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The role of the Ukrainian diaspora in preserving the cultural identity and individuality of the Ukrainian nation during the 1960s and 1970s

Formulation of Scientific Problem and Its Significance

During the 20th century millions of Ukrainians left their homeland in search of a better life abroad. The main reasons for mass emigration to «distant worlds» were general economic backwardness, cruel national exploitation, political disenfranchisement of the population, etc. Ukrainians abroad, with their public position, have always contributed to the elevation of the national consciousness of the indigenous people of the Ukrainian SSR and played a significant role in the formation of world public opinion about Ukraine as a state that wants democratic changes.

The development of an independent Ukrainian state requires the mandatory inclusion in this complex process of the centuries-old, social-political, national-cultural experience of Ukrainians – both those who have lived in their native land for centuries, and those who, for various reasons and circumstances, were forced to emigrate. Therefore, a comprehensive study of the importance of the Ukrainian diaspora in the competition for the separateness of the Ukrainian nation and the independence and unity of the Ukrainian state during the 60s–70s of the twentieth century is extremely relevant and requires a special approach to study.

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Research Analysis

The issue of the cooperation of the Ukrainian diaspora with Ukrainians in the Ukrainian SSR during the second half of the XX century was highlighted in the works of such authors as: V. Baran (1994), L. Shevchenko (1997), A. Rusnachenko (1998), H. Kasyanov (2019), P. Vakulyuk (2001), P. Tronko (2003), T. Pashinina (2004), N. Brehunets (2006), H. Kishchuk-Killiam (2006), O. Fedotova (2009), V. Dutchak (2013) and others. However, in the scientific literature the topic remains understudied. This enables us to continue working in this promising area.

The Aim of the Article

Thus, the focus of this article is the study of the role of the Ukrainian diaspora in preserving the cultural identity and individuality of the Ukrainian nation during the 60s–70s of the twentieth century, clarifying the importance of Ukrainians abroad in the formation of world public opinion about Ukraine as a state that wants democratic changes.

The Main Material and Justification of Study Results

In the period of the 60s–70s of the XX century the struggle for the independence and unity of Ukraine was part of the great political mission of Ukrainians abroad – this became the main prerequisite for their cooperation with Ukrainians living on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR. Representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora, analyzing the course of cultural and educational processes in the Ukrainian SSR from the standpoint of a civilizational approach, came to the conclusion that universal human values were written there only on paper and did not find real implementation in life.

Evaluating the importance of the Ukrainian language as the basis for the formation and preservation of the nation, Ukrainians abroad tried to expand and strengthen the scope of its use as much as possible. Archive documents indicate that the foreign press systematically stated that the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the Ukrainian SSR rejects the principles of

social realism planted by the Soviet authorities in literature, art, and culture in general and constantly fights against the promotion of the Russian language². Ukrainian newspapers and magazines from Poland, Czechoslovakia, the USA, Canada and other countries covered the issue of language discrimination of the indigenous people of the Ukrainian SSR on their pages. The problem of the preservation of the Ukrainian language on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR was also discussed in the columns of other foreign Ukrainian periodicals, including «Liberation path» (England), «Ukrainian word» (France), «Liberty» (the USA), «Free thought» (Australia), «Progress», «A new way» (Canada) etc.

Numerous public and cultural and educational institutions, which closely cooperated with Ukrainians in the Motherland, were created by emigrants in their places of compact residence to guard the protection of Ukrainian national interests. This is primarily the Scientific Society named after Taras Shevchenko in France, the branch of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in FRG, Great Britain, Australia, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute of Harvard University in the USA, The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta, the Center for Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto, the Melbourne Literary and Art Club, etc. Ukrainians abroad rightfully claimed that social, cultural, scientific and educational life in Ukraine is being Russified and distorted by Russian «great-power» chauvinism.

In order to preserve and develop the Ukrainian language, the diaspora paid great attention to the release of the Ukrainian printed word into the world. Frequently, the number of Ukrainian-language diaspora publications was even greater than in mainland Ukraine³. Thanks to Ukrainians abroad, the vast majority of writers who were deprived of access to state

² *Sector of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine for the recruitment of personnel abroad (materials reprinted from the bourgeois-nationalist press) - the press of Ukrainian nationalists about agriculture in the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, the bourgeois-nationalist press about the Soviet youth, the press of Ukrainian nationalists about the development of industry in the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR (06.01-20.03.1964)*, Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine. Fund 1. Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (1917-1991). Description 24. Case 5958, p. 22, 26.

³ L. Shevchenko, *Scientific and cultural and educational processes: deformations, searches. Ukraine: the second half of the 20th century: essays on history*, edited by P.P. Panchenko (chairman) and others, Lybid, Kyiv 1997, p. 163.

publishing houses in the Ukrainian SSR were able to publish their works in the centers of the Ukrainian diaspora in many countries around the world. The works of O. Honchar, I. Dzyuba, Ye. Sverstyuk, V. Symonenko, V. Stus, V. Chornovol and other Ukrainian writers, literary critics, publicists and public figures were published during the emigration. Most of it was «self-published» literature, which was reprinted by Ukrainian publishing houses abroad, in particular, «Torch», «Trident» (Baltimore, USA), «Modernity» (Munich, FRG), the First Ukrainian Printing House in France, etc. Thanks to the latter, in Paris in 1968, V. Chornovol's work «The Evil Mind (portraits of Twenty «Criminals»)» was published (Chornovil, 1968). This book was translated into English (1968) and French (1974). It is worth noting that in October 1963 in Munich, the publishing house «Modernity», published V. Barka's book «The Yellow Prince» – a documentary novel about the Holodomor in Ukraine of 1932–1933, which was taboo in the Ukrainian SSR.

Diaspora from Czechoslovakia and Poland provided great support to Ukrainians in the Ukrainian SSR. The works of the sixties banned in Ukraine were published in magazines «Duklia», «Amicably forward», «People's calendar» (Czechoslovakia), in the newspaper «Our word» and in «Ukrainian Calendar» (Poland)⁴. In 1965, the Prague publishing house «Sviet Sovietuv» published in Czech the collection «Young Soviet poetry» with poems by Ukrainian poets and articles by literary experts, including L. Kostenko, M. Vingranovskyi, I. Drach, B. Mamaysur, V. Stus, I. Kalintsia, V. Simonenko, V. Korotycha. Through Czechoslovakia and Poland, the works of the sixties spread to the West.

It should also be noted that Ukrainians abroad were concerned about the fate of historical science in the Ukrainian SSR, which, in their opinion, was deprived of opportunities to freely study the historical past of the Ukrainian nation. Historians P. Vakulyak and A. Rusnachenko point out that diaspora researchers, who were more free in expressing their positions than the Soviet ones, spoke about the existence of ideological frameworks in the Ukrainian SSR that inhibited the development of many areas of historical science, did not give the opportunity to realize

⁴ H. Kasyanov, *Dissenters: Ukrainian intelligentsia in the resistance movement of the 1960s–1980s*, Klio Publishing House, Kyiv 2019, p. 248.

intellectual and research potential of historians⁵. Thus, Ukrainians abroad proved the colonial position of the Ukrainian SSR within the USSR and criticized the desire of the Soviet authorities to merge the history of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples together.

By defending the idea of the separateness of the Ukrainian nation, the independence of the Ukrainian state, the diaspora posed a real threat to the existence of the Soviet state. Therefore, with great vigilance, the Main Department of Literature and Publishing Houses of the Ukrainian SSR inspected all printed products that entered the territory of the republic from abroad. Thus, analyzing archival documents, we see that with the help of the State Security Committee, in 1970, 236 parcels arriving from abroad were controlled, of which 112 were confiscated⁶. In order to prevent the word of emigrants from reaching the hands of the Soviet reader, on May 6, 1969, the deputy head of the Holovlit of the Ukrainian SSR, F. Shapochka, signed an order to organize an in-depth inspection of the libraries of the Ukrainian SSR at all levels that received or had the opportunity to receive foreign publications⁷.

However, despite the close control and struggle of the communists with Ukrainian literature of foreign origin, in the 1960s and 1970s it came to the Ukrainian SSR from approximately 75 countries of the world⁸. The diaspora did everything possible to convey to the public the word of truth about the colonial situation of Ukraine within the USSR.

⁵ P. Vakulyuk, *History of Ukrainians*, Ukrainian Library, Kyiv 2001, p. 162; A.M. Rusnachenko, *National volitional movement in Ukraine: middle 1950s – the beginning of the 1990s*, Kyiv 1998, pp. 44–45.

⁶ *Report on the work of departments of the Main Directorate for the Protection of Military and State Secrets in printing for 1970*, Central State Archive of the Higher Authorities of Ukraine. Fund 4605. The main administration for the protection of military and state secrets in the press of the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR on the Press. Description 1. Case 133, pp. 44–45.

⁷ *Circular instructions of the Main Directorate for Protection of Military and State Secrets in the Ukrainian SSR for 1969*, The Central State Archive of the Higher Authorities of Ukraine. Fund 4605. The main administration for the protection of military and state secrets in the press of the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR on the Press. Description 1. Case 126, pp. 10–11.

⁸ V. Baran, *Censorship in the system of totalitarianism*, "Modernity" 1994, 6, p. 406.

Multiple attempts of Communist Party of the Soviet Union – Communist Party of Ukraine to sever the connection of the diaspora with Ukrainians in mainland Ukraine did not give the desired final results for the communists. Mutual contacts between Ukrainians only strengthened over time. The cooperation of Ukrainians was especially intensified during the arrests of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, which began in the republic in the second half of the 1960s and in the 1970s. According to the researcher N. Brehunets, at the XXXIV Congress of the International Non-Governmental Organization of Writers of the PEN Club in 1966, which, in particular, fought for human rights, a group of Ukrainian writers living abroad protested against the arrests of nationally conscious intelligentsia in the Ukrainian SSR⁹. During this period, Amnesty International took under its protection I. Dzyuba and I. Svitlychny, and some Ukrainian human rights defenders, writers, poets, linguists and educators, in particular I. Kalynets, S. Karavanskyi, V. Moroz, M. Osadchyi, M. Rudenko, E. Sverstyuk, V. Stus, V. Chornovil received membership in the International Organization «Ukrainian Human Rights Movement».

At the beginning of July 1971, during a meeting of Amnesty International in London, Ukrainians delivered a report about the Soviet totalitarian empire, whose ruling circles destroyed the leaders of the Ukrainian national asset in closed courts¹⁰. In October 1971, in New York City, near the UN building, about 1,5 thousand representatives of the diaspora staged a demonstration in defense of Ukrainian political prisoners and as a sign of protest against the murder of A. Gorska and M. Soroka in the Ukrainian SSR¹¹. In order to help human rights defenders in the Motherland, in 1972, twenty American women of Ukrainian origin together with their children interrupted the meeting of the Commission of the Economic and Social Affairs Council of the United Nations, calling on everyone to protest against the persecution of the Ukrainian intelligentsia by the Soviet authorities¹².

⁹ N.S. Brehunets, *Educational institutions of education of Ukraine in the 50s–80s of the 20th century: historiography: dissertation of the candidate of historical sciences*, Pereyaslav-Khmelnytskyi 2006, p. 145.

¹⁰ *Ukrainian word*, 1971, September 12.

¹¹ *Ukrainian word*, 1971, November 14.

¹² *Ukrainian word*, 1972, February 13.

It should be emphasized that the actions of the Ukrainian diaspora in defense of dissidents in the Ukrainian SSR were a major inhibiting factor in the mass arrests of the nationally-conscious intelligentsia, which advocated democratic transformations in all spheres of Ukrainian society at the time.

In the worldview of the citizens of foreign countries, democratic views prevailed, and the ideas of communism were foreign to them. Therefore, a large number of foreigners who stayed in the Ukrainian SSR for a temporary stay were closely monitored. Young people who came to study in the republic from the countries of the socialist camp, in particular from Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, etc., came under control. Foreign students who were most opposed to the policy of the Soviet government were immediately expelled from the university for fictitious reasons and sent back to their homeland.

It should be pointed out that foreign youth were one of the main channels of dissemination of alternative sources of information in the Ukrainian SSR. Thanks to her, the general public of the world was introduced to the situation that was happening in Soviet Ukraine. Through the efforts of foreign students of Ukrainian origin, banned works of political journalism by Ukrainian writers and poets were transported abroad. According to researcher T. Pashinina, a student of Kyiv University, a citizen of Czechoslovakia, G. Kotsurova managed to take out of the USSR photographic film with the works of M. Osadchyi «Wall-eye», Ye. Sverstjuk «Cathedral in scaffolding», poetry collections of V. Stus and I. Kalinets, separate numbers of the «Ukrainian Herald», whose editor-in-chief was V. Chornovil, who was opposed to the Soviet government¹³. Later, with the help of Pryashiv University teacher P. Murashko, these photographic films got to Western Europe to acquaint the world public with the difficult colonial situation of Ukraine as part of the USSR.

In the absence of free access to the world information space and the opportunity to inform the world about the standard of living in the Ukrainian SSR, Ukrainians contacted emigrant circles through the work of illegal radio nodes, with the help of which they had the opportunity

¹³ T.S. Pashinina, *Youth movement in Ukraine in the second half of the 50s–80s of the 20th century: dissertation of the candidate of historical sciences*, Kyiv 2004, p. 124.

to listen to foreign radio broadcasts conducted in many languages of the peoples of the USSR. A kind of information revolution in the Ukrainian ethnic environment of that time was carried out by international radio stations of Britain («BBC»), Spain («Madrid»), Canada («Canada»), Italy («Vatican City», «Rome»), the USA («Voice of America» and «Radio Liberty»), FRG («German Wave») and other countries. According to the historian O. Fedotova, thanks to the illegal radio broadcasts of the «Voice of America», «Liberty» and International Radio Canada, the contents of the «self-published» texts of dissident Ukrainians reached Soviet Ukraine¹⁴.

Studying archival sources, we can conclude that with the help of imported or self-made radio receivers, Ukrainians secretly received information contrary to the official one, which they mainly believed¹⁵. This position of representatives of the titular nation of the Ukrainian SSR remained unchanged throughout the 1960s and became especially active in the 1970s during the period of growth of totalitarian tendencies in society.

It is worth noting that during the time of total communist control over all spheres of life of the Ukrainian people, the diaspora defended the right of the titular nation of the Ukrainian SSR to practice religion freely. Archive documents confirm that Ukrainians abroad were informed that there was a complete lack of freedom of religion in the Ukrainian SSR and that Soviet pseudo-laws violated the rights of believers¹⁶. The Soviet leadership called such a position of emigrants abroad fictions and speculations of Western ideologues.

¹⁴ O.O. Fedotova, *Political censorship of printed publications in the USSR: formation, technology, evolution: 1919–1990: dissertation of the doctor of historical sciences*, Kyiv 2009, p. 285.

¹⁵ *Certificates from the departments of the Central Committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine, letters from the regional committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine and other organizations – about anti-Soviet manifestations and the fight against them (February 10, 1960 – October 7, 1960)*, Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine. Fund 1. Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (1917–1991). Description 24. Case 5141. 132 sheets, p. 108.

¹⁶ *The main edition of the preparation of the broadcast. Radio texts of scientific-atheistic radio magazine «To the light» (January 6 – December 1, 1978)*, State Archive of the Ivano-Frankivsk region. Fund R-1918. Stanislav regional editorial office of the radio broadcasting executive committee of the regional Council of Workers' Deputies. Description 2. Case 796, p. 34.

In the studied period, emigrant sentiments became widespread in the Ukrainian ethnic environment. Constant administrative pressure, gross violation of freedom of conscience and religion on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR forced believers to apply to the highest authorities of the Soviet government for permission to leave the Soviet Union, and this in turn provoked even more careful control of the ties of Ukrainian believers with representatives of the diaspora opposed to the Soviet government, who facilitated the migration of Ukrainians to other countries.

However, despite the attempts of the Soviet authorities to break the long-standing contacts of the Ukrainian people with the diaspora and blacken the reputation of the latter, Ukrainians of many countries made many efforts to demonstrate to the world their desire to see Ukraine as an independent state. Thus, in 1961, in New York City, thanks to the diaspora, the mayor of the city, Robert F. Wagner, signed a proclamation according to which January 22 abroad became the Day of Ukrainian Independence¹⁷. During independence celebrations organized by the Committee of United American-Ukrainian Organizations of New York City and the Ukrainian Congressional Committee of America, a blue-yellow flag flew over the Empire State Building¹⁸. In particular, the IV Universal of the Central Council was read, the works of T.G. Shevchenko, whom the diaspora characterized as a fighter for the freedom of the Ukrainian nation, were recited¹⁹.

The proclamation of the Unification Act on January 22, 1919 was celebrated at that time by the Ukrainian community of the Federal Republic of Germany (Munich), Austria (Vienna), Canada (Edmonton, Toronto), which always emphasized the importance of Ukraine's independence. Prof. B. Botsyurkiv²⁰. It should be emphasized that all celebrations held by the forces of the diaspora ended with the singing of a song «Ukraine is not yet dead»²¹.

¹⁷ *Ukrainian word*, 1961, January 22.

¹⁸ *Ukrainian word*, 1961, January 29.

¹⁹ *Motherland*, Toronto 1961, January 28–February 4.

²⁰ *Ukrainian word*, 1961, February 5.

²¹ *Ukrainian word*, 1961, January 29; *Ukrainian word*, 1961, February 5; *Ukrainian word*, 1961, February 19.

It should also be emphasized that during the 1960s and 1970s, while living abroad, the diaspora tried to preserve and revive the centuries-old cultural and artistic traditions of their own people and thus maintained close cultural ties with Ukraine. In many countries of the world, during the period under study, numerous Ukrainian choral groups, including «Thought» in New York, «Prometheus», «Kobzar» in Philadelphia, «Trembita» in Detroit, «Dnipro» in Cleveland, «Antimony» in Chicago etc. were active. «Barvinok» choir, created in November 1963 on the basis of the branch of the Ukrainian Women's Organization in Leicester (Great Britain), was distinguished by its high professional skills²².

Speaking about the representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora at the time, who popularized the spiritual and cultural greatness of the Ukrainian nation during the researched period, it is necessary to mention one of the most successful Ukrainian bandurists in Great Britain, V. Lutsiv. The extremely wide geography of the maestro's concert performances covered such countries as Australia, Austria, Belgium, Israel, Italy, Canada, the Netherlands, France, FRG, the USA, Switzerland, etc. The basis of his repertoire consisted of ancient dumas, musical works on historical themes, including – «A cloud rises from behind the estuary», «Duma about Ukraine-Motherland», «Duma about Bogdan Khmelnytskyi», «About Baida», «About Nechai», «I would take a bandura», «The Captive» (or «Blind Man») to the words of T. G. Shevchenko and others²³. With his creativity, the Ukrainian bandurist demonstrated to the world the multifacetedness of the national and cultural space of Ukrainians and respect for Ukrainian national traditions.

Another famous representative of the Ukrainian diaspora of the studied period, who preserved and popularized the Ukrainian national musical culture outside Ukraine, was M. Postolan. In order to show the world the richness of Ukrainian culture, the artist made his own translations of Ukrainian thoughts into English and performed them on concert stages in many countries. У його творах, серед яких – «Duma about the death

²² H. Kishchuk-Killiam, *Periwinkle. The history of the women's choir in Leicester*, Galician Publishing Union, Lviv 2006, pp. 82–87.

²³ V. Dutchak, *Bandur art in Great Britain in the second half of the XXth – beginning of the XXI century: personalities and the collective*, Scientific notes of the National University «Ostroh Academy» 2013, 21, p. 42.

of Kozak-Banduryst», «Duma about Kozak's Life», «Duma about Khvedir Bezridnyi», poem of T. G. Shevchenko «Perebendya» sounded he desire of Ukrainians for the independence and unity of their state²⁴.

At the same time, artists of the diaspora at every opportunity tried to get to the Motherland with a cultural program of a national orientation. Thus, archival documents indicate that at the end of the 70s of the XX century the Ukrainian choir from Winnipeg, consisting of 65 members, repeatedly visited the Ukrainian SSR on tours²⁵. His concerts were held in Kyiv, Lviv, and Ternopil. Another example of a creative visit to Ukraine by representatives of the diaspora was the touring concerts in the cities and villages of the republic in the summer of 1970 by the dance and choir ensemble named after T. G. Shevchenko, who was active in the Society of United Ukrainian Canadians²⁶.

The diaspora has always sought to raise the level of national consciousness among Ukrainians in the Motherland, tried to demonstrate to the ideologues of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union – Communist Party of Ukraine their inability to merge the culture of the Ukrainian people with other peoples, and, most importantly, made great efforts to form and strengthen opposition to the Soviet ruling communist elite among Ukrainians.

Conclusions

Therefore, despite the diversity of needs of representatives of different generations of emigrants, they managed to preserve their internal unity thanks to the promotion of a common goal for all, which was the commonality of actions aimed at gaining independence and the unity of the Ukrainian state. This became the main prerequisite for the cooperation

²⁴ P.T. Tronko, *On the tablets of history: on the history of relations between government structures and public circles of Ukraine and the Ukrainian-Canadian community in the second half of the 1940s–1980s: a collection of documents and materials*, Institute of History of Ukraine, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv 2003, p. 42.

²⁵ *Materials about the stay of Ternopil residents in the Sliven district of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the stay of the choir of Canadian Ukrainians in Ternopil (March 10 – December 22, 1978)*, State Archive of the Ternopil Region. Fund P.-1. Ternopil Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Description 17. Case 128, p. 4.

²⁶ P.T. Tronko, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

of the Ukrainian diaspora in many countries of the world with Ukrainians in the Motherland during the 60s and 70s of the 20th century. Relying on the aspirations of the young generation of the sixties for social and cultural changes in the Ukrainian SSR, the diaspora demonstrated to the world public the problems of Ukrainians at that time, including religious oppression, the unresolved national question, the existence of a total policy of Russification, etc.

Understanding the importance of the Ukrainian language as the basis for the formation and preservation of the Ukrainian nation, the diaspora tried to expand and strengthen the scope of its use as much as possible. The diaspora became especially active when a wave of repression against Ukrainians opposed to the Soviet government swept through the Ukrainian SSR. The speeches of emigrants from many countries of the world in defense of dissidents in the Ukrainian SSR were a major inhibiting factor of mass arrests of nationally-conscious intelligentsia, which advocated democratic transformations in all spheres of Ukrainian society at that time. Ukrainians abroad sought to preserve and revive centuries-old cultural and artistic traditions of their own people, tried to maintain close ties with Ukraine through national culture.

Thus, Ukrainians abroad, with their creativity and public position, contributed to the awakening and elevation of Ukrainian National Self.

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Ukrainian word, Paris 1972, February 13.

Vakulyuk P., *History of Ukrainians*, Ukrainian Library, Kyiv 2001.

Abstract

The article found that the Ukrainian diaspora was an integral component of Ukrainian ethnic integrity. Numerous public, cultural and educational institutions created by emigrants in their places of residence stood guard over Ukrainian national interests and, despite all obstacles, conducted fruitful cooperation with Ukrainians in the Motherland. In order to preserve and develop the Ukrainian language, representatives of the diaspora paid great attention to the release of the Ukrainian printed word into the world. Due to total censorship in the Ukrainian SSR, Ukrainians abroad contributed to the publication abroad of many Ukrainian works that were banned in Ukraine. By means of international tourism, international student exchange, and world radio broadcasting, contacts between Ukrainian and foreign youth were gradually established, and the spheres of communication expanded.

The main task of the Ukrainian diaspora was to preserve the ethnic and cultural identities of the Ukrainian nation, and consolidate the scattered emigration forces for the sole purpose of preparing a political and professional basis for the acquisition of an independent, cathedral Ukrainian state.

Keywords: Ukrainian diaspora, Ukrainian nation, Ukraine, national interests, cooperation, communication, Soviet state, totalitarianism, censorship