Contributions by Canadian Social Scientists to the Study of Soviet Ukraine During the Cold War

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Abstract: This article surveys major publications concerning Ukraine by Canadian social scientists of the Cold War era. While the USSR existed, characterized by the uniformity of its political, economic, social, and cultural order, there was little incentive, apart from personal interest, for social scientists to specialize in their research on any of its component republics, including the Ukrainian SSR, and there was also no incentive to teach about them at universities. Hence there was a dearth of scholarly work on Soviet Ukraine from a social-scientific perspective. The exceptions, all but one of them émigrés—Jurij Borys, Bohdan Krawchenko, Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, Peter J. Potichnyj, Wsevolod Isajiw, and David Marples—were all the more notable. These authors, few as they were, laid the foundation for the study of post-1991 Ukraine, with major credit for disseminating their work going to the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) Press.

Keywords: Canadian, social sciences, Soviet Ukraine, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.

When Omeljan Pritsak, in a paper he delivered at Carleton University in January 1971, presented his *tour d'horizon* on the state of Ukrainian studies in the world, he barely mentioned Canada (139-52). Emphasizing the dearth of Ukrainian studies in Ukraine itself, his purpose was to draw attention to the inauguration of North America's first Chair of Ukrainian Studies, at Harvard University. Two years later, of course, the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute was formed, with Pritsak as inaugural director. With its focus firmly on the humanities, his survey not only gave this country short shrift, but excluded the social sciences from its view altogether.

In fact, Pritsak's remarks were not at all a slight against the social sciences, because the latter's practitioners in Canada lacked conditions favourable to initiating, developing, and contributing to Ukrainian studies as such. Political scientists and economists, for example, offered courses and conducted research on the Soviet Union as a whole and on its command economy; however, uniform homogeneity was assumed to characterize the Soviet space, with little if any need or call for specialization in one republic's decision-making or distribution patterns. Sociologists studied "society" in general, undefined by regional or local parameters, while anthropologists specialized in "undeveloped" or primitive societies. Scholars with an interest

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in Soviet Ukraine, including social scientists, participated in conferences of the Canadian and foreign associations of Slavists, but they were not yet identifiable as a community of Ukrainianists per se.

This was understandable, given the intellectual climate in pre-multicultural Canada, where there was no room in university curricula for minority ethnic studies beyond the humanities, and where the prevailing ideology was that of either white Anglo-Saxon protestant (WASP) dominance or "*maîtres chez nous*" (masters of our own house) of the two "founding races." Furthermore, Soviet Ukraine, like all of the USSR, was closed to foreign researchers—it was inaccessible for scientific observation in socio-economic and political terms. Student exchanges began only in the 1960s; this author was on one of the earliest, sponsored by the University of Toronto in 1967-68, in which five Canadian graduate students participated, two of them political scientists. Although the living experience was invaluable, access to data once one was inside the Soviet Union was extremely limited, hardly more than available from abroad, and the social science disciplines simply did not exist there. Finally, the influence of behaviourism in North America, and use of the Kuhnian paradigm as a basis for understanding, not to mention the minor war of approaches concerning case studies versus area studies, seriously discouraged researchers from specializing in one particularly unobtrusive corner of a generally stable and predictable Soviet landscape.

Nonetheless, Pritsak had barely set down his pen (this was well before the age of computers, word processing, and spell check) when an article appeared in the self-same *Canadian Slavonic Papers* on the rulership of Ukraine in the time of Stalin (Borys, "Who Ruled"). Jurij Borys (1922-2015) came to Canada through a circuitous route—via Uzhhorod, Vorkuta, Czechoslovakia, and Sweden—and became a professor of political science at the University of Calgary. His article traced the tight control the Russian Communist Party in Moscow maintained over Soviet Ukraine's political leadership after the Bolshevik Revolution, such that throughout the period under review the republic's government and party hierarchy underwent continual shakeups to eliminate even the slightest real or perceived sentiment of Ukrainian nationalism or separatism within it. Outsiders (including Nikita Khrushchev) were overwhelmingly favoured over local personnel. Indeed, so little did Stalin trust the Ukrainian Communists that it was only after his death that one of them became first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Until then, according to Borys, "Jews, Poles and Russians were in charge" ("Who Ruled," 233).[1]

[1] A footnote on the article's opening page reads: "This is the first of a two-part series" (Borys, "Who Ruled," 213). I was unable to locate the sequel in succeeding issues of the journal in question.

Historically, the distinctly Ukrainian problem has always been its national awakening—survival and revival pitted against the Russian imperial mindset. As Borys wryly noted, "bourgeois nationalism" was a sin committed only by others, never by Russians ("Who Ruled," 225). Stalin's answer was eradication of Ukrainians altogether from positions of authority in "their own" ruling Communist party, while retaining a few decorative posts in the government of Soviet Ukraine.

In 1980, Borys's monograph *The Sovietization of Ukraine, 1917-1923* was published.[2] This was a revised edition of his dissertation, *The Russian Communist Party and the Sovietization of Ukraine*, which he defended in 1960 in Stockholm. Catalogued as political science, the book was classic Sovietology: historical in approach rather than analytical or comparative; lacking access to archives or interviews and reliant instead on officially published Communist Party documentation; and eager to uncover the deceitfulness and duplicity of Lenin, his successors, and the entire Soviet Communist experiment. True to form, this study betrayed no familiarity with any of the themes current in political science at that time yet presumably relevant for a scholarly effort to be in the mainstream: revolution, civil war, nationalism and national-liberation struggles, modernization, colonialism, and federalism. In place of theoretical concepts, the reader was taken chronologically through the whole saga of Bolshevik control being imposed over Ukraine—Party congress by Party congress. Chapter 3, describing political parties in Ukraine 1917-21, was particularly confusing.[3] The author was perhaps most successful in chapter 10, "Creation of the USSR," detailing the conflict between Stalin, Khristian Rakovsky, and Mykola Skrypnyk, which resulted in the *korenizatsiia* policy, seen as a breathing spell for the Ukrainian nation. Fortunately, for those interested in Borys's subject, a clearer exposition that distinguished more successfully between ideology and political analysis, was soon to appear in the form of Walker Connor's superb study *The National Question in Marxist-Leninist Theory and Strategy*.

After 1945, the leading political scientist in Canada specializing in the study of Soviet Ukraine was undoubtedly Bohdan R. Bociurkiw (1925-98). Born in Buchach in Polish-ruled Western Ukraine, he joined the wartime Ukrainian nationalist resistance, served time in Nazi prison and concentration camps in Germany, and immigrated to Winnipeg in 1947 as a displaced person. Bociurkiw studied at the University of Manitoba before completing a PhD at the University of Chicago. With an encyclopedic knowledge of Soviet politics, his particular expertise was church-state

[2] Chapter 3 of Borys's monograph had appeared earlier as "Political Parties in the Ukraine."

[3] A more comprehensible account of this admittedly bewilderingly complex topic was already available in Ivan Majstrenko's *Borot'bism* (1954).

relations, especially the politics of religion in Ukraine (see his articles "The Uniate Church in the Soviet Ukraine" and "The Orthodox Church and the Soviet Regime in the Ukraine"). This vantage point allowed him to concentrate on the fundamental conflicts between Soviet Communism and Christianity and between Russian imperialism and Ukrainian nationalism.

Such basic interests in the clash of values, so closely tied to the concept of legitimacy, rather naturally led Bociurkiw and other colleagues in the 1960s and 1970s to explore the Soviet dissident movement.[4] Thus Bociurkiw was instrumental in the publication of *The Chornovil Papers* (1968), an English-language translation of documents compiled by V''iacheslav Chornovil that chronicled the persecution and trial proceedings against Chornovil and others charged with "anti-Soviet propaganda" for their pro-Ukrainian views. These documents were smuggled out of the USSR. In 1975 Bociurkiw co-edited *Religion and Atheism in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe*, to which he also contributed the meticulously documented chapter "Religious Dissent and the Soviet State."[5] Bociurkiw and one of his PhD students, Ivan Jaworsky, co-translated and edited Danylo Shumuk's *Life Sentence: Memoirs of a Ukrainian Political Prisoner* (1984), an incredibly harrowing account of human recycling through the Soviet prison system and labour camps. Bociurkiw's own magnum opus, *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Soviet State (1939-1950)* (1996), appeared only after the collapse of the USSR, when it benefitted from the opening of the archives (Corley). It offers a full exposition of betrayal and brutality, of the clash between religious faith and raw political power, and of that church's extinction, clandestine survival, and ultimate revival. Bociurkiw's inspired and impeccable scholarship will not likely be surpassed; he set a high standard for detailed analysis of politics and for dispassionate scholarly understanding.

As a footnote, in March 2016, on the seventieth anniversary of the forced "unification" of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Moscow Patriarchate, in a public appeal some twenty prominent Orthodox faithful asked for forgiveness (Farion). Among the signatories was Andrii Iurach, director of the Department of Matters Relating to Religions and Nationalities within Ukraine's Ministry of Culture. This was indicative of the ongoing relevance of the issue so passionately exposed by Bociurkiw.

Although he was neither an academic nor a social scientist, but a schoolteacher, the work of John Kolasky (1915-97) during this period deserves mention in drawing attention to the continual clash of Communist and Nationalist ideologies in Soviet Ukraine, or really Russian versus

[4] See, for example, Ivan L. Rudnytsky, "The Political Thought of Soviet Dissidents."

[5] The late Vasyl Markus of Loyola University Chicago contributed the book's chapter "Religion and Nationality: The Uniates of the Ukraine," 101-22.

Ukrainian nationalism. A long-time member of the Communist Party of Canada, Kolasky became disenchanted with what he saw as Moscow's denigration of Ukrainian identity in the political and cultural life of Ukraine. Consequently, he wrote *Education in Soviet Ukraine* (1968) and *Two Years in Soviet Ukraine* (1970).

Besides Bociurkiw, the other front-rank Canadian political scientist concentrating on Soviet Ukraine was Peter J. Potichnyj of McMaster University. Also a postwar émigré, and a U.S. veteran of the Korean War with a PhD from Columbia University, Potichnyj first established his scholarly status with his book *Soviet Agricultural Trade Unions* (1972). Thereafter, he authored or edited a succession of volumes dealing with Soviet Ukraine, Ukraine's relations with Poland and Russia, and the always sensitive topic of Jewish-Ukrainian relations. The first of these was *Ukraine in the Seventies*, consisting of articles presented at the 1974 McMaster University Conference on Contemporary Ukraine that Potichnyj organized. Notable from the point of view of Canadian scholarship were contributions by Anatol S. Romaniuk and I. Slowikowski of the Department of Energy, Mines, and Resources in Ottawa; by Jaroslaw Holowacz (1928-90) of the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests (in his comments the University of Calgary geographer Brent Barr took exception to the presentation's length and lack of purpose); by Ihor Stebelsky of the University of Windsor; and by Peter Woroby (1920-2002) of the University of Saskatchewan.[6]

Next, Potichnyj edited the collection *Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present* (1980), consisting of papers presented in 1977 at another McMaster University conference. The collection reflected yet again the minor part Canadian-based scholars played in the study of Ukraine: they accounted for only three of the eighteen contributions; the rest were by scholars from the United States and Western Europe. Of the three Canadian papers, only the concluding chapter, "Ukraine and Poland in an Interdependent Europe," an essay in international relations by McMaster's Adam Bromke, qualified as a social science contribution. (The other two Canadian contributions, by Ivan L. Rudnytsky of the University of Alberta and Yevhen Shtendera of the

[6] A. S. Romaniuk and. I Slowikowski, "The Non-Renewable Resources of Ukraine," pp. 3-30; J. Holowacz, "The Forests of Ukraine," pp. 33-63; Brent Barr, "Comments on J. Holowacz, The Forests of Ukraine: Their History and Present Status," pp. 65-67; Ihor Stebelsky, "Ukrainian Agriculture: The Problems of Specialization and Intensification in Perspective," pp. 103-26; and Peter Woroby, "Comments on Professor Ihor Stebelsky, Ukrainian Agriculture: The Problems of Specialization and Intensification in Perspective," pp. 127-33 (all in Potichnyj, *Ukraine in the Seventies*). The other presenters and participants were mostly prominent American academics. Sadly, few of the Canadian scholars who took part in Potichnyj's first conference continued to pursue Ukrainian studies.

National Library of Canada, were historical, while Potichnyj himself did not contribute a chapter.) Considering various scenarios for Ukraine in the last quarter of the twentieth century, and taking his cue from Zbigniew Brzeziński, a fellow Pole, Bromke foresaw that "the emergence of a completely independent Ukraine . . . does not appear to be likely," principally because "the Russians would oppose Ukraine's secession most strenuously." It "would be feasible only after a complete collapse of the Soviet Union which, in turn, would have to be preceded by a major international conflict, quite possibly a nuclear one" (Bromke 337). It may have appeared apocalyptic at the time, but from the perspective of 2016, Bromke's prediction no longer seems so implausible given the turn in international relations associated with Vladimir Putin's tenure in the Kremlin, under whom force in the pursuit of Russian foreign policy rather than law and diplomacy has been emphasized.

Together with his university colleague Howard Aster, Potichnyj edited a third collection of papers which were presented at another conference he organized at McMaster, in 1983—*Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective*. Only seven of the twenty-two papers were by Canadian scholars (five historians, one philologist, and one educator); the remainder were by American or Israeli academics. No Canadian social scientist was represented.

Yet another conference that Potichnyj organized, held at McMaster in 1981, was the basis for *Ukraine and Russia in Their Historical Encounter* (1992). Of the sixteen papers therein, only two were by Canadian scholars, one of them in political science—"Socio-economic Changes in the USSR and Their Impact on Ukrainians and Russians," again by economist Peter Woroby, then at the University of Regina.

Potichnyj deserves great credit for having organized these conferences and for editing the proceedings, but the representation of Canadian social scientists was meagre to say the least, as was their contribution to scholarship worldwide. Potichnyj also deserves special credit for bringing the plight of the Crimean Tatars to the attention of scholars very early on, in his 1975 article "The Struggle of the Crimean Tatars." A demonstration in Moscow by the Crimean Tatars in 1988 really began the national unravelling of the USSR, and Potichnyj's article provided an early warning and a ready background reference in advance of that event.

After Bociurkiw and Potichnyj, the third outstanding contributor in the social sciences to the study of Soviet Ukraine must surely be Bohdan Krawchenko. Born in Germany in 1946 to parents fleeing war and Soviet Communism, he was educated at Bishop's University and the Universities of Toronto, Glasgow, and Oxford. Before becoming director of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) in 1986, he researched and circulated two reports he wrote on courses in Ukrainian studies at Canadian universities. The results of these two surveys have a direct bearing on the

substance of the present overview by providing part of the explanation for the poor showing in Ukrainian studies on the part of Canadian social scientists. As the young then assistant professor wrote, during the 1976-77 academic year, only two undergraduate courses in the social sciences oriented to Ukraine were taught: one in political science (by Krawchenko himself) at the University of Alberta, the other in geography at St. Andrew's College and (Ukrainian Orthodox) Seminary at the University of Manitoba. Their enrolments were fourteen and seven students, respectively. By the 1979-80 year, the number of students in the same two courses—still the only ones of their kind in Canada—was down to seven and five, making them barely viable. Teaching and research at Canadian universities are closely tied: no courses, no students, no research. Hence the dearth.

Of doctoral dissertations in Ukrainian studies defended at Canadian universities during the years 1951-75, not one was in the social sciences. "The social sciences in the last quarter century have expanded . . . at universities in Europe and North America," Krawchenko noted. "These . . . offer penetrating insights into social processes. The Ukrainian reality is," he lamented, "not taught from the standpoint of the social sciences" ("Ukrainian Studies Courses . . . 1977," 10). Many disciplines were unrepresented. "Sociology, economics, music, philosophy, are some of the more important areas," he noted. These "important disciplines are not being brought to bear on Ukrainian subject matter. As a result there is a paucity of research carried out in Canada on Ukrainian themes in fields other than language and literature" (Krawchenko, "Ukrainian Studies Courses . . . 1977," 11). In his update, Krawchenko issued a stark warning:

> It is . . . essential that . . . the research function in Ukrainian studies be expanded in order to avoid the loss of one generation of scholars, and that the Ukrainian studies course enrolment be maintained in order to ensure that the generation of academics about to retire will not be the last generation in Ukrainian studies in Canada. (Krawchenko, "Ukrainian Studies Courses . . . [1979-80]," 10)

Unfortunately, no one acted on this dire warning. As we see, the social science studies of Soviet Ukraine up to the late 1970s, including those by Krawchenko, were very much an émigré effort.

Krawchenko edited *Ukraine After Shelest* (1983),[7] a collection of essays originally presented as papers at the 1981 conference of the Canadian

[7] CPU First Secretary (1963-72) Petro Shelest was removed from office and replaced by Volodymyr Shcherbyts'kyi, who then oversaw a wide-ranging crackdown on manifestations of Ukrainian nationalism, which Shelest allegedly tolerated. See Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine* (711-12, 684-724; ch. 50-52), which offers useful historical background for the period covered by the present survey.

Association of Slavists in Halifax. His own contribution, "Ethno-Demographic Trends in Ukraine in the 1970s," was the sole social science offering therein by a scholar from Canada. In it, based on preliminary data from the 1979 Soviet census, Krawchenko mapped the dynamics of national identity and language, which he said showed potential for a rise in Ukrainian nationalism due to the restricted social mobility of Soviet Ukrainians in the postwar era and their consequent resentment and dissatisfaction.

Krawchenko is best known for his book *Social Change and National Consciousness in Twentieth-Century Ukraine* (1985), a work that genuinely and unambiguously falls within the discipline of social science. Written while he was still assistant director of the CIUS, it combines mainstream political science, historical analysis, and a kind of Marxian economic determinism turned to the benefit of nationalism. To posit an economic imperative for Ukrainian national self-assertion seems like an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable. In brief, it argues that Soviet Ukrainians made socially mobile as well as nationally conscious through education, were now on the cusp of a dramatic showdown with their Russian masters, the national revolution having an economic basis. A harbinger of this was the dissident movement, beginning in the 1960s. Krawchenko's forerunner in advancing a similar thesis (see Isajiw 58-66) was another émigré, Wsevolod Isajiw, a professor of sociology at the University of Toronto known primarily for his work on ethnicity in the North American context. In a way, Krawchenko's book could be seen as a continuation of Borys's effort to quantify Russian dominance over Ukraine, but with a more optimistic outlook.[8]

The disaster at the Chornobyl nuclear-power plant in 1986 and the launching of the policy of Perestroika in 1987 by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev supplied the impetus for greater interest among Western scholars in the study of Soviet Ukraine. First off the mark was journalist-turned-historian David R. Marples, formerly a research analyst at Radio Liberty in Munich, with *Chernobyl and Nuclear Power in the USSR* (1986). His study provided an impressive collection of facts and a highly detailed chronology gleaned from the press, but it was *strictu sensu* neither a study of energy policy nor a theoretically-framed explanation—as opposed to well-informed opinion guided by common-sense questions—of the disaster's political consequences (difficult to determine in any case due to the hidden nature of Soviet politics). It was, however, extremely timely as well as important for drawing attention to the situation of Ukraine within the USSR.

Two years later Marples followed up the aforementioned study with *The Social Impact of the Chernobyl Disaster* (1988), which spelled out in great

[8] From 1991 to 2004 Krawchenko had an impressive career in Ukraine. He is now the director general of the University of Central Asia in Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic. For details, see http://www.ucentralasia.org/About/UcaStaff#BohdanKrawchenko.

detail the repercussions of the disaster and attempted to ascertain whether Soviet authorities had assimilated appropriate lessons from it. In any case, the book solidified Marples's reputation as the leading authority in the West capable of commenting knowledgeably on the Chornobyl catastrophe and its consequences.

Three years thereafter Marples's *Ukraine Under Perestroika* (1991) was published. Based on close and extensive scrutiny of the Soviet press, and supplemented by interviews, this book focused on the interplay between the economy, the Chornobyl disaster, and the ecological movement in Ukraine, which together were, as he saw it, contributing to a growing sentiment in favour of an independent, sovereign Ukraine. In light of the parlous state of the Ukrainian economy, where revitalization of industry was not a prospect in his view, Marples foresaw a primarily agricultural Ukraine in the future. He also placed high hopes on the Green World civic association and the Green Party, but was clearly wrong on both counts. But some of the forecasts in his study have proven to be uncannily accurate. "One can dispense with the Crimea," Marples wrote, "which is unlikely to remain part of a future Ukrainian state and was a Stalinist creation from the first" (*Ukraine Under Perestroika* 221). On the whole, he was optimistic that the then economic crisis would arouse public consciousness and confidence, although that has not turned out quite as expected. A prolific scholar, Marples was the first long-time director (1994-2014) of the CIUS's Stasiuk Program for the Study of Contemporary Ukraine, whose timely current-affairs analyses helped greatly to put a spotlight on Soviet Ukraine, particularly at this time.[9]

A veritable flood of social science scholarship on Soviet Ukraine was unleashed in the United States at this time, as numerous doctoral candidates and junior professors—many without any genetic link to Ukraine—latched onto it within the context of the study of democratic transitions, either as a case study or from a comparative perspective. In Canada the wave was more modest but still respectable. In 1990 the Fourth World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies was perhaps the last high-level academic conference for Sovietologists regarding the already apparently doomed USSR. Two Canadian contributions were published in one of the resulting volumes of selected papers, *Ukrainian Past, Ukrainian Present* (1993), edited by Bohdan Krawchenko: geographer Ihor Stebelsky's "Ukrainian Migration to Siberia Before 1917" and "The March 1990 Elections in Ukraine" by Peter

[9] Marples has been a professor of history at the University of Alberta since 1989. His CV may be accessed at https://cloudfront.ualberta.ca/-/media/arts/people/dmarples/marplescvapr2017.pdf. His most recent monograph is *Ukraine in Conflict: An Analytical Chronicle* (2017), available as a free download at http://www.e-ir.info/2017/05/01/open-access-book-ukraine-in-conflict-an-analytical-chronicle/.

J. Potichnyj, who examined the first genuinely contested elections to Soviet Ukraine's Supreme Soviet (Verkhovna Rada), in which the democratic opposition led by former political prisoners, including V''iacheslav Chornovil, won an impressive plurality and thus "represented a new force which transformed the political scene in Ukraine" (123-33; 132).[10]

My own involvement in the study of Soviet Ukraine from a political science perspective was, prior to the Perestroika years, minimal—a sideline to my work on Soviet political elites and recruitment.[11] It accelerated under that common impetus shared with other scholars. *Echoes of Glasnost in Soviet Ukraine*, a volume of papers presented at York University in 1989 and edited by Romana M. Bahry, contained my essay "Political Patronage and Perestroika: Changes in Communist Party Leadership in Ukraine Under Gorbachev and Shcherbitsky." In it I grappled with the question whether political patronage was eroding in Ukraine as a consequence of Gorbachev's policies, which it logically should have but did not. The same collection also contained David Marples's "Nuclear Power, Ecology and the Patriotic Opposition in the Ukrainian SSR." A year later my article "Ukrainian Nationalism and the Future" was published in *Nationalism and the Breakup of an Empire: Russia and Its Periphery*—a collection describing the effects of nationalism on the breakup of the USSR just as this was all happening, edited by Miron Rezun, a political scientist at University of New Brunswick. Nationalism having clearly replaced Marxism-Leninism as the country's legitimating ideology, the prognosis appeared clear. Without wanting to take credit for being a seer, it seemed to me at the time of the Soviet Union's collapse that the future of Ukraine would be determined by (1) the kind of nationalism—integral versus liberal, ethnic versus civic—that would emerge, (2) who—Moscow or Kyiv—would control the KGB, and (3) whether the country would "be destabilized by ethnic and regional conflicts." In the meantime I wrote, "nationalism will remain at the top of the Ukrainians' political agenda" (65-66).

In 1989 the noted Duke University Sovietologist Jerry Hough assembled a team of younger scholars to undertake a major research project, funded by the MacArthur Foundation, on the Soviet nationalities and the nationalisms that were straining the seams of the Soviet Union. I was to cover Ukraine. For the next five years the group convened twice a year for workshops where each person reported on developments in the union republics and the political dynamics of inter-ethnic relations in them at the time. The principal chronicle of the project, starting in 1990 and funded by the Carnegie

[10] An expanded version of Potichnyj's article, with tables and statistics, appeared as "Elections in the Ukraine, 1990."

[11] See my articles "Political Recruitment in Soviet Ukraine: Party and Society in Kharkov Oblast, 1959" and "Political Mobility in Soviet Ukraine."

Corporation, was Hough's *Journal of Soviet Nationalities*. Notable Canadian contributions to this periodical over its short lifespan were "The Parliamentary Blocs in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet" by the University of Ottawa political scientist Dominique Arel, and "Perestroika and Interpretation of Russian-Ukrainian Relations (1985-1990)" by the Toronto-based historian Stephen Velychenko. Involvement in Hough's workshops eventuated some ten years later in my monograph *Post-Communist Ukraine* (2002), an ambitious attempt at a comprehensive account of state- and nation-building in independent Ukraine's first decade. Based on then current literature describing democratic transitions and looking to Latin American, Mediterranean, and East European models, I analyzed the institutional changes undertaken in Ukraine from 1991 on, and the country's transformation out of Soviet politics into a modern democracy that was not yet fully achieved. This was the beginning of a general reorientation of my research to the study of contemporary Ukraine.

The social science study of Soviet Ukraine owes a considerable debt to the scholars whose work has been reviewed above. Not only did they contribute in their own right, but they trained a cohort of graduate students in whom they instilled an abiding interest in the study of Ukraine. Their published works, together with the conferences and symposia they organized, served as stepping-stones for more challenging studies of post-Soviet Ukraine. Canadian contributions were modest, but they were internationally recognized.

Major credit for the dissemination of social science research in Canada on Soviet Ukraine during the period reviewed here (1945-91) must, as the facts of publication of the books cited in this essay indicate, accrue to the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. The CIUS offered the primary outlet for publications that otherwise might not have been published. Despite Krawchenko's early warning in the late 1970s—shortly after the CIUS was established—about the acute necessity to develop social science research on Ukraine, such development was kept on the back burner until much later. In 2013 the new CIUS director (until June 2017) Volodymyr Kravchenko (no relation to Bohdan Krawchenko) set up the Centre for Political and Regional Studies which had a mandate to promote the study of contemporary Ukraine from the perspective of the social sciences and with a comparative approach. Renamed the Contemporary Ukraine Studies Program in 2016, the unit has made an effort to bring social science research to bear on problems of current relevance, to probe questions of academic and policy concern, and to engage with scholarly, governmental, and public audiences. An endowment with a permanent incumbent and adequate budget would enable the CIUS to play a leading role in social science research on Ukraine. Knowledge is power, and knowledge has to be put at the service of power to

effect change for a better world—always an undercurrent in Ukrainian studies.

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