of the junior and youth sections totalled 1,528 and 1,050 respectively.⁴⁶⁴ At the 1937 ULFTA Convention, the Junior Section reported having more than 2000

⁴⁶³Letter written by M. Dembitski, *Svit molodi*, February 1930, translation by L. Stavroff.

⁴⁶⁴Krawchuk, *Our History*, 394.

members,⁴⁶⁵ while the Youth Branch was shown to have grown to 1800 members nationwide.⁴⁶⁶

While all halls across Canada attempted to integrate some degree of activity for young people into their local programming, and despite the success demonstrated by the above membership numbers, such activities did tend to vary in both consistency and size according to the size of the Ukrainian community in its vicinity. Halls in urban centres like Winnipeg or Toronto typically possessed a larger membership base from which to draw children and youth to activities. Generally these communities were better able to support the cost of a teacher to coordinate classes and groups. Smaller halls, especially those in rural areas, tended to have a more difficult time organizing and maintaining young people's activities. Distance between farm families, inadequate financial resources (which became magnified for many halls during the Depression), and a lack of teachers qualified to carry out the ULFTA educational mandate meant functions for children and youth in many areas were, at best, sporadic, if they existed at all.⁴⁶⁷ One of the ways the Ukrainian Left attempted to alleviate this problem was through the publication of a variety of newspapers to serve its various membership constituencies. Just as it did for adults, so, too, did the movement print a special newspaper for youngsters. The Ukrainian language newspaper, *Svit molodi*, or *The Youth's World*, was created in 1927 to serve the needs of the Youth Division. Prior to the founding of *Svit*

⁴⁶⁵Ibid., 399.

⁴⁶⁶Report on 1937 Convention, ULFTA. NAC, Record of CSIS, "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," RG 146, vol. 3792, part 8, page 97.

⁴⁶⁷NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3835: "ULFTA, Seventh National Convention, 1926," report re "Seventh Convention of the ULFT Assn., held in Winnipeg on January 25-227, 1926".

molodi, special pages in the women's paper, *Robitnytsia*, had been devoted to serving young people, particularly children.

Svit molodi was, at heart, a teaching and recruitment tool. Its articles, poems, letters, and features supplemented and reinforced lessons children and youth learned at hall schools, in cultural activities, and in Junior and Youth Section. Because it was written in the Ukrainian language, *Svit molodi* provided young people with literature to practise and hone their Ukrainian language skills. Youngsters could both read features and write their own letters and articles for publication. Moreover, the paper was an important tool for the politicization of youngsters. From it, young people learned about Marxist-Leninism, the fight for workers' rights (both locally and around the world), and the progressive Ukrainian interpretation of current events.

Moreover, *Svit molodi* supplemented the lessons taught in the Junior and Youth Sections. In a typical editorial published in 1927, Myroslav Irchan apprised young readers "You need sincerity, commitment, and faith in your organizational duty."⁴⁶⁸ Continuing, he emphasised proper ways to function as organization members:

Some branches—good workers. Other branches must be lost in a dream world because we never hear about them. We cannot allow this in our organization. Often certain branches do not reply to letters from the Central Committee of the Youth Section. Others do not send in subs to *Svit molodi*. We do not need these types of branches. Either they should be working or they should not bother to exist at all. Some branches do not have a good instructor, but now that we have *Svit molodi*, we have the best instructor of all.⁴⁶⁹

By reminding them of their duties as members of the Ukrainian Left and

⁴⁶⁸*Svit molodi*, April 1927, translation by L. Stavroff.

⁴⁶⁹*Ibid.*

standing in the stead of non-existent or substandard instructors, organizers attempted to use *Svit molodi* to teach young people, in a uniform manner, what the movement expected of them.

Svit molodi worked as an essential tool for inter-branch communication and building the movement, much in the same as way the adult papers functioned. To carry out their responsibilities in corresponding with the paper, youth branches were expected to elect a press correspondent, called a *Yunkor* or *Yunkorka*, to write to the paper detailing their activities. For example, in 1927, eleven year old *Yunkor* Wasyl Ravliuk of Coleman, Alberta, wrote to *Svit molodi* to say that, in addition to helping to create a library for themselves and preparing for a concert, his group had "performed the play 'The Little Blacksmiths,'" after which they "held a social for which the older *Tovarishky* prepared a group supper."⁴⁷⁰ As was the case with *Robitnytsia* and the Women's Branch, in particular, organizers hoped that, by reading what other groups were doing, young people would be similarly inspired to be active in their localities. Overall, the combination of *Svit molodi*, the Ukrainian Worker Children's Schools, and the work of the Junior and Youth Sections across the country contributed to significant growth in work with young people during the interwar period and helped to create an informed body of young people, many of whom eventually took on leadership roles with the movement during the latter half of the 1930's and into the postwar period.

Many promising young people who showed a penchant for leadership or potential talent with regard to Ukrainian cultural education in the movement had the opportunity to take part in an activity that was unique

⁴⁷⁰Ibid.

to Ukrainian Labour Temple youth and the sole preserve of young people during the interwar period, the Higher Educational Course. While interest was keen in the activities housed at Ukrainian Labour Temples across Canada from the earliest years of the ULTA's existence, the movement found that it was lacking qualified organizers and teachers to supervise and coordinate its dance groups, choirs, Ukrainian Worker Children's Schools, orchestras, drama groups, branches, and journalistic endeavours. To combat this leadership crisis, the ULFTA held several "Higher Educational Courses" in or near Winnipeg during the 1920's and 1930's to train promising youth from across Canada to act as cultural teachers and organizers. While the first course in 1923 only had thirteen students attending, subsequent courses tended to attract anywhere from 25 to 44 students.⁴⁷¹ Organizers had high hopes for the training program which they viewed as key to the movement's growth and influence among Ukrainian immigrants and their offspring.

The overall movement priorities of the male leadership base who organized and ran the Higher Educational Courses is evident from the content and structure of the classes. As ULFTA leader, T. Kobzey explained in 1923, "In a word--the Higher Educational Course is our forge which sends out hammer-wielding smiths to smash the rampant ignorance of the workers."⁴⁷² To this end, students of the Higher Educational Courses received training in a variety of subjects designed

⁴⁷¹NAC, Record of the CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792, "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba," file part 10; Krawchuk, "The Education of Leading Cadres by the ULFTA, 1920's-1930's," *The Tenth Anniversary Publication of Conference Proceedings...*, (Toronto: CSULR, 1996), 32-36.

⁴⁷²T. Kobzey, "What We Are Studying at the Higher Educational Course" in *Nashi Sproby [Our Endeavours]*, (Winnipeg: Publication of the Students of the Higher Educational Course of the ULFTA, January, 1926), translation by L. Stavroff.

to develop their abilities as well-rounded teachers and organizers. Courses of a political nature were a priority. John Boyd, who attended the 1930 Higher Educational Course led by Matthew Popovich, remembered a curriculum that "included...history and geography and...political economy and Marxism."⁴⁷³ The intention of this line of teaching, as 1936 course participant Kosty Kostaniuk explained, was "designed to give them a broad understanding of what was happening around them."⁴⁷⁴ In addition to theoretical and philosophical training, students were also taught various practical ways to organize branches and activities. At the 1926 Higher Educational Course, for instance, classes engaged in role playing exercises. One student, cast in the role of organizer, would be responsible for organizing the remaining members of the class who played the part of unorganized workers or farmers. In other situations, students would conduct mock meetings or lectures to teach them how to set up and run WBA and ULFTA branches and Ukrainian Worker Children's Schools. Students also learned techniques to help revive faltering branches.⁴⁷⁵

Balanced against the political and organizational aspects of the course was the other priority of the Ukrainian Left, the maintenance of Ukrainian cultural life in Canada. Therefore, one of the main preoccupations of the Higher Educational Course was to train competent cultural teachers for the ULFTA halls. In addition to political and

⁴⁷³John Boyd, *A Noble Cause Betrayed...but Hope Lives On: Pages from a Political Life: Memoirs of a Former Canadian Communist* (Edmonton: CIUS, 1999), 7.

⁴⁷⁴Kosty Kostaniuk, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

⁴⁷⁵T. Kobzey, "What We Are Studying at the Higher Educational Course" in *Nashi Sproby [Our Endeavours]*, (Winnipeg: Publication of the Students of the Higher Educational Course of the ULFTA, January, 1926), translation by L. Stavroff.

organizational lessons, students were also educated about Ukrainian language and culture. Courses in Ukrainian grammar, history and literature were fixtures of the schools. Students took training in music, drama, and dance, and they also learned how to teach these subjects properly.⁴⁷⁶ After the course, the newly minted teachers would be assigned to work in various branches across Canada.

To attend a ULFTA Higher Educational Course demanded temporal and often financial commitment from students. Once they were selected to attend some students paid for the course themselves, though more often individual branches, the national office of the ULFTA, and the WBA would cover the cost of transportation, teaching materials, and room and board.⁴⁷⁷ For many participants, the time they spent at an interwar Higher Educational Course was worthwhile as it was likely the only opportunity they had to gain any additional education and training in Canada. Furthermore, the promise of a position as an organizer, journalist, or teacher in a Ukrainian labour temple somewhere in Canada opened up alternative job possibilities beyond those typically available to young Ukrainian women and men in domestic service, resource industries, or the agricultural sector. For some young members of the ULFTA, the Higher Educational Course provided additional opportunities. Some male students in the 1930's had the chance, once they demonstrated

⁴⁷⁶NAC, Record of the CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3835, "ULFTA Seventh National Convention, 1926," report "re Seventh Convention of the ULFT Assn., held in Winnipeg on January 25-26-27, 1926"; Nick Dubas, Bill Philipovich, interviewed by RLH, 1998; Kosty Kostaniuk, Mary Skrypnyk, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

⁴⁷⁷ NAC, Record of the CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792, "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba," file part 8, Report "re: Foreign Bolshevick-Communist Organizations," no date [c. 1938]; Vol 3835, "ULFTA, Seventh National Convention, 1926," Report "re Seventh Convention of ULFT Assn., held in Winnipeg on January 25-26-27, 1926".

their potential at the course, to study in Ukraine. Mike Seychuk, for example, was sent with three other students to Kharkiv, Ukraine, to attend the Red Professorship after taking part in the 1929-30 Higher Educational Course.⁴⁷⁸ In the end, the teachers trained at Higher Educational Courses were fundamental to the growth and development of the progressive Ukrainian movement throughout the twentieth century, particularly during the early years of the movement's existence in the 1920s and 1930s and especially when it came to drawing children and youth into the progressive web of activity.

The Higher Educational Courses clearly illustrated the view of the male leadership, both locally and nationally, in terms of the sort of youth they felt should be trained to be future leaders in the movement. In most cases, their vision of the ideal student was male. Young men were the preferred and majority of students for the Higher Educational Courses and seminars. Of the twenty-eight students who completed the Higher Educational Course in 1937, only nine were women. The following year, nine more women and twenty-nine men took part in the course.⁴⁷⁹ Although young women attended the courses, they were often forced to endure discouraging remarks and attitudes from movement organizers or local branch membership. Mary Skrypnyk, who took the Higher Educational Course in 1938, was chosen to attend the classes only after the Hamilton, Ontario, Ukrainian Labour Temple's first choice, a boy, had to turn down the opportunity because his father had passed away and he

⁴⁷⁸Mike Seychuk, interviewed by RLH, 1998; Peter Krawchuk, "The Education of Leading Cadres by the ULFTA, 1920's-1930's," *The Tenth Anniversary Publication...*, (Toronto: CSULR, 1996) 32-36.

⁴⁷⁹ Report dated January 20, 1937 re "ULFTA - Winnipeg, Higher Educational Course" and report dated January 14, 1938 re "ULFTA, Winnipeg," in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792, file: "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba," part 7 and 8.

needed to remain in Hamilton to support his mother. At the time, many members were displeased with the choice of Skrypnyk, telling her that the course would be wasted on her because she was a girl.⁴⁸⁰ Despite the treatment they were often forced to endure, many of the women who attended the interwar Higher Educational Courses ended up playing key roles in the Ukrainian Left as leaders in one of its many postwar organizations. Some, like Skrypnyk, Mary Prokop, and Mary Kardash went on to use the skills they learned to improve conditions for women in the movement and in Canada generally.

While all youngsters involved with the Progressive Ukrainian community had experiences that were, for the most part, distinct from adults, some young people had experiences distinct from other children in the movement by virtue of their status as orphans. Many Ukrainian immigrants regularly faced dangerous working conditions in Canada labouring for railroads, mines, and factories. Disability, disease, and death were, unfortunately, the mainstay of life for too many immigrants. For those too old or infirm to look after themselves or their children, few resources existed. To assist aged Ukrainian workers and immigrant families where one or both parents were deceased or too ill to care for children, the Workers Benevolent Association (WBA) purchased a large estate on the outskirts of Winnipeg in 1927 which they named the Parkdale Benevolent Home.⁴⁸¹ Meant to house older workers and "the poor workers' orphans whose fathers' lives were sponged out by exploitation,"⁴⁸² the home was intended to function in such a way "where

⁴⁸⁰Olga Shatulsky, Mary Skrypnyk, interviewed by RLH, 1998, 1999.

⁴⁸¹*Friends in Need: The WBA Story* (Winnipeg: WBA, 1972), 141.

⁴⁸²NAC, Record of the CSIS, "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba" RG 146, Vol 3792, file part 5.

the old age people would not feel that they are getting charity, and the orphans of workers would not be obligated to be taken care of by religious charity institutions."⁴⁸³ Moreover, its existence was also meant to ensure that the children sent there would "be brought up in the spirit of the workers movement and teaching."⁴⁸⁴

Little information exists with regard to the adults who called Parkdale home other than that they were all men and nearly all were of an advanced age.⁴⁸⁵ Most likely they had all come as single men to work in Canada and had no family in Canada to look after them in their old age and no means to return to the Old Country. Much, however, is known about the children who spent their formative years in the orphanage. Their experiences reveal a distinct experience possessed only by a particular group of children on the Ukrainian Left. At the same time, as a case study, Parkdale lends us a clear picture of the vision of the male leadership body of the Ukrainian Labour Temple movement with regard to the frequently discussed ideal that Progressive Ukrainian children be raised in the spirit of the class struggle.

The children who lived at Parkdale came from Progressive Ukrainian families from across the country. Many of these youngsters, like so many other orphanage residents at the time, were from homes where one parent had died and the other, because of illness and/or a need to work for pay, had no other means by which to take care of the children. This was certainly the case for seven-year-old Mary Harrison in 1929. After her mother passed away Harrison was sent to live with an aged aunt and

⁴⁸³NAC, Records of CSIS, "ULFTA, 7th National Convention, 1926," RG 146, Vol 3835.

⁴⁸⁴Ibid.

⁴⁸⁵Ibid.

uncle in British Columbia and then to Parkdale because her father, a miner, could not properly take care of her because of the demands of his job. When he was killed in a mine explosion in Coalhurst in 1935, she continued to be looked after by the WBA at the Parkdale home.⁴⁸⁶

Day-to-day life at Parkdale mirrored what one might expect to find in a contemporary working-class home environment. Children were assigned chores depending on their age and, while this was not typically the case with other activities for youngsters associated with the Ukrainian Left, gender. Girls, for example, were expected to assist with laundry and kitchen duties, while all children were expected to help wash the floors and work in the gardens in the summer.⁴⁸⁷ Children also enjoyed free time to read, play games, do puzzles, or listen to shows like "Tarzan" on the radio.⁴⁸⁸ During the day, they attended a public school nearby. What limited agency the children possessed, they used to improve their circumstances wherever possible. For example, children were punished if they misbehaved, often being sent to bed without any supper. Close quarters and time spent together as a surrogate family, however, encouraged the development of camaraderie among the children, and, according to former residents, those being punished in this manner often ended up getting more than they would have had at dinner because of the food the other children shared with them.⁴⁸⁹ Holidays were also celebrated at Parkdale just as they might have been in a regular home. At Christmas time, for instance, the administrators

⁴⁸⁶Mary Harrison, and see also Gertrude Zukowsky, Eloise Popiel, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁴⁸⁷Gertrude Zukowsky, Mary Harrison, interviewed by RLH, 1998

⁴⁸⁸Ibid.

⁴⁸⁹Ibid.

would provide a tree and special treats for the children.⁴⁹⁰ In this way, with the Parkdale home, organizers attempted to facilitate common childhood experiences for its young residents.

The ways in which the Parkdale children were trained in terms of cultural and political education in programs laid out by the Ukrainian Left leadership illustrates their ideal plan for all Progressive Ukrainian children. Organizers took great pains to ensure that the Parkdale children had access to the type of cultural and political upbringing as it was hoped other children in the movement would experience. Ukrainian culture was emphasized at the orphanage in much the same way it was at the Ukrainian Labour Temples. The children took part in Ukrainian school, choir, and mandolin lessons through which they learned about Ukrainian traditions, language, and history. Moreover, with regard to political and organizational education, meetings were held every Sunday morning similar to those that would have taken place in youth and junior sections across the country to teach children basic political lessons and what it meant to be a member of the Ukrainian Left.⁴⁹¹ As well, like their Labour Temple counterparts, the Parkdale children also had the chance to take part in sports at the orphanage.⁴⁹² The Parkdale youngsters were also socialized and politicized in the movement through Ukrainian Labour Temple activities when they were taken to activities at the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg. Zukowsky, for example, recalled often attending plays, concerts, and movies there.⁴⁹³ These children also attended events such as WBA and ULFTA picnics and

⁴⁹⁰Mary Harrison, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁴⁹¹Mary Harrison, Gertrude Zukowsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁴⁹²Gert Zukowsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁴⁹³Ibid.

took part in overtly political activities such as May Day parades and other political demonstrations.⁴⁹⁴

By living at Parkdale, the orphans received additional political education compared to other children who grew up on the Ukrainian Left. On a day-to-day basis, Parkdale youngsters were politicized through the numerous events that took place at the orphanage. Because of its vast grounds and spacious buildings, the facility hosted the Higher Educational Courses, rallies, picnics, and sporting events. Zukowsky, for example, vividly recalled hearing CPC leader Tim Buck speak at Parkdale.⁴⁹⁵ The facility also provided accommodations for protesters planning to join larger demonstrations for farmers' and workers' rights, particularly during the 1930's. Harrison remembered meeting farmers from the Interlake region of Manitoba coming to protest conditions in the 1930's, as well as "On to Ottawa" trek supporters gathering in preparation to join the doomed national demonstration.⁴⁹⁶ In this way, Parkdale children had an even greater exposure to many political activities than ordinary Ukrainian Labour Temple youngsters might have had.

Unfortunately, the Parkdale Benevolent Farm never became what the WBA and ULFTA had envisioned. While it did serve as a venue for the Higher Educational Courses, it was never able to be entirely self-sustaining and ended up becoming too large a responsibility for the WBA. Because of the movement's political reputation, the provincial government was not forthcoming with subsidies to assist with the

⁴⁹⁴Gertrude Zukowsky, Mary Harrison, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁴⁹⁵Gert Zukowsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁴⁹⁶Gertrude Zukowsky, Mary Harrison, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

facility's upkeep.⁴⁹⁷ In January 1936, the orphanage closed its doors for good. Those children, like Harrison, who were not old enough to support themselves were fostered with local Ukrainian families, and some received additional financial assistance from the WBA for vocational training. Many found work with the progressive Ukrainian movement. Eloise Popiel got a job with the People's Coop Dairy in Winnipeg, a business which grew out of the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple during the inter-war period, where she worked for sixty years.⁴⁹⁸ Most remained tied to the movement in some way after they left the orphanage.

Whether in the Parkdale Benevolent Home or through the Ukrainian Labour Temple Ukrainian Worker Children Schools, despite the best efforts of the Progressive Ukrainian movement to educate its young people in and about the Ukrainian language through its language schools, cultural activities, and the publication of *Svit molodi* in Ukrainian, many Progressive Ukrainian children and youth (like others from non-English-speaking immigrant communities) quickly became assimilated into the use of the English language during the interwar period, particularly those who were born in Canada or arrived while they were still very young. The use of English in many activities involving young people indicates yet another instance where children and youth experienced the movement in a fashion different from that of adults. Moreover, it illustrates one of the most significant ways in which the presence of young people shaped the Ukrainian Left and fundamentally forced a change in the methods used in cultural and political activity.

Although many spoke Ukrainian at home with their parents and

⁴⁹⁷Mike Seychuk, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁴⁹⁸Mary Harrison, Eloise Popiel, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

frequently encountered the Ukrainian language at hall activities, the effects of the Canadian educational system and their interaction with young people of other ethnic groups in working-class neighbourhoods where the common language was English meant that many progressive Ukrainian youngsters had a relatively limited degree of proficiency in the Ukrainian language.⁴⁹⁹ Even those whom it was hoped would move to the forefront of the movement often had a great degree of difficulty functioning in Ukrainian. For example, Bill Philipovich struggled to compose his autobiography and application for the 1936 Higher Educational Course because it had to be written in Ukrainian.⁵⁰⁰ For many young people born to Ukrainian immigrant parents then, a language-based generation gap of sorts was created at home and at the hall.

In the interwar period, the language problem was less pronounced than it would become for the movement during the postwar era. Nonetheless, during the 1930's it was becoming noticeable that there was an issue with communication in the Ukrainian language as far as many children and youth were concerned. The ULFTA recognized this problem and attempted to moderate the effects of the process of assimilation in several ways. Sometimes youth would be expected to communicate and carry out their organizational work in the Ukrainian language regardless of their comfort level or ability. However, as former youth section member Misha Korol recalled, "while this forced the young people to learn to express themselves in Ukrainian, it also held back many who found the language a big obstacle."⁵⁰¹ In other instances, particularly

⁴⁹⁹Myron Shatulsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁵⁰⁰Bill Philipovich, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁵⁰¹Michael Korol, "AUUC Youth Discussion: 28 Years' Experience of Youth Movement," *UC*, May 1, 1953.

as the 1930's wore on, the ULFTA encouraged compromise between the use of English and Ukrainian to ensure that children and youth would join and remain with Ukrainian labour temple activities. Halls were urged to create libraries which incorporated materials in both English and Ukrainian and activities were to be conducted in the language in which young members were most comfortable. The organizational newspaper *Ukrainski robotnychi visty* even attempted to incorporate a section for youth during the mid-1930's that made use of English and Ukrainian in articles and correspondence.⁵⁰² In this way then, interwar children and youth forced the adult leaders of the movement to reshape the methods of communication and interaction used, especially when it came to working with and politicizing youngsters. Moreover, while it is clear that most adults involved with the Ukrainian Left in the interwar period experienced the movement in the Ukrainian language, this was certainly not the case for young people.

Further differences between the experiences of young people and adults, particularly the male leadership element of the ULFTA, are quite pronounced when one considers the roles both groups enjoyed with regard to the CPC. Like women and many rank-and-file men during the interwar era, rarely were Progressive Ukrainian young people involved in the formal organization of the Party, though they were certainly active carrying out support work in the form of canvassing and taking part in protests, particularly during the 1930's. Most youngsters tended to limit their activities to those that took place within the Junior or

⁵⁰²*Resolutions of the Provincial Conference of ULFTA Youth Section, September 1-2, 1934*, (Toronto: Provincial Secretariat of the Youth Section of the ULFTA, 1934), translation by L. Stavroff, Stavroff Private Collection; *Nasha Pratsia [Our Work]*, January 5, 1935, Year I, Vol 1, translation by L. Stavroff, part of Stavroff private collection.

Youth Branches of the ULFTA, though some youth did take part in the Young Communist League (YCL). In terms of formal political organization and, particularly, formal membership, it is evident, nonetheless, that children and youth were less active in Party activities than their adult male counterparts. While the Party demanded, particularly during the 1930's, greater involvement in its activities from young people of all ethnic groups with which it was affiliated, the Ukrainian Left, with its extensive resources and membership base had the power and influence to resist Party pressure to assimilate into non-ethnic groupings and to ensure that its Ukrainian Junior and Youth groups remain strong and staunchly Ukrainian-centred.

The Party did influence the shape of youngsters' activities to some degree, though rarely did this influence rework these activities in any sort of dramatic or fundamental fashion. The degree of influence the Party enjoyed varied greatly, depending on economic conditions and the desire of the leadership of the Ukrainian Left to see this influence imprinted on the various activities with which the Progressive Ukrainian community was associated. In 1931, ULFTA leaders stood behind the Party's call for "a turn to the path of the class struggle" and pushed for all sectors of the Ukrainian Left to conform to this new mandate. For children and youth, this increased Party influence meant several things. The name of *Svit molodi* was changed to *Boyova molod*, or *Militant Youth* to better address the "revolutionary movement...sweeping the world".⁵⁰³ Moreover, as they had been criticized for in the 1920's, young people's groups, like all branches of the ULFTA, came under fire from the Party for being too inward-looking and too centred on Ukrainian

⁵⁰³*Boyova molod*, June 1932, translation by Orysia Zaporazan.

cultural activities.⁵⁰⁴

In terms of actual change to the day-to-day functioning of young people's activities at the Ukrainian Labour Temple, few real shifts took place, despite the dramatic rhetoric the Party and ULFTA leaders were then employing. At that time, the junior and youth divisions of the ULFTA came under the control of the ULFMO, or Ukrainian Labour Farmer Mass Organization, established in 1932 to oversee all activities of groups affiliated with the Ukrainian fraction of the Communist Party of Canada.⁵⁰⁵ For children and youth, this likely reflected little in terms of real change as their activities had always fallen under the control of adult-run groups at the halls. In tandem with this, it was also emphasized to both juvenile sections that they were to serve the same recruitment and activist function as the Young Pioneers and Young Communist League did for the party, albeit among Ukrainian Canadian youngsters. At the same time, in the same direction the women's and men's branches were being pushed by the Party, the ULFTA and CPC tried to encourage youngsters in the Junior and Youth Sections to collaborate with other young people's organizations in order to gain new contacts and recruits for the class struggle.⁵⁰⁶ Furthermore, the Fourth Convention of the Youth Section of the ULFTA was held in 1932, and as its slogan suggested, "A Shift to Youth Working in Factories, Mines, and on the Farms" was to become the new focus of efforts to attract youth.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁴Krawchuk, *Our History*, 191.

⁵⁰⁵Ibid., 392.

⁵⁰⁶Extracts from the 'Reports and Resolutions of the Twelfth Convention of Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association in Canada' held from July 15 to 20th, 1931, in the Ukrainian Labour Temple at Winnipeg," NAC, Record of the CSIS, "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," RG 146, vol. 3792, part 11.

⁵⁰⁷*Boyova molod*, September 1932, translation by L. Stavroff.

Finally, ULFTA schools were pressed to reevaluate their curriculum and were pushed to ensure that "the Ukrainian language...should not only be a subject but also the means to class education,"⁵⁰⁸ something, it is clear from the earliest issues of *Svit molodi*, the Ukrainian Left had been doing all along.

This pattern of ULFTA compromise with Party rhetoric seemed to hold throughout the Depression, particularly with regard to the activities of young people. For example, by the mid-1930's, members of the junior and youth sections were increasingly encouraged by both the Communist Party of Canada and the ULFTA male leadership, in the name of a "United Front Against War and Fascism," to form alliances with other young people's organizations. To conform to this newest agenda, the Youth Section, ULFTA changed its name in 1937 to the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Federation in an effort to appeal to a wider constituency of Ukrainian youth.⁵⁰⁹ Again, however, many of the day-to-day activities of young people remained the same as they had in the 1920's and early 1930's notwithstanding the continued rhetorical shift. This sloganeering, therefore, at times, seemed to represent more of an effort by Ukrainian leaders to placate the Party without making any fundamental--and potentially unpopular--shifts with regard to the work of Progressive Ukrainian children and youth. Moreover, while evidence to indicate the success of this initiative is scant, given other Ukrainian groups' hostility to the Ukrainian Left, it is unlikely that their children were drawn en masse to the CUYF.

⁵⁰⁸Report on 1931 Convention, ULFTA. NAC, Record of the CSIS, "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," RG 146, vol. 3792, part 12.

⁵⁰⁹Report re: ULFTA Convention 1937. NAC, Record of the CSIS, "AUUC: Winnipeg, Manitoba," RG 146, vol. 3792, part 7.

Young people themselves, increasingly politicized by the experiences of familial poverty and personal unemployment, were active in working to further the class struggle during the Depression. Some, like Youth Section member Fred Zwarch, actively advocated the program set out by the Party. In 1936, Zwarch, supporting the Party's calls for a United Front, wrote to *Unite the Youth*, a bilingual magazine published in 1936 in honour of the tenth anniversary of the ULFTA Youth Section. He exhorted young people to use drama, sporting events, social activities, and educationalists to build up "a genuine mass non-party youth organization" made up "of not only young Communists, but also of young Socialists, Cooperative Commonwealth youth, students and all other progressive-minded youth...who are willing fighters against war and fascism and for the general welfare of the young generation."⁵¹⁰ Zwarch, then, serves as an example of a young person who threw his hat in with the Party. Most young people, however, continued to centre their political expression and cultural activity on the Ukrainian Left.

Politicization and activism throughout the 1930's took on a greater urgency in all facets of the ULFTA, but the methods the movement used to carry out these activities remained largely unchanged, as did the popularity of activities for children and youth. Throughout the 1930's, in addition to participating in Ukrainian school, orchestras, plays, and sports groups, children and youth increasingly supported strikes, joined protests against war and fascism, marched in May Day parades, and raised funds for various causes related both to the ULFTA

⁵¹⁰Fred Zwarch, "Towards a United Front of Youth Against War and Fascism" in *Unite the Youth*, c. 1936, Stavroff Private Collection.

and the Party.⁵¹¹ The Youth Section in Broad Valley, Manitoba, for example, explained that they took part "in the struggle against the tax sales, relief grievances, [and] bailiff sales."⁵¹² Concerns for conditions in Western Ukraine, peace, protests against fascism, and the rising clouds of imperialist war were also added to the list of issues with which the progressive Ukrainian left was preoccupied during the Depression. With adults, children and youth shared these concerns and were central to protests and actions taken in support of these causes.

The interwar period and the golden era of growth it represented for the Ukrainian Left came to a grinding halt with the advent of World War II with the government ban on many of the movement's key institutions. Young people, like all members of the Ukrainian Left, were greatly affected by this dramatic turn of events.

For children and youth, the times were tough and for the offspring of the arrested leaders, times were particularly trying. In addition to dealing with the sudden, inexplicable loss of their fathers, these children faced added pressures and duties in the home and family. Ten year old Myron Shatulsky's father Matthew, a central ULFTA and Party figure who lived in Winnipeg was interned for two years. During this time, his mother, Katherine, was overburdened with responsibility holding down paid employment and managing the family home, part of which was rented out. Myron did his best to assist at home and in the campaign to have his father released. In 1942, for example, he wrote to

⁵¹¹See for example the experiences of Nadya Niechoda in "Autobiography" in *CSULR Symposium: 'Forgotten Legacy'* (Winnipeg: CSULR, 1996).

⁵¹²"Five Years" by J.O. in Broad Valley, Manitoba. *Unite the Youth*. [published in honour of the Tenth Anniversary of the Youth Section, ULFTA], c. 1936, Stavroff private collection.

then Minister of Justice Louis St. Laurent requesting, "Honorable Sir, may I once again ask you release my daddy as a special birthday present to me?"⁵¹³ When wives were granted permission to visit their interned husbands in Hull after more than eighteen months apart, Katherine Shatulsky was unable to leave her responsibilities to go, so young Myron was sent in her stead. After taking a note to school to explain why he would be missing ten days of school, Myron boarded a train with the wives of the internees and experienced a tearful reunion with his father at the Hull facility.⁵¹⁴

Fortunately, most children in the Progressive Ukrainian community did not experience the trauma of parental arrests during the war. Many, however, did have to contend with male relatives going off to fight for the Allied cause in Europe. For others, the greatest stress came when their junior and youth section and cultural and educational activities abruptly came to a halt when the halls were confiscated and padlocked by federal authorities. Many youngsters, like Nadya Niechoda, found the situation incomprehensible and difficult to bear. Niechoda recalls "as an eleven year old child, I was devastated. How could someone close down our wonderful hall? What were we to do? Where would we spend our time? When I had to walk past the hall during those days, I crossed the street, turning my face away from the hall."⁵¹⁵

⁵¹³Letter from Myron Shatulsky to Minister of Justice Louis St. Laurent, dated April 2, 1942, NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 4678, file: "Department of Justice File re: Matthew Shatulsky and Aliases," part A.

⁵¹⁴Myron Shatulsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998. See also Mike Boychuk's autobiography completed in application for 1950 'Higher Educational Course' in file 3: "AUUC - Higher Educational Course - Applications, 1950" in section "Education Activities" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC.

⁵¹⁵Niechoda, 10. See also Julie Dalkie, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

The problem of adapting to ban-induced conditions was further compounded when several young leaders who had not been arrested joined the armed services. Teachers Kosty Kostaniuk and Bill Philipovich, both graduates of the 1936 Higher Educational Course, left organizational work to serve overseas.⁵¹⁶ As previous chapters have shown, other teacher-organizers who had worked with children maintained a low profile out of a fear of arrest or because they were busy working at jobs created during the wartime context.⁵¹⁷

Patterns of activity for young people thus shifted during this period. In some locales, all progressive activity ceased for both young people and adults.⁵¹⁸ In other towns and cities, musical and language training did continue, but under difficult circumstances. Materials and books housed at the labour temples had been confiscated, damaged, and, in some cases, even burned, when the ULFTA was banned in 1940. The loss of the halls in many communities meant that new venues for cultural and educational work with children and youth had to be found. Olga Mateychuk (now Shatulsky), who was nine years old when the halls were confiscated, had attended activities at the Point Douglas Ukrainian Labour Temple. When it was closed, she joined the orchestra at the Lithuanian hall and also recalls participating in Progressive Ukrainian activities in a rented space on Selkirk Avenue in Winnipeg.⁵¹⁹ Myron Shatulsky and other

⁵¹⁶Kosty Kostaniuk, Bill Philipovich, interviewed by RLH, 1999, 1998.

⁵¹⁷Report dated January 14, 1945 "re Ukrainian Canadian Association. Annual Meeting of Winnipeg Branch. Annual Meeting of Point Douglas Branch". NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792, "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba," file part 13. See also Mary Skrypnyk, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

⁵¹⁸See for example John Popochenko, interviewed by Clara Swityk, 1976.

⁵¹⁹Olga Shatulsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

youngsters from the Winnipeg Ukrainian Labour Temple continued their choir rehearsals and other activities at the nearby Polish Labour Temple or in private homes.⁵²⁰

Cultural-educational work of the progressive Ukrainian movement continued throughout the 1940's, and most activity for youngsters came to be focused around raising money for the war effort, especially after the Soviet Union became an ally in 1941. Fund-raising concerts were held frequently. For example, to boost wartime and movement morale, a concert was held at Winnipeg's Walker Theatre during which a number of Progressive Ukrainian children and youth performed in mandolin orchestras and choirs. Overall, the concert was an enormous spectacle topped off with "200 school children [parading] around the theatre bearing the Union Jack, Soviet and US Flags."⁵²¹ Moreover, to further support Canadian troops, youngsters were also instructed to correspond with members of the armed services and to donate blood to the Red Cross. They were further told that their "orchestras, choirs, dancing, or dramatic groups should give concerts to the soldiers in the barracks."⁵²²

⁵²⁰Yvonne Roman, Myron Shatulsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998; Report dated January 10, 1941 "re Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland," NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3792, "AUUC - Winnipeg, Manitoba," file part 10.

⁵²¹RCMP Intelligence Report Re: "Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland - 1st National Convention, Winnipeg, June 4th, 5th, 6th, 1942, Changed to Association of Ukrainian Canadians", report dated June 10, 1942. Record of the CSIS, RG 146, vol 3792, "AUUC, Winnipeg, Manitoba", part 11, page 50. For additional examples of wartime fundraising efforts among youngsters see "What the Ukrainian Youth of Canada Can Do to Achieve Victory over Fascism" sent "To All Independent Canadian-Ukrainian Youth Clubs" dated January 5, 1942 from the Provincial Committee of the Ukrainian Youth Clubs in Toronto. Part of Stavroff Private collection.

⁵²²"What the Ukrainian Youth of Canada Can Do to Achieve Victory over Fascism" sent "To All Independent Canadian-Ukrainian Youth Clubs" dated January 5, 1942 from the Provincial Committee of the Ukrainian Youth Clubs in Toronto. Part of Stavroff Private collection.

The importance of the youth clubs was recast in light of the war effort. National organizers informed young people that their work was now more crucial than ever. Youth were told to organize progressive clubs not only to cultivate an understanding of Ukrainian culture but also to preserve democracy, defend workers' rights in industry, and conduct cultural activity to foster "better understanding and friendly mutual relations between Canadians of Ukrainian origin and Canadians in general."⁵²³ Efforts by children and youth as performers and participants in organizational activities were central to the success of these endeavours, especially given the difficult situation created by the wartime absence of many central leadership figures of the movement. Their public displays of patriotism and support for the war effort greatly helped to improve the overall perception of Progressive Ukrainians in Canada.

While the Ukrainian Left, and particularly its programs for youngsters, approached war's end in a positive position, this momentum, unfortunately, did not extend well into the postwar years. In many ways the Progressive Ukrainian community attempted to recreate activities for youngsters in much the same fashion as in the interwar period. Increasingly, however, the halls were unable to remain relevant in the lives of young people beyond activities of a cultural and social nature. Moreover, once they reached adulthood, many turned to other activities and organizations outside the Ukrainian Left, which contributed to the marked decline the movement faced in the latter half of the twentieth

⁵²³"What the Ukrainian Youth of Canada Can Do to Achieve Victory over Fascism" sent "To All Independent Canadian-Ukrainian Youth Clubs" dated January 5, 1942 from the Provincial Committee of the Ukrainian Youth Clubs in Toronto, Stavroff Private collection.

century. It is in this decline that the agency of children and youth is most apparent for the way it influenced, changed, and helped to aid in the eventual breakdown of the movement.

Although gradually becoming fewer in number, particularly over the last three and half decades of the twentieth century, young people did participate in activities in the Progressive Ukrainian movement in the postwar period. Change, however, was apparent, both in the ways in which younger members and supporters were perceived and in the ways in which they chose to involve themselves in the movement. Just as World War II functioned as a divide between the interwar and postwar eras of activity, so, too, was it a watershed in terms of an intergenerational split in the movement. Children and youth in the postwar period, while still being a particular constituency of concern for the Ukrainian Left, came to increasingly be lumped together with young adults as a group that worried the leadership of the movement. After the war, these members and supporters came to be referred to as "the Canadian-born Generation" to differentiate their interests and needs from those of the "Immigrant Generation," as the founding generation of the movement came to be called. Children and youth were still an important and distinct category for the Ukrainian Left generally. However, many of the ways in which they experienced the Progressive Ukrainian community was filtered through and shaped by the "Canadian-born" lens and their being lumped together with English-speaking adults. As we shall see, this categorization had both positive and negative effects and came to shape the experiences and opportunities of young people throughout the movement in the interwar era.

In many ways, the types of activities in which young people

participated remained similar to those in which children and youth had been engaged in the 1920's and 1930's. Junior and Youth Sections, dance groups, choir, Ukrainian school, and sporting activities remained popular venues of involvement for youngsters. In terms of gender roles, female and male children continued to experience a strong degree of equity. Like the interwar period, however, as they aged and became teenagers and young adults, pressure to conform to sex-appropriate activities intensified. Moreover, in terms of the activities themselves, as postwar children became even more Canadianized than their parents and grandparents, these diversions came to reflect a fascinating hybridized subculture for young people which combined elements of both Ukrainian and Canadian childhood activity. Furthermore, young Ukrainian Canadians of the Baby Boom generation, given their increased numbers, pushed the Progressive Ukrainian community to cater to their wishes and interests in order to maintain their attention.

As a result, within the Canadian-born category, there was an increased emphasis on children and youth and their place in the Ukrainian Left in the decades immediately following the war, an emphasis apparent in the way many activities came to be shaped at this time. Many older members--generally those who were part of the immigrant generation--of the AUUC attempted to temper the influence of Canadian popular culture on hall activities. As the era progressed, however, the AUUC leadership was forced to acquiesce to the desires of postwar children and parents of young families, and activities at the halls were shaped to accommodate these interests.

Despite the emergence of new forms of activity designed to address the realities of postwar childhood--and the demands of the baby boom

generation--as well as the Ukrainian Left's new place in Canadian society, the community found it increasingly difficult to attract young people to the Ukrainian Labour Temples and to retain them as members once they reached adulthood. Cracks in the Ukrainian Left's foundation began to show shortly after World War II. By 1948, the number of youth clubs had dwindled to thirty-one with a membership base of about 1000.⁵²⁴ While this downswing can be attributed to interruptions in activity caused by WWII, by 1950, progressive fortunes were not improving. At that year's convention, it was reported that the AUUC had a scant fifteen youth and ten junior clubs actively conducting work.⁵²⁵ In 1964, the AUUC Youth Council, the national body in charge of youth activities, reported "that sixty percent of its youth club members (150 members and eleven clubs) dissociate from the organization without joining the senior [adult] branches," while four years later it had record of "only one active club and the almost total collapse of the AUUC youth program."⁵²⁶ It is difficult to get accurate membership figures for most of the postwar era, but anecdotal evidence and statistics collected by the AUUC on the number of new members successfully recruited by the youth and junior division strongly indicate that, unlike the interwar era and despite special programs and committees implemented to help resolve the membership crisis, the progressive Ukrainian movement had, for a variety of reasons, an overall

⁵²⁴Krawchuk, *Our History*, 412; "1947-48 Annual Report on the Following Mass Language Organizations - Ukrainian, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Finnish, and Jewish," in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3757: "AUUC - Case History Canada," part one.

⁵²⁵Krawchuk, *Our History*, 414.

⁵²⁶"Association of United Ukrainian Canadians: Information Brief," September 15, 1969, NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3757: "AUUC - Case History Canada," part 7.

problem attracting and retaining significant numbers of young people.⁵²⁷

At the same time, the postwar era Ukrainian left had a tough time involving young parents in hall life. During the interwar period, parents had been responsible for drawing their children into hall activities. The postwar period saw this duty shift. Children's activities increasingly became the vehicle through which it was hoped the movement would be built among adults, particularly since the movement received no new adult members as a result of postwar immigration from Soviet Ukraine.⁵²⁸ The AUUC hoped, through the junior section in particular, that parents would be drawn to adult branch activities. Many branches took special pains to engage parents who registered their children in young people's groups with hall life. Hazel Strashok, a correspondent from the Young Women's Club in Edmonton wrote to the National Executive Committee of the AUUC in 1960 to say "we have been talking individually with some of the Mothers but soon we will hold a tea or some other affair inviting all our members and prospective members, and then maybe we will be able to have some of them join our club."⁵²⁹ While parents continued to send their children to Ukrainian school, sports, and cultural activities, they themselves, unlike the earlier generation of ULFTA parents, were often not branch members of the AUUC or the WBA. Many, though not all, were of Ukrainian

⁵²⁷See for example "Organizational Report of the NEC" in file 29: "AUUC - 13th National Convention, 1968" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, Vol 2: "Conventions", NAC.

⁵²⁸See "Resolution on Children's Work" in File 18: "AUUC - 8th National Convention" in Vol 2: "Conventions," AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC; *Leader's Guide*, (Toronto: issued by the National Junior Council AUUC, Fall/Winter 1959).

⁵²⁹Letter from Hazel Strashok, Young Women's Club, Edmonton, dated January 23, 1960 in file 4 "Correspondence: AUUC - English-speaking Branches, 1961-62" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, Vol 13: "Correspondence - English-speaking Branches", NAC.

descent, and they had often grown up in the Ukrainian labour temples. But, like many Depression and WWII era youngsters, they had not signed on to adult groups. Nonetheless, they wanted their children to have a strong understanding of their cultural roots, and they wanted this knowledge to come from a Progressive Ukrainian perspective.

The AUUC also attempted to combat attrition among the Canadian-born generation of parents and children by creating a bi-weekly English-language newspaper called the *Ukrainian Canadian (UC)* in 1947. According to one AUUC leader, the *UC* was meant to prevent the loss of the Canadian-born "in the sea of demoralization and soulless 'assimilation.'" and train them to carry on the movement as initiated by the Immigrant generation.⁵³⁰ The paper's creation and lengthy existence highlights the extent to which young people, with their demands for increased English-language activity, played a crucial role in shaping the Ukrainian Left at this time.

As was the case with all activities of the Ukrainian Left, youngsters experienced the paper in a particular way. Since they did not have their own publication after the war, separate pages in the *Ukrainian Canadian* came to be devoted to the interests and needs of young people. While the "adult" or "women's" sections of the paper contained news articles on a variety of current events that concerned the Ukrainian Left, the "Junior UC" section contained Ukrainian folk tales (in both English and Ukrainian) like "Baba-Yaga and the Swan

⁵³⁰Letter from National Executive Committee to "All Committees, Branches, and Members of the AUUC" re "5th Anniversary of *Ukrainian Canadian*" dated September 8, 1952 in file 1: "AUUC Committee, Minutes and Other Materials, 1951-52" in Vol 5: "National Executive Committee - Minutes" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC.

Geese,⁵³¹ as well as games, crafts, news articles, and jokes. Here, children learned, in an age-appropriate way, about the AUUC, peace, special events, and Ukrainian culture. Like *Svit molodi*, the children's pages of the *Ukrainian Canadian* were intended to attract young members to the AUUC, teach progressive politics, act as a tool of communication among branches, and, with the National Committee, and promote a sense of uniformity in activity across the country.

Youngsters, like their parents, were encouraged to read and write to the paper regularly, and branches were instructed to elect press correspondents to send it regular branch reports. The paper gave many aspiring youngsters their first taste of journalistic experience. Lari Prokop, longtime editor of the *Ukrainian Canadian Herald*, a later incarnation of the *Ukrainian Canadian*, got his start by writing to the *Ukrainian Canadian*. During the Cold War mid-1950's, at age seven, he and his mother Mary toured a bomb shelter set up in a local grocery store, and he wrote to the paper telling of the strange experience.⁵³² In this way, a sense of continuity existed in the way children were taught to interact and assist with Progressive Ukrainian publications.

The advent of the paper illustrates the shift in divisions that emerged in the movement in the postwar period. Though newspapers had been published in the interwar era based on divisions—gender, occupation, age—they had, on all but rare occasions, been published in Ukrainian. After the war, it was language and age that determined the type of periodicals the Progressive Ukrainian community published. The existence of the *UC* also highlights the way English-speaking adults and

⁵³¹*UC*, October 1971.

⁵³²Peter Lari Prokop, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

youngsters were lumped together as a category of concern for the movement. No longer having a paper of their own, children and youth instead had to share the *UC* with their parents and other English-speaking adults. Furthermore, it also underscores the dominance of the immigrant generation, who had not one, but two newspapers, *Ukrainske zhyttia* and *Ukrainske slovo*, to serve their needs and interests. Thus, despite the best attempts on the part of the Ukrainian Left's leadership to create intergenerational unity through the *UC*, unfortunately, the existence of this paper helped to contribute to and solidify the increased language and generational divide that emerged in the movement after the war.

While new institutions, activities, and publications arose in the post-war period, in terms of day-to-day life at the Ukrainian Labour temples, in many ways, activities for children and youth in the postwar era could be characterized by a combination of continuity and change. Many activities continued much in the same fashion they had in the interwar period. Ukrainian schools, dance classes, and mandolin lessons remained popular, and sports, films, and membership in junior and youth groups continued to attract young people. However, there were some important changes, as well, that had to be made to accommodate the changing needs and interests of children and youth. Because of the nearly exclusive use of the English language among young people, certain activities had to be modified or came to enjoy a less prominent place in the Progressive repertoire, while other diversions, many of which required little to no knowledge of Ukrainian came to the fore. For example, as a postwar cultural teacher in the AUUC, Olga Shatulsky recalled witnessing the decline of the Ukrainian language choral groups,

while simultaneously observing how folk dancing, for which students did not need Ukrainian, increasingly "became the most important way to attract young people to the organization."⁵³³ Other activities, though displaying similar characteristics to their interwar counterparts, shifted to accommodate specific postwar interests of children and youth or because of the changed political and economic culture that emerged within the Ukrainian Left and Canadian society generally.

One activity that especially continued to be as popular as it had been in the interwar period for youngsters was sports. Sports remained an important activity and carried on as the sole preserve of youngsters in the movement. The leadership of the Ukrainian Left, like leaders in other non-Progressive Ukrainian groups, recognized the keen interest young people had in sporting activity and realized that this was one of the best ways to build and hopefully maintain a strong degree of interest among youngsters. As the 1963 resolution on sports from the AUUC National Youth Conference explained, "to look upon sports as unimportant or incidental would tend to isolate us from large sections of young Ukrainian Canadians and young Canadians as a whole."⁵³⁴ The document went on to argue that "The many and varied forms of sports are important to us in creating an atmosphere and a place in the AUUC for those young people who do not sing, dance, or play an instrument. Sports can help us recruit new members to the Youth Clubs."⁵³⁵

Many halls continued to support activities like baseball, acrobatics, swimming, hockey, and tennis. In numerous places, these

⁵³³Olga Shatulsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁵³⁴"Resolution on Sports" from National Youth Conference, 1963 in *Forward*, (Toronto: National Youth Council, December 1963), Stavroff Private Collection.

⁵³⁵Ibid.

activities expanded in an effort to link young Progressive Ukrainians with youngsters from other Progressive ethnic groups. For example, in many localities, Slavic baseball leagues were created and inter-ethnic track meets were held.⁵³⁶ Sports, then, were popular and necessary to attract children to the Ukrainian labour temples and away from the host of other leisure options available in the postwar period.

The Junior and Youth Sections also continued to be important areas of involvement for youngsters. During WWII, Junior and Youth Section activities were irregular in many communities, if they existed at all, and one of the most immediate priorities of the AUUC was the rebuilding of junior and youth section work in the postwar period. Like the adult section of the Canadian-born generation for whom English-speaking Branches were created, so, too, did organizers of the Ukrainian Left believe that children and youth required special organizational initiatives to kick-start their work in the postwar era. A variety of special methods were employed to rebuild and retool the Junior and Youth Branches in order to make them relevant and interesting to new generations of Progressive Ukrainian youngsters.

In terms of work with Juniors, the National Executive Committee of the AUUC developed a subcommittee called the National Junior Council (NJC). This subcommittee was charged with overseeing Junior activities, keeping records on participant numbers, and providing suggestions for activities and advice on the organization of children. At the local level, the Junior Section was typically organized by the Young Women's Clubs of the English-speaking Branches, and sometimes responsible

⁵³⁶Examples include the AUUC Track and Field Meet held at Ville La Salle, PQ described in "Greater Montreal Athletes Compete in Track Meet" and "Toronto Slavic Softball Club," *UC*, September 1, 1947.

teenagers were assigned to assist with the clubs as leaders. Local organizers often did their work through a local Junior Council, which was set up to coordinate not only the Junior Section, but also activities related to Ukrainian school and other children's work at the halls.⁵³⁷ In some localities, this system functioned well. In other areas, however, because of a lack of interested or suitable organizers and teachers, junior section activity was characteristically sporadic. Calls were frequent from branches to the AUUC's NEC to train teacher organizers to conduct work with children.⁵³⁸

Like their efforts with children, after WWII, the AUUC set to work putting together a new national youth program for teenage members of the movement, aged twelve to twenty-one. In 1947, the AUUC merged "all existing teen-age, Youth clubs and Sports groups" into a national body called the Youth Division of the AUUC, "with its own national centre, organizational apparatus and forms of activity under the direction of the National Committee of the AUUC."⁵³⁹ At the national level, the AUUC created a National Youth Council (NYC) to oversee youth work. This council made special efforts to assist young people with the organization of local branches, much of which involved encouraging the local English-speaking Branches to provide guidance and supervision for youth groups at the local level.⁵⁴⁰ Moreover, shortly after the war

⁵³⁷"Discussion Memo on Children's Work in the AUUC," n.d., in "Junior Section - Winnipeg," files housed at the WBA, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

⁵³⁸Resolution on Children's Work in file 18: "AUUC - 8th National Convention," in Vol 2: "Conventions," in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC.

⁵³⁹"1947-48 Annual Report on the Following Mass Language Organizations - Ukrainian, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Finnish, and Jewish," in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3757: "AUUC - Case History Canada," part one.

⁵⁴⁰UC, June 15, 1953.

ended, local youth branches benefited from the assistance of touring national organizers like Mary Skrypnyk and Misha Korol who visited halls across Canada to help all reorganize.⁵⁴¹

The NYC also organized conferences to boost morale and interest among potential and registered Youth Division members. In 1952, two youth conference-rallies were held, one in Ontario and the other in Edmonton.⁵⁴² Shortly thereafter, several older branches were rejuvenated in Winnipeg, Toronto, and Windsor, and new branches were formed across the country in places like New Westminster, BC.⁵⁴³ Regular youth conferences were held for the Youth Division, often in tandem with the AUUC conventions, which took place once every two years. To help youth understand AUUC convention proceedings and what their role would be in future as adult members of the organization, youth division members were regularly invited to attend the AUUC convention as "Participant Observer-Delegates," although they were not given the right to vote as the adult branches could.⁵⁴⁴ Following these conventions, the AUUC also attempted to host youth leadership courses of youth convention delegates.

To further help coordinate activities and create uniformity among

⁵⁴¹Mary Skrypnyk, interviewed by RLH, 1999; "Misha Korol Tours West Provinces," *UC*, November 1, 1947; Meeting, March 1, 1949, Minutes of Fort William Youth Section, AUUC, housed at AUUC hall, Toronto, Ontario.

⁵⁴²*UC*, August 15, 1952.

⁵⁴³*UC*, January-May, 1953.

⁵⁴⁴Letter from Misha Korol, NEC to Mike Mokry, Winnipeg dated January 17, 1952 in file 29: "AUUC - English-speaking Branches, 1951," in Vol 12: "Correspondence - English-speaking Branches," in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC. Letter from Bill Harasym and Peter Prokop, NEC, to Executive Committees and AUUC-sponsored Cultural Groups re "Participating Observer-Delegates from AUUC-sponsored Cultural Groups to the XIIIth AUUC National Convention," in file 29: "AUUC - 13th National Convention, 1968," in Vol 2: "Conventions" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC.

the branches for young people, two informal publications were developed. In an attempt to assist local organizers with concerns related to junior section work, address problems related to a lack of teachers, create a uniform national junior section curriculum, and supplement the information on the junior pages of the *Ukrainian Canadian*, the NJC published the *Leader's Guide* during the late 1950's and 1960's. In it, junior section leaders were given activity ideas including songs, crafts, games, poems, skits, and sports. Some articles, such as stories by Shevchenko or instructions for Ukrainian embroidery projects, related specifically to teaching elements of Ukrainian culture, while others centred on activities such as sports, music, or woodworking which were popular with postwar children generally.⁵⁴⁵

A publication was also produced to help the fledgling Youth Division. During the 1950's and 1960's, the NYC published a quarterly newsletter for youth branches called *Forward*. With *Forward*, the AUUC attempted to create a uniform activity program for youth across Canada and a substitute for the diminished number of potential youth workers the movement was experiencing as social and economic conditions changed after the war.⁵⁴⁶ Like the *Leader's Guide* did for children's organizers, *Forward* offered youth suggestions for fundraising activities, scripts for plays, songs, dances to perform, advice on how to organize a membership drive or concert, and information on planning social and leisure activities.

The rebuilt groups, like others with which youngsters were involved, experienced continuity and change in the ways in which they

⁵⁴⁵*Leader's Guide*, Fall/Winter, 1959, November, 1962, January 15, 1964.

⁵⁴⁶*Forward*, 1954, part of Stavroff Private Collection.

carried out their work. Branches held to the interwar patterns of activity that emphasised meetings and educationals as well as recreational diversions. Furthermore, both the junior and youth branches continued to be modelled, as they were in the interwar period, on the work of adult branches, and, as such, the young people's branches endured as an important training ground for future adult members of the movement. Continuity could also be found in terms of gender roles and the treatment of girls and boys. While some junior section activities were presented as being more suited to girls or boys (for example, girls were especially encouraged to learn Ukrainian embroidery so they would be competent to carry on the tradition as adult hall members) it was, nonetheless, often suggested that neither girls nor boys be denied the opportunity to pursue any activity that interested them. The 1959 *Leader's Guide*, for instance, instructed Junior Section organizers that

The boys can be separated for certain things: for example, the girls might be sewing while the boys are doing woodwork or playing ball. These divisions are not inevitable--some girls can play ball or use a hammer and saw as effectively as some of the boys, and some of the boys may be interested in learning to sew or knit.⁵⁴⁷

This was certainly the case for a little boy in Port Arthur. In 1951, he joined the junior girls who were being taught how to embroider by the women of the AUUC sewing circle.⁵⁴⁸

Like the interwar youngster's sections, it was only once children reached the later adolescent years that they were pushed into adhering to proscribed notions of gender-appropriate behaviour in ways that more broadly shaped their overall involvement with the work of the Ukrainian

⁵⁴⁷*Leader's Guide*, Fall/Winter, 1959.

⁵⁴⁸ File 1: "Correspondence: AUUC - English-speaking Branches, 1951," in Vol 13: "Correspondence - English-speaking Branches," in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC.

left. During the teenage years, in addition to the cultural and political roles they played, girls would often begin to take on or be assigned organizational roles that reflected women's adult roles at the hall and in Canadian society generally. For example, labour for youth club socials, dances, and other special events would be divided along traditional gender lines, with girls preparing food while boys set up tables and chairs, and girls were often mentioned and thanked along with those women who helped out in the kitchens at hall events. This was the case, for instance, in Edmonton in 1960 when the young women and girls of the Ukrainian Cultural Centre assisted with the Mother's Day tea and other events.⁵⁴⁹

Change in junior and youth section activity emerged mainly as a result of the altered political character of the AUUC and Ukrainian Left overall in the postwar period. In terms of political action in the postwar era, the Ukrainian Left had changed considerably in its pursuit of the class struggle, and instead shifted much of its activist focus toward issues related to peace, citizenship, and international understanding. This partly reflected the Ukrainian Left's arrival as an established-and increasingly assimilated-immigrant group after the war. It also came about as a result of the Progressive Ukrainian community's changed relationship with the CPC in Canada. Though it was linked through some of the above activities-particularly peace work-to the Party, overall, the CPC diminished as a strong influence on the Ukrainian Left.

This change became apparent in all facets of work in the

⁵⁴⁹Report on Annual Meeting, February 15, 1960, Edmonton Women's Branch, in Vol 11-12: "Correspondence - Women's Branches," in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC.

Progressive Ukrainian community. Among children and youth, how it was manifest is best reflected in both official documents and in day-to-day activity in the youngsters' branches. Gone were the revolutionary slogans of class overthrow and calls for young people to be good, class-conscious children. Instead, as members of the Junior Section, children were to gain "a rich understanding of the world around them--to grow up with the deep conviction of the essential equality of all the peoples of the world, regardless of race, colour, religion or national origin."⁵⁵⁰ Ukrainian culture remained an important part of the Junior Section program, and from this, it was hoped the postwar Progressive Ukrainian child would "know and prize the rich cultural heritage, progressive traditions and democratic aspirations of his own national group and the AUUC in particular."⁵⁵¹ Class consciousness was not to be entirely absent from the postwar Junior Section program; however, a kinder and gentler approach was taken to the subject of improvement of conditions for working people. A child growing up on the Ukrainian Left was to be taught "to understand the role of labour in the struggle for human betterment," and, it was hoped, would "grow up a progressive, active citizen, interested in the affairs of his country and in international affairs, and willing to work toward the realization of his ideals and hopes and dreams."⁵⁵²

For youth, the changed political mandate was similar. As the AUUC's NEC explained in 1952, the Youth Division's purpose was to unite and

⁵⁵⁰*Leader's Guide*, Toronto: National Junior Council AUUC, Fall/Winter, 1959.

⁵⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵⁵²*Ibid.*

build up a powerful youth organization dedicated to the promotion of peace and democracy, to provide the means for progressive education, to the development of the arts (and particularly the arts of the Ukrainian people), to the development of sports and healthy recreation, to organize wholesome social activities, and in all, to build the character of our young generation which is destined to play a most tremendous role in the Canada of tomorrow.⁵⁵³

Though the Youth Division was patterned on the Labour Progressive Party's National Federation of Labour Youth (NFLY),⁵⁵⁴ the diminished influence of the Communist Party of Canada on the Ukrainian Left generally, as well as the changing interests of young people themselves meant that, politically, the Youth Division had decreased ties with the Party in the postwar period. Some individual youth were still linked to the Party, holding membership in the National Federation of Labour Youth (NFLY), the Labour Progressive Party (LPP), or Young Communist League (YCL).⁵⁵⁵ As the postwar period wore on, increasingly these ties were less noticeable among many youth who took part in AUUC activities. The AUUC leadership encouraged youth to be involved with groups like the NFLY, and later Student Non-violence Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA),⁵⁵⁶ and many clubs and individuals took part in general political activities within and outside the AUUC for peace and women's rights. Many young people also continued, as

⁵⁵³Letter from NEC, AUUC to all Youth Clubs, Youth and AUUC Choirs, Orchestras, Dancing and Other Groups and Young People dated May 8, 1952 in "E/S Branch and Youth Winnipeg," at the WBA, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

⁵⁵⁴Report "The Association of United Ukrainian Canadians," compiled by "Research Section, January 1954" in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3757: "AUUC - Case History Canada," part one.

⁵⁵⁵File 8: "AUUC - Applicants, Higher Educational Course, 1950" in Vol 26: "Educational Activities" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC; EA Bilecki, interviewed by RLH, 1999.

⁵⁵⁶"Fourth National Youth Division Conference: Main Report of National Youth Council," in "Fourth National Youth Conference - Report, 1965," in Vol 27: "Youth and Related Issues," in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC., MG 28 V 154, NAC.

their grandparents and parents might have, by joining the ranks of the various incarnations of the Communist Party of Canada. Nonetheless, within the AUUC, most Youth Division work tended to lean characteristically towards the social and recreational and to more benign expressions of political activism. In order to retain young people as members, the AUUC maintained a fine balance between the movement's overall political priorities and the interests of youth.⁵⁵⁷

Political change and the interests of young people were also reflected in the content of postwar educationals held in Junior or Youth Section meetings and the types of activism with which youngsters were encouraged to get involved. While many educationals continued to have content that related to Ukrainian culture and history,⁵⁵⁸ increasingly, those with a political focus in the postwar period shifted to reflect new interests like peace, international friendship, and civil rights. As part of the educational process, the AUUC attempted to encourage a better understanding among Junior Section members about their place and responsibilities as world citizens. To serve this purpose, the junior pages in the *Ukrainian Canadian* often featured stories about children and events in other countries, and some Junior Sections, like the Toronto branch in 1948, corresponded with children in Soviet Ukraine.⁵⁵⁹ As well, just like the AUUC Women's Section celebrated International Women's Day each year, so too were age-appropriate International

⁵⁵⁷Booklet entitled "Proposed Resolutions for Second National Convention Youth Division AUUC," in file 6: "AUUC 7th Convention," in Vol 2: "Conventions," in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC.

⁵⁵⁸In 1964, the 150th anniversary of the birth of Shevchenko was celebrated by Progressive Ukrainians in Canada and the *Leader's Guide* provided lessons on the history of Shevchenko and a translation of one of his poems for the children to memorize. See *Leader's Guide*, September 15, 1963.

⁵⁵⁹"With Our Juniors," *UC*, December 15, 1963, May 15, 1948.

Children's Day festivities held on or around June first when, as Junior Pages Editor Olga Dzatko explained in the *Ukrainian Canadian* in 1967, "we join hands together to form an enormous circle around the earth, greeting all the boys and girls in the spirit of peace and friendship..."⁵⁶⁰

Youth members had parallel experiences to those of children. Political content certainly shifted, and thanks to the demands of Youth Branch members, many "educationals" came to reflect issues that were of specific interest to postwar youth affiliated with the Ukrainian Left. While their grandparents and parents might have discussed hunger marches and strikes growing up in the organization during the Depression, AUUC Youth Division members had their own contemporary concerns. When, for example, the Fort William Youth Section polled its members at a meeting in 1967 for ideas for educationals, the young people suggested future discussions be held "on delinquents, on the hippies, on Patriotism, on why kids start drinking, on discrimination of Negroes and Indians."⁵⁶¹ While there were clearly changes with regard to political content and topics of educationals in the postwar era, it would seem that the old adage "the more things change, the more they remain the same" is apt in describing the attitudes of youth. In terms of continuity with the interwar educationals, postwar youngsters continued to dread the educational. While some certainly viewed them as important, when asked, just as often "some said the educationals would be a drag."⁵⁶²

Children attending junior section also took part in a variety of

⁵⁶⁰Olga Dzatko, "With Our Juniors," *UC*, June 1, 1967.

⁵⁶¹Meeting, October 1, 1967, Fort William Youth Section, AUUC, housed at AUUC hall in Toronto.

⁵⁶²*Ibid.*

activities, many of which had taken place during the interwar period, and others which were new and were often attempts to compete with other postwar activities and address the demands and interests of youngsters. In 1961, for example, Vera Pauk wrote to the *Ukrainian Canadian* outlining children's activities at the Toronto Ukrainian Labour Temple. There, on Saturdays, children participated in gym drills and acrobatics, Ukrainian school, woodworking, embroidery, and parties for special occasions and were also shown films.⁵⁶³ Movies were especially important for getting children to come to or stay at Junior Section activity on Saturday afternoons. Shortly after World War II, the AUUC in many localities began showing films to compete with those available at local movie theatres.⁵⁶⁴

Similar was the case when it came to recreational activities in the Youth Section. Social and cultural activities planned by local youth branches were essential to attracting and retaining members and interest in the Youth Division and the AUUC. In most cases, the activities in which they engaged were markedly different from those of adult branches and reflected the interests and demands of young people. For example, in 1949, the Fort William Youth Club had a party with three contests being the focal point: a "cracker-eating contest, bubble-blowing contest, [and] a baby bottle contest."⁵⁶⁵ Dances and social evenings were also important in attracting teens to activities at the Ukrainian Labour Temples. As such, one of the most important roles the Youth Section played in the lives of teenagers was social and cultural

⁵⁶³Vera Pauk, "Juniors Have a Busy Year," *UC*, April 15, 1961.

⁵⁶⁴*UC*, April 15, 1948.

⁵⁶⁵Meeting, March 15, 1949, Fort William Youth Section, AUUC, housed at AUUC hall in Toronto.

in nature.

The importance of social activity was not lost on organizers of the Progressive Ukrainian community as far as other activities were concerned as well. Members and supporters of the Ukrainian Left were able to share in the postwar prosperity that resulted as Canada's industrial and service sectors expanded in the 1950's and 1960's. For many, in addition to better wages and job security, the postwar economic expansion also brought increased leisure time and a host of activities from which to choose to spend one's leisure time and money. For instance, cars allowed families mobility to take vacations away from the cities. Due to the increased earnings of its members and the success of its businesses like the Ukrainske Knyha and Globe Tours the movement found itself in an enviable financial position following the war. To compete with other leisure options after the war and to provide a way to keep members interested in the movement after the usual cultural season ended in June, leaders of the Progressive Ukrainian community decided to use some of its assets to purchase grounds where movement members could lease cottages⁵⁶⁶ and send their children to camp during the summer.

Although the movement had had some form of camping activity prior to the war,⁵⁶⁷ it was really after the 1950's that summer camps really took off. Larger camps were purchased and/or built near major urban centres at Palermo, Ontario, Husavik, Manitoba, and Sylvan Lake, Alberta, while smaller camps were located near Wapasu Lake, Alberta and

⁵⁶⁶For example, Alice Bilecki, Vera Woremiuk, and Joyce Pawlyk spent summers with their children at Husavik in cottages on land rented from the WBA. Alice Bilecki, Vera Woremiuk, interviewed by RLH, 1998; Joyce Pawlyk, interviewed by RLH, 1999

⁵⁶⁷Various labour temple associations owned picnic grounds or made use of farm land venues for overnight camping excursions and day activities during the 1920s and 1930s.

in the Lakehead region in Ontario.⁵⁶⁸ On a regional and national scale, camps functioned in the way the Parkdale Benevolent Farm had in the interwar period by providing a venue away from the halls and out in the country where events of a more extensive and elaborate nature could take place. Major festivals, holiday celebrations, and conventions and organizational campaign wind-ups often took place at these retreats.⁵⁶⁹

Children and youth who took part in formal camping activities had experiences distinct from adults who might have attended events or had cottages at places like Husavik and Sylvan Lake. In terms of activity for children, if they attended formal summer camp activities they enjoyed typical childhood summer camp activities such as sharing cottages with other children and taking part in wiener roasts, hikes, swimming, catching bugs, and arts and crafts which were central components of camp life.⁵⁷⁰ At the same time, however, at the Progressive Ukrainian summer camps, children had experiences distinct from what other youngsters would have likely had at other camps. Wherever possible, elements of Ukrainian culture and activities similar to those that took place for children at the labour temples were

⁵⁶⁸Letter to World Federation of Democratic Youth written by Stanley Dobrowolsky, n.d. in file 3: "AUUC - Junior Council - National, 1963-64" in Vol 11: "Correspondence - Junior Section" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC; Donna Yakimovich, interviewed by RLH, 1999; UC, June 15, 1961, June 15, 1965, July/August 1971; Membership meeting, February 21, 1965, Fort William Youth Section minute book, AUUC Hall, Toronto, Ontario.

⁵⁶⁹AUUC Provincial Women's Committee, Records of Meetings, November 1959-June 1961-February 1963, in Provincial Women's Committee Files, nd, held at WBA, Winnipeg, Manitoba; "South Ontario Labour Festival at Palermo," UC, August 1, 1961; "20,000 Slav Canadians Enjoy Fun, Festivities at 2-Day Picnic Rally: Strengthening the Ties of Unity, Brotherhood," UC, July 15, 1948; Report dated July 16, 1958 re "AUUC Southern Ontario District Festival Picnic" in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3757: "AUUC - Case History, Canada," part 4.

⁵⁷⁰See for examples Melody Bileski, Betsy Bilecki, Nancy Kardash, Carmen Kostaniuk, "Letters from Camp Husavik," UC, August 16, 1953.

integrated into camp activities. For example, when Olga Shatulsky was director of Camp Husavik around 1954-55, she remembered teaching Ukrainian language and singing, as well as talking to the children about peace.⁵⁷¹ Arts and crafts sessions often included Ukrainian embroidery lessons, and films and story time featured tales from Ukrainian literary figures like Ivan Franko and Taras Shevchenko. At Gordon Lake, Alberta in 1963, for example, children saw nightly movies like "Cossacks Beyond the Danube" and heard talks about Ukrainian history.⁵⁷² In this way, camps functioned as an extension of the work of the Ukrainian labour temples, which attempted to entertain and educate children.

Activities at camp also existed for teenagers, and their presence and willingness to contribute were essential to the creation and maintenance of the AUUC camping programs. Each spring, youth members of the AUUC in the areas surrounding camps like Palermo and Husavik volunteered their labour to help prepare the camp for the upcoming summer. During the 1950's, Lucy Nykolyshyn remembered going to Husavik before it opened to help ready the camp. She recollected cleaning with other girls while boys cut trees and did other outside labour.⁵⁷³ Many also worked--sometimes as volunteers--in positions as camp counsellors. Without this volunteer labour of youth, it is unlikely the camps would have been able to function as well or for as long as they did. Moreover, just as they did in other areas of the movement, so, too, did youth desires and interests do much to define youth activities at the camps. For example, when the Ontario AUUC youth expressed a desire for

⁵⁷¹Olga Shatulsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁵⁷²Walter Rosiewich, Gordon Lake Camp Director, "Junior Readers Enjoy Camp Life: Alberta Summer Camp a Rewarding Program," *UC*, August 15, 1963.

⁵⁷³Lucy Nykolyshyn, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

"supervised sleeping dormitories and recreational-educational facilities for AUUC youth and friends during the summer months," a youth hostel was created at Camp Palermo in 1967.⁵⁷⁴

At the camps, another crucial component of activity unique to youth in the postwar period took place--"Higher Educational Courses." After the war, the AUUC, like its predecessor, the ULFTA, continued to have a need for qualified teachers and organizers to coordinate branches and schools across the country.⁵⁷⁵ For several reasons, the Higher Educational Courses took on a different shape than they had in the interwar period. For example, as the movement no longer had Parkdale at which to host the course the summer camps were used as a venue for this education. This was hardly the most significant change, however. Most important to shifting the overall face-and even survival-of the Higher Educational Courses were the interests and opportunities youth possessed in the postwar period.

After the war, the AUUC attempted to continue holding Higher Educational Courses as the ULFTA had done during the 1920's and 1930's. Initially, in the early years of the postwar period, this seemed to be effective and feasible. For example, in 1950, twenty-six students attended a four month Higher Educational Course at Camp Palermo where they studied Ukrainian (or Russian if they were members of the Federation of Russian Canadians) language, music, drama, folk dancing, political economy, and the history of the labour movement, the Soviet

⁵⁷⁴Steve Karlash, "A Youth Hostel for Palermo Camp," *UC*, January 1, 1968.

⁵⁷⁵Speech by Bill Malynychuk, n.d., in file 14: "Speeches - AUUC 7th Convention" in Vol 2: "Conventions" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC.

Union, Ukraine, and Ukrainians in Canada.⁵⁷⁶

In the decade following the Second World War, as was the case for the interwar Higher Educational Courses, male youth continued to be the preferred participants as far as the Ukrainian Left's leadership was concerned. For example, in 1956, Vancouver organizer, Hannah Polowy, wrote to the National Executive Committee of the AUUC about potential participants for a youth course to be held that summer. Polowy felt the need to apologize to the national organizers, saying "Sorry these are all girls," despite the fact that, as she continued, "these five girls...are the mainstays of our youth club."⁵⁷⁷ As the postwar era wore on, it became increasingly difficult for the Ukrainian left to find youth-female or male-willing to participate in lengthy Higher Educational Courses.

The more prosperous circumstances under which the postwar cohort of Progressive Ukrainian youth grew up contributed to the difficulty the movement experienced recruiting students to train as leaders and organizers. Youngsters growing up on the Ukrainian left after the war tended to have greater educational opportunities, with many often finishing high school and considering the prospect of attending university. Unlike those youth who came of age during the 1920's or 1930's, teenagers in the 1950's and especially the 1960's had a wide

⁵⁷⁶Olga Shatulsky, Myron Shatulsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998; File 23: "AUUC - Youth Course, 1952," in Vol 26: "Youth and Related Issues" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC; File 4: "AUUC - Applicants, Higher Educational Course, 1950" in Vol 26: "Educational Activities" in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC; Olga Berketa, "AUUC Youth School," UC, August 1, 1953; Michael Korol, "AUUC Doings," UC, July 1, 1948.

⁵⁷⁷Letter from Hannah Polowy, AUUC Vancouver, to Stanley Dobrowolsky, June 12, 1956 in file 25: "AUUC - Youth School, Winnipeg, 1956, Correspondence," in Vol 26: "Youth and Related Issues," in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC.

range of occupational and educational opportunities on which to draw. Thus, increasingly, many students preferred spending their summers working for money to pay for university, to help their families, or to purchase goods from the rapidly growing consumer marketplace than attending a Higher Educational Course.⁵⁷⁸ Even those who did not go on to post-secondary education still had expanded employment opportunities as a result of improved economic conditions as the postwar period progressed. Moreover, because wages paid by the AUUC to cultural teachers and organizers were often considerably lower than what one could earn in many other enterprises, the idea of making one's career on the Ukrainian Left became increasingly unattractive to many young people.

The AUUC attempted to combat this problem and hang on to the youth by adjusting the duration and timing of youth courses. To accommodate young people's need to work during the summer, the AUUC shortened many courses from several months to several weeks. As a result, the average young person taking part in an AUUC course in the postwar period would have been more likely to spend two weeks studying at a camp like Palermo or Husavik, and these courses most often followed annual youth conferences taking place early in the summer months. Unfortunately, however, it became readily apparent that the Ukrainian Left was failing

⁵⁷⁸For example, students interested in the "Western Workshop for Dance Cadres," which was planned for the summer of 1960, were reluctant to attend because of the dates of the course since they needed to spend the whole summer working to pay for university in the fall. Betty L. Nahorniak, Youth Council Secretary, to National Youth Division, AUUC - National Executive Committee, June 9, 1960 in file 26: "AUUC - Youth Correspondence," in Vol 26: "Youth and Related Issues," in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC. See also Ray Yakimchuk to Stan Dobrowolsky, June 7, 1956 in file 3 in Vol 16, "Correspondence - Branches," in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC.

to attract and retain teenagers in its advanced training programs. By 1964, the National Leadership School, an annual summer educational event for youth held at Palermo, was cancelled. According to an AUUC information brief, this was "due to a lack of response," and, as such, "it has not been held since."⁵⁷⁹ Moreover, into the 1970's, even shorter workshops and courses were often cancelled or postponed because of a lack of interest on the part of teenagers and young adults.⁵⁸⁰ This, in turn, unfortunately, meant that cultural and organizational work suffered overall in the AUUC, especially among children and youth in the local branches. The changing interests and opportunities of youth thus created a noticeable void in the movement because of the resulting absence of qualified organizer/teachers. This, in turn, greatly aided in the overall decline in influence and activity within the Ukrainian left in Canada.

One area of educational activity that did attract the imagination and interest of youth in the postwar period centred around travel and studies in the Soviet Union, especially Soviet Ukraine. Because of its history and affiliation with the various manifestations of the Communist Party of Canada and its support of the Soviet Union and Soviet Ukraine, the AUUC enjoyed a special relationship with the USSR during the postwar period. Through its connections with an organization called Society Ukraina, or the Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations

⁵⁷⁹"Association of United Ukrainian Canadians: Information Brief," September 15, 1969 in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3757: "AUUC - Case History Canada," part 7.

⁵⁸⁰Letter from Bill Harasym to "All Registrants for the Eighth National AUUC Youth Seminar and Conference, All AUUC Provincial and District Committees," in file 30: "AUUC - 8th Youth Conference and Seminar, 1974," in Vol 27: "Youth and Related Issues," in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC.

with Foreign Countries, the AUUC was able to coordinate numerous individual and group study trips to Ukraine for promising students to study subjects of a political and cultural nature. Society Ukraina supplied students with monthly stipends and travel expenses and aided in their adjustment during their stay in Ukraine.⁵⁸¹ Many of those who attended cultural or political schools in Ukraine returned to Canada to play central organizational roles within the progressive Ukrainian movement.

During the interwar period, organizers had visited the Soviet Union on a number of occasions, and, as has been shown, some young male graduates of one of the Higher Educational Courses had had the rare opportunity to study there.⁵⁸² In the postwar period beginning in the early 1950's such trips were more frequent. Promising students made many trips to learn knowledge it was hoped they would return to employ in a variety of aspects of work in the progressive Ukrainian community. Zenovy Nykolyshyn, for example, was sent to study at a higher party school in Ukraine in 1958 where he was trained as a political leader by studying Ukrainian history, party history, cultural history and language before returning to Canada in 1961.⁵⁸³ This experience was not the sole preserve of youth, however. While many students attending these courses tended to be relatively young, others were not, at the time, a part of

⁵⁸¹"Association of United Ukrainian Canadians: Information Brief," September 15, 1969, NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3757: "AUUC - Case History," part 7.

⁵⁸²Mike Seychuk, interviewed by RLH, 1998; Peter Krawchuk, "The Education of Leading Cadres by the ULFTA, 1920's-1930's," in *The 10th Anniversary Publication of Conference Proceedings of CSULR...*, (CSULR: Toronto, 1996), 32-36.

⁵⁸³Zenovy Nykolyshyn, interviewed by RLH, 1998. See also report dated January 1954, "The Association of United Ukrainian Canadians," in NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 3757: "AUUC - Case History Canada," part 1; Myron Shatulsky, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

the youth constituency, but rather had grown up in the movement and were members who had already demonstrated promise and loyalty as leaders in the movement. Bill Philipovich, for example, who was born in Canada in 1915, was a graduate of the 1936 Higher Educational Course. He was sent to study history of Ukrainian music in Kiev in 1954. When he returned, he continued to work for the organization as a cultural teacher.⁵⁸⁴

Increasingly, as the postwar era wore on, dance groups were one of the sole activities able to attract youngsters to the Ukrainian Labour Temples. Because of this increased importance to the AUUC after the war, young teachers and organizers were sent—often annually—to hone their Ukrainian dance skills. A 1971 Folk Dance Seminar in Kiev offered much to students because, according to participant Ron Mokry, students “got to work with true professionals,” as well as “see the Ukraine, meet with Ukrainian people, and acquaint themselves with the history and culture of Ukraine.”⁵⁸⁵ Even Ukrainian Canadian nationalist groups came to rely on the goodwill of the AUUC for access to Ukraine. Members of nationalist dance groups increasingly tagged along on AUUC dance seminar trips during the 1970’s, much to the chagrin of some AUUC participants.⁵⁸⁶ In many ways, it was only through courses in Ukraine that the AUUC was able to interest many young people in the Ukrainian Left’s aims and work. Those who returned from such special training were among the few remaining youth and young adults able to assist the AUUC in developing and strengthening programs in dance and other aspects

⁵⁸⁴Bill Philipovich, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

⁵⁸⁵Letter from Ron Mokry to NEC, AUUC, dated September 10, 1971 in file 5: “Folk Dance Seminar - Kiev, 1971-72,” in Vol 30: “Dance Seminars and Schools,” AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC.

⁵⁸⁶File 9: “Folk Dance Seminar Kiev, 1974,” in Vol 30: “Dance Seminars and Schools,” in AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC.

of Ukrainian culture, as well as acting as central leadership figures in the WBA, AUUC and other enterprises connected with the progressive Ukrainian community.

In the end, however, despite the Progressive Ukrainian community's best attempts to attract youngster to the movement, young people failed to remain committed as the postwar period wore on. Children and youth were key to the decline of the Ukrainian Left for a number of reasons, particularly by choosing alternative activities. As members of the baby boom generation, postwar young people grew up in a time when children and later teenagers dominated all aspects of North American society. With this prioritized focus on youngsters and the increased affluence of the postwar era and its emphasis on consumption-of mass produced goods and popular culture- came increased alternatives for education, employment, and leisure time. The Ukrainian Left was forced to compete with these very powerful forces and unfortunately failed in most cases to come out on top. Moreover, thanks to the work of radical groups and labour unions with which the Ukrainian Left was affiliated during the Depression and World War II, many Ukrainian Canadian workers and their families, by this time an established immigrant group, were able to fully enjoy the postwar prosperity that characterized the 1950's and 1960's. Ironically, this success, too, contributed to the Ukrainian Left's decline. For young people in particular this prosperity meant that they could not relate to or understand the social and political conditions that had so dominated the lives of their parents and grandparents during the first and second waves of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and the Great Depression, and many, thus, found it unnecessary to support the Ukrainian Left to the same degree in the latter half of

the century.

Decline in interest among young people was also apparent for a number of other reasons. The Canadian educational system and popular culture contributed to increased levels of assimilation among Progressive Ukrainian children and youth growing up in the postwar period. Youngsters born and raised in Canada did not feel the same loyalty or attachment to Ukraine as their older relatives did. While they were interested in their Ukrainian roots, they were also interested in being Canadian, too. In addition, since language was no longer a barrier for many Ukrainians born in Canada and educated in English in the Canadian school system, young people could rely less on the halls for their sources of leisure and political activity. This was further exacerbated by technological change. The postwar economic climate meant that many Progressive Ukrainians, like other workers, came to own automobiles and televisions and moved to suburbs. This physically pulled and kept young people and their families away from Ukrainian labour temple culture.

Postwar political culture and the Cold War especially shaped the involvement, or lack thereof, of many youngsters with familial ties to the Ukrainian Left. Like adults, red-baiting clearly had a profound effect on many young people of Progressive Ukrainian backgrounds. For example, in a letter sent to the AUUC National Executive Committee in the mid-1960's in response to a survey of Canadian-born members, a man from Alberta wrote on behalf of his daughter to whom the survey was addressed. According to this father, his daughter, a former youth member of the AUUC, had finished "grade 12 and [was] now in Edmonton completing her course in Medical Filing." As he explained, she was no

longer interested in being linked to the AUUC because "for one thing she is a little too busy now to take active part in the movement and secondly wants to get established in some job first and see if it will be at all possible, due to discrimination because Donald [her brother] went through a lot."⁵⁸⁷ Apparently the family was quite concerned that the young woman not have to face the same troubles her brother faced because of his links with the Ukrainian Left. For many, especially young people, the Cold War climate created a general feeling of malaise and made them reluctant to remain a part of the Progressive Ukrainian community.

Other young people continued to be politically engaged despite the chilly political climate of the Cold War. Some young people remained devoted to the work of the AUUC and the CPC, continuing to support the movement with the same passion as their parents and grandparents had, but many more detached themselves from political action tied to the Ukrainian Left. Instead, once in university and especially during the 1960's, numerous former AUUC Junior and Youth Section supporters preferred to conduct their activism through mainstream Canadian student groups like SUPA, rather than through the AUUC. Many abandoned the "Old Left" built by their parents and grandparents in favour of the more youth-based "New Left." For some youngsters, the New Left and 1960's counterculture likely spoke to them in ways that the Progressive Ukrainian movement did not.

Others abandoned the movement for political activity elsewhere. They became frustrated when older members at the hall paid lip service

⁵⁸⁷Response to AUUC Membership Questionnaire (Canadian-born), 1965-66. Vol 5, File 17-18, AUUC Fonds, MG 28 V 154, NAC.

to efforts to involve the Canadian-born in the movement but refused to let youth and young adults take on meaningful leadership roles. In terms of real power in the movement, the designation of "Canadian-born" for those who came of age during or after WWII, while acknowledging their distinct experience, served in many ways to ghettoize this generation and reinforce the power of the Immigrant generation. Despite having an awareness of the language difficulties (which had become apparent as early as the 1930's) that many members of the Canadian-born generation faced when attempting to be more involved with leadership and organizational aspects of the Progressive Ukrainian community, the Immigrant generation continued to conduct most of its leadership and organizational work in Ukrainian. The first bilingual convention of the AUUC was only held in 1950,⁵⁸⁸ and even then, most higher-level work continued to be carried out in the Ukrainian language. Moreover, many young people entered leadership courses and attended conventions hoping to play a greater role in the National Committees of the AUUC, only to find they were considered too junior or inexperienced by those holding the reigns of power.⁵⁸⁹ For young women especially, attempting to attain a position of leadership and power would have been doubly difficult because of the disparaging treatment and negative attitudes they often encountered from the Ukrainian Left's (mainly male) leadership.

Decline aside, like adults, children and youth were central to shaping the Progressive Ukrainian community in Canada. Class and ethnicity intersected with age to determine the experiences young people had in the movement. Sometimes they took part in activities that

⁵⁸⁸Krawchuk, *Our History*, 415.

⁵⁸⁹Zenovy Nykolyshyn, interviewed by RLH, 1998.

mirrored those of adults like the Junior and Youth Sections and, as a result, had experiences similar to those of most adult members of the movement. In other instances, such as when they came into contact with the policies of the Communist Party of Canada, their resulting experiences were representative of those had by some adults in the Progressive Ukrainian community, most specifically women and rank-and-file men. At other times, children and youth enjoyed distinct experiences with the movement, taking part in activities like sports or Higher Educational Courses, which were the sole preserve of young people. Particularly where gender was concerned, youngsters had experiences that were almost entirely different from those of adults for whom gender was a crucial defining variable in their experiences with the Ukrainian Left.

Adding a consideration of the roles of youngsters on the Ukrainian Left broadens our understanding of the community as a whole, and outlines ways in which the movement could be distinct for individuals, depending on how gender, class, ethnicity, and age acted in their lives. It also illustrates how even the youngest and supposedly least powerful members of the Ukrainian Left still possessed agency. Children and youth exercised a significant degree of power which they used, often unconsciously, to shape and direct their own opportunities but also the movement as a whole. Along the way, their actions transformed the movement by pressuring it to respond to their needs and interests. In the postwar era, when the Progressive Ukrainian community no longer spoke to their concerns, young people helped contribute to its eventual decline by seeking out better and more fulfilling opportunities elsewhere.

Conclusion

Members and supporters of the Ukrainian Left in Canada created a vibrant and distinctive Ukrainian working-class movement spanning the twentieth century. The community attracted countless members and supporters--young and old, female and male, immigrant and Canadian-born--through a range of social, cultural, and political activities that combined elements of Canadian working-class culture with components of traditional Ukrainian culture. Throughout this long and varied history, experiences of individual members and supporters were shaped and determined by a complex interplay of gender, class, ethnicity, and age.

In terms of ethnicity, this consideration of the diversity of experience within the Ukrainian community in Canada builds on previous knowledge of settlement, institutional, and political life by highlighting aspects of community, culture, political action, and rural/urban life. By bringing together a consideration of Ukrainians as workers and farmers, rural and urban, female and male, young and old, the heterogeneity of the Ukrainian Left in Canada is exposed. This reinforces the notion that there was no one "immigrant," "ethnic," or even "Ukrainian" experience, but rather that there were many. Women and men, children and senior citizens, while sharing a sense of a common political and ethnic community, all had different encounters and experiences with the Ukrainian Left. Similarly, members of the Ukrainian Left had remarkably different experiences with life in Canada than did those who gravitated to the Ukrainian Nationalist and religious communities. An in-depth analysis of Progressive Ukrainians in Canada, then, enriches our overall understanding of the assortment of experiences that make up the Ukrainian community in Canada and hints at

the diversity to be found in other immigrant/ethnic populations.

Examining the Ukrainian Left thus helps us to understand better the ways in which ethnicity shaped working-class life and how, in turn, working-class experiences influenced patterns of ethnicity. When attempting to understand the shape of politics, particularly working-class politics, in Canada, it is crucial to frame any analysis from a perspective that considers the important role ethnicity played in influencing the shape of most working-class political action. As far as the Ukrainian Left is concerned, ethnicity was crucial to the existence and patterns of development of the movement. The women and men who founded the Progressive Ukrainian community in Canada often brought models of political organization with them from the Old Country. They did not merely "transplant" these "uprooted" models, however. Rather, the founding generation of the Ukrainian Left adapted those ideologies brought with them from Eastern Europe to the working-class circumstances in which they found themselves upon their arrival to Canada. In doing so, they attracted new recruits who became politicized through their contact with the Canadian labour climate. For members and supporters of the Progressive Ukrainian community, the jobs they took on and the kinship, organizational, and neighbourhood structures they developed were greatly influenced by both their past and present. Nor were these politics solely confined to a traditional political arena. For the Progressive Ukrainian community, the political could be found in numerous areas-on the stage, on the front lines of a strike, in an organizational newspaper, in a hall kitchen cooking for the jobless, or even at a dance for teenagers.

In these many ways, ethnicity shaped class politics and class

shaped ethnicity, especially for members of the Ukrainian Left. For immigrant generation members and supporters of the Ukrainian Left during the interwar period, class activism was equally as important as cultural preservation. Neither was given precedence over the other. In many instances the two priorities fused together as a distinct Progressive Ukrainian working-class identity, and they were inextricably linked. Cultural expression was fused with class consciousness, while political expression was manifest through Ukrainian cultural traditions and practises.

Their children and grandchildren after World War II shifted this balance. For them, cultural expression tended to outweigh political action as a priority. If they had political interests they often went outside the Progressive Ukrainian movement to have them addressed. As the immigrant generation came to question the methods of the CPC and actions in the Soviet Union and Soviet Ukraine, so, too, did the immigrant generation's interests shift later in the interwar period. Understanding this enriches our awareness of the varieties of the immigrant political experience in Canada and how leisure and work activities and cultural, social, and traditional political activities contributed to the rich working-class political traditions and communities that existed in Canada during the twentieth century. It also underscores the powerful tool that is culture in inspiring the fight for workers' rights.

Overall, this study explores the process of ethnic identification that occurred within the Ukrainian Left, highlights the construction and mutability of ethnic identity, and illustrates how it was shaped by gender, class, and age. For many, their identity as members of the

Ukrainian Left shaped their experiences only temporarily. For many of the Canadian-born generation, being "Progressive Ukrainian" was an identification they abandoned upon reaching adulthood. For some adults, a relationship with the Ukrainian Left was one they maintained for only a short time during periods of economic calamity such as the Depression or when they happened to live in a community where there was an active Ukrainian Labour Temple. For those who continued with the movement as adults, the notions of "Ukrainianness" they experienced when they came of age were markedly different than that which they might have known as children. Gender as well as contemporary economic and social conditions shifted what it meant to be an adult Progressive Ukrainian. In this way, we can appreciate the fragility and mutability of the process of ethnic identification, particularly within the Progressive Ukrainian community, and some of the ways it shifted in Canada over the course of the twentieth century.

A gendered analysis, too, is critical to understanding the development of the Ukrainian Left. By examining women and men separately, this study illustrates how female and male roles were constructed and changed by this variety of internal and external factors as well as the ways in which individual women and men shaped their own experiences. In terms of gender relations, the Progressive Ukrainian community was built on a traditional Eastern European patriarchal peasant foundation while at the same time closely mirroring, rather than challenging, contemporary gender definitions found in the Canadian context. As a result, roles, opportunity, and, political and cultural expression in the movement was often rigidly defined according to gender. Men, as has been demonstrated, tended to hold the bulk of

public power on the Ukrainian Left, while women contributed through support work. Though this was similar to the situation women and men encountered in other left-wing and radical groups throughout much of the twentieth century, the way it was manifest among Progressive Ukrainians took on a different shape depending on historical context. Unlike other socialist women, for example, women on the Ukrainian Left, facing xenophobic attitudes towards Ukrainians and lacking the language skills necessary to work with non-Ukrainian women in the interwar era of the movement's history, preferred to express their activism almost solely within the confines of the Ukrainian Labour Temples. As a result, their methods and venues of activism, which relied on a combination of cultural and political expression, were markedly different than the work of other radical women.

Age and generation are also variables which must be considered in order to understand the history of the Ukrainian Left and other immigrant communities, particularly as they were shaped by external factors. As such, this study moves beyond a sole consideration of the immigrant generation to understand how gender, ethnicity, and class shaped subsequent generations. This helps us not only to understand how immigrants attempted to raise their children to maintain a highly politicized Ukrainian identity, but also the ways in which youngsters themselves shaped and defined a sense of what it meant to be Progressive Ukrainians in Canada. Children and youth, for example, lived simultaneously between the world of the Ukrainian Left and the mainstream world of Canadian young people's culture to which they were exposed in their day-to-day lives at school and in the working-class neighbourhoods in which they grew up. Such exposure, in turn,

influenced the shape of activities for young people at the halls. As illustrated, to keep children and youth coming to hall events on Saturdays, many Ukrainian Labour Temples attempted to incorporate mainstream leisure activities into their curriculum of youngsters' activities. Movies were shown and sports were emphasised as ways to keep young people interested. To accommodate the lack of Ukrainian language skills evident among younger members in the postwar period, Ukrainian dance came to take precedence over other formerly popular cultural activities such as drama.

Eventually, as these children matured, their experiences in both the broader Canadian and more insular Progressive Ukrainian communities came to influence their work as adults in the postwar period. Meanings of femininity and masculinity and ethnicity combined with age, generation, and the shifting Canadian social context to shape and reshape what it meant to be a Progressive Ukrainian. Among the Canadian-born generation of men, for instance, activism and involvement came to be redefined after the Second World War as they increasingly shaped activities to fit their interests and experiences as both Canadians and Ukrainians. Unable to relate to models of masculinity developed by older, immigrant generation members of the movement, young men carved out a niche of power for themselves by acting as cultural instructors. In these positions they helped to redefine notions of Canadian-born Ukrainian masculinity as being more culturally-oriented and at the same time reshaped cultural expression in the movement overall by incorporating elements of Canadian culture into presentations at Progressive Ukrainian events. In this way, too, younger people acted as intermediaries between the world of the Progressive Ukrainian

community and Canadian society and the Canadian state through their contact with the Canadian school system.

A consideration of how age and generation interacted in the lives of adults is also crucial to understanding the shape of the Ukrainian Left and individual experiences, particularly as they intersect with gender. The organizational structure of the Ukrainian family carried over to the Ukrainian Labour Temple in terms of an unequal distribution of economic and political power. Overall, male leaders possessed the most obvious base of power, but the degree of power an individual male enjoyed was mitigated by age and generation. Male members of the immigrant generation and the earliest generation of the Canadian-born held the bulk of power within the organizations of the Ukrainian Left. Nonetheless, power could also be found and exercised in many other, often less obvious areas. The younger generations and rank-and-file women and men also held and exercised power, and, in some cases, generation could interact with gender in unexpected ways. Canadian-born women in the immediate postwar period, for example, had more leadership opportunities because of their language skills, the prior absence of older women in leadership positions, and their willingness to work for lower wages than their Canadian-born male counterparts.

Other rank-and-file members also experienced power and exercised agency, sometimes in significant movement-altering ways. Their desires and interests influenced the scope, size, and shape of the overall Progressive Ukrainian community. Perhaps the most striking example of this came in the postwar period when young people voted with their feet and increasingly chose not to take part in hall life when activities there failed to coincide with their political, social, and cultural

interests. Sometimes for women and men at this time, their reasons for leaving were different. As the postwar era wore on, many Canadian-born women chose to express their activism through mainstream women's groups, finding that the male leadership paid little more than lip service to their concerns for women's rights. Canadian-born men, on the other hand, often failed to pursue traditional lines of male power in the movement because they found the immigrant generation of men to be unwilling to relinquish their hold on the movement. Moreover, the wages paid to men willing to work for the movement became increasingly unattractive in comparison with those paid in other sectors of the Canadian labour market. In this way, age combined with gender to play key roles in leading to the ultimate dissolution of the movement in the latter decades of the twentieth century.

A critical examination of the Ukrainian Left thus expands our understanding of what it meant to be Ukrainian in Canada, as well as what it meant to be a Progressive Ukrainian. It also extends our knowledge of working-class immigrant life in Canada generally, as well as definitions of what it means to be politically active. The movement, as this study illustrates, was more than simply a political one. Rather, it drew on elements of Ukrainian cultural traditions and the immigrant experience as well as the Canadian working-class experience. Nor can its political activism and expression be solely defined by the work and actions of a few male leaders. All members of the Progressive Ukrainian community—women, men, and youngsters—were responsible for shaping the movement, and each constituency often expressed their political and cultural commitments differently. Thanks to the complex interplay of gender and age with class and ethnicity, women, men, and

young people each had distinct experiences within the Progressive Ukrainian movement and contributed to making it the vibrant, diverse, and complex community it became over the course of the twentieth century.

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Farmerske zhyttia (Farmer's Life)
Holos robotnytsi (Voice of Working Woman)
Nasha Pratsia (Our Work)
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Svit molodi (The Youth's World)
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Forward
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