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ANNUAL MEETING OF "OBYEDNANYE"

The role to be played by Ukrainian-Americans in the movement for the liberation of the 45,000,000 Ukrainian nation, especially now when this movement has become greatly accelerated by the rise of autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine, was the dominant issue of the annual meeting of the "Obyednanye" (United Ukrainian Organizations of America) executive committee, held last Saturday, in Jersey City, and attended by a number of guests, from both the older and younger generation.

A resolution supporting the Ukrainian national movement was adopted by the meeting, and reported extensively by both the New York Herald-Tribune and The New York Times. The full text of the resolutions appears on page 4 of this weekly.

The meeting was opened by Emil Revyuk, President of the "Obyednanye," who also acted as chairman of the proceedings. In his report, Mr. Revyuk stressed the importance of the Ukrainian national movement today, and then dwelt upon Ukrainian-American accomplishments in various fields, especially in that of culture.

Dr. Luke Myshuha, recording secretary of the organization, pointed out in his report ways of combating hostile propaganda that the Ukrainian movement is connected with fascism or nazism; he likewise indicated the great need now for publications in English about Ukraine, especially its history.

Dmytro Halychyn, financial secretary of the organization, revealed in his report that \$26,599.64 was sent to the old country through the "Obyednanye" during the past fiscal year, and \$110.15 for Ukrainian institutions in America. Julian Pawchak, treasurer, and Michael Piznak, head of the auditing committee, reported that their figures were in conformity with those of the financial secretary.

Upon motion by Dr. Simon Demychuk, the meeting gave a vote of thanks to the Ukrainian National Association for bearing the costs of Dr. Myshuha's trip to Europe as delegate to take part in negotiations leading towards creation of Carpatho-Ukraine; also a vote of appreciation to him for his work in the negotiations.

Miss Olympia Hamkalo, head of the "Obyednanye" youth committee, gave in her report an outline of the action the committee proposes to take to raise funds for Ukrainian-American youth purposes, including the creation of a Ukrainian music library, publication of booklets on Ukraine, and creation of a bureau of statistics on our youth sport activities.

On motion made by Mrs. Maria Malevich, it was decided to set aside a month during the coming year when a drive for funds for youth purposes would be made.

Then followed several key addresses. Dr. Myshuha spoke on How We Can Aid in the Rebirth of Ukraine. Stephen Shumeyko spoke on the Scarcity of Leaders Among Our Youth. A talk by Joseph Stetkewicz on the course in Ukrainian at Columbia University was then read, followed by a talk by Nestor Novovirsky concerning the Ukrainian course held in New York City under WPA auspices. Each of these addresses was followed by discussion, in which both old and young participated.

DEARTH OF YOUTH LEADERS

What greatly retards Ukrainian-American youth development at present, it was brought out last Saturday at the annual meeting of the "Obyednanye" executive committee, is the scarcity of capable leaders among the younger generation.

Were it not for this scarcity, it was further brought out, our young people would be further advanced in their organizational activities and strivings; their contribution towards the development of American life would be greater; their interest in the Ukrainian Cause expressed more concretely; and their knowledge of their Ukrainian cultural heritage greater and more productive.

Why is there a dearth of young leaders among us?

Various reasons were advanced at the meeting last week. There are, it was pointed out, many among our younger generation who have an inherent capacity for leadership, yet they never make the grade, never attain the posts within their reach, simply because of their failure to prepare themselves thoroughly for the duties that await them. Especially is this failure evident in their ignorance on matters and problems pertaining to their status as native-born Americans of Ukrainian descent.

Then there are others who have made an auspicious start as young leaders, who have prepared themselves for further advancement as such, yet because those above them in rank refuse to make way for them, they have become discouraged and quit.

Such cases are quite plentiful among us, especially in the sphere of local activities, where an older leader oftentimes refuses to give the younger one "a break." If the latter has the makings of a real leader, however, this will not discourage him in the least. He will realize that leadership is rarely handed down, especially in these days of fierce competition. It has to be won, and won only after a hard struggle and a great deal of self-sacrifice.

The "ins" always try to keep out the "outs." Once this fact is realized by the young aspirant for leadership, he has taken a big step forward. For then he will not waste his time in complaining. A judicious amount of complaining, of course, if aired at the proper time and place, is sometimes of use; but any undue amount of it breeds discouragement, which is quickly followed by defeat. So instead of feeling hurt and sorry for himself, and allowing gloomy and bitter reflections to occupy his mind, the would-be young leader should get down to hard work and proceed to prove, by actual deeds, that he is a better man than the one whom he desires to displace. And when and if he does prove it, he should not be nonplussed a whit if the latter still refuses to make way for him. That too the young hopeful should expect—except in some rare cases—and take the necessary measures to remove this last obstacle separating him from his goal.

The road to leadership, he should bear in mind, is no broad highway. Neither is there any short-cut to it. If he thinks either way, he will soon discover his mistake. For the most part, it is a long, torturous and slippery trail, upon which it is difficult to maintain one's footing. He who essays to travel over it, must have plenty of determination, hardihood, and patience. Yet even these qualities will be of little avail, if he lacks integrity of character and steadfastness of purpose, without which he cannot command for long the confidence of those whom he would have follow him. Most important of all, however, he must at all times be guided by some high ideal, in which he sincerely believes. Otherwise, even if he does succeed, his victory will be a very hollow one, not worth the effort he put into it.

HAVE YOU MADE YOUR CONTRIBUTION TO FUND FOR
UKRAINIAN PARTICIPATION IN NEW YORK WORLD'S
FAIR IN 1939?

NEW YOUTH BRANCH OF U.N.A.

A new youth branch of the Ukrainian National Association was organized recently in Burnside, Chicago, Illinois. It is the "Young Ukraine," branch 415 of the U.N.A. Its officers are: Russel Grod, President; Lillian Grod, Secretary; and Andrew Nisiewicz, Treasurer.

UKRAINIANS DEFY VATICAN PLEA TO BOW TO POLAND

Efforts of the Vatican to mediate the trouble between the Polish government and the Ukrainian minority have failed, reports a dispatch from Riga, Latvia, which appeared in the Chicago Daily Tribune last Monday under the above heading.

Its sender, Donald Day, states that the Ukrainian deputies in the Warsaw parliament have declared that Msgr. Filippo Cortesi, papal nuncio in Warsaw, has been unable to reach an agreement with Count Andrew Sheptitsky, head of the Uniate branch of the Catholic Church, which has the largest group of followers in the Polish Ukraine.

The Ukrainian deputies said the Vatican intervened in the Polish-Ukraine conflict as a result of the request of President Ignace Moscicki. Msgr. Cortesi, the dispatch further discloses, was authorized by Vatican to assure Metropolitan Sheptitsky that the Catholic Church in Poland had no ambitions to assimilate the Uniate believers as it had the Ukrainians professing the Orthodox faith.

The Ukrainian deputies further said that their metropolitan rejected an offer from the Vatican to make him a cardinal provided he would use his influence to combat the Ukrainian aspirations for home rule.

Count Sheptitsky was said to have informed the Vatican envoy that the Polish government's failure to keep its promise to grant the Ukrainians some measure of cultural autonomy and the presence of large military detachments in Galicia precluded any possibility of a compromise between the Ukrainians and the Warsaw dictatorship.

Foreign Correspondents Warned

The same dispatch further reports that the Polish government warned foreign correspondents stationed in Warsaw that their permits would be revoked if their reports of events in Galicia reflect discredit upon the government. Polish citizens representing foreign newspapers face severe punishment, including imprisonment in a concentration camp, if their dispatches violate the new press gag law.

"Pacification" Issue Raised in Parliament

It is further reported that Dr. Stefan Witwickij sought to introduce a motion in the Warsaw parliament to permit debate "about the present pacification campaign and massacre of peaceful Ukrainian inhabitants in Galicia by the Polish army and police." The motion was rejected amid disorderly scenes when the Polish deputies shouted down the Ukrainian speakers.

UKRAINIAN SYMPHONY CONCERT.

A program of Ukrainian music by Paul Pachenihia Ouglitzky will be heard over W.J.Z. Tuesday, January 3, 1939, at 7:30 P. M. On January 8th, 8:30 P. M., a Ukrainian Symphony Concert under direction of Mr. Ouglitzky will take place at Carnegie Hall, New York, featuring Rosemarie Brancato, Lucien Schmitt, a mixed chorus and a full symphony orchestra. Tickets (\$1.10 to \$3.30) can be obtained at "Svoboda" Bookstore.

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

(Concluded)

INDEPENDENCE OF WESTERN UKRAINE

In the meanwhile, great events were taking place in Western Ukraine. For, when the military and political might of Austria-Hungary began to totter and disintegrate, when the various subject nationalities of it began to cast off the shackles of oppression—the Western Ukrainians realized that their long-awaited moment had at last arrived, that they must strike for their liberties.

On October 18, 1918 delegates from all Ukrainian territories under Austria-Hungary elected a Ukrainian National Rada, which was to act as the constituent assembly of Western Ukraine. This assembly established an independent Western Ukrainian Republic.

In the early morning hours of November 1st, 1918, young volunteers and Ukrainian soldiers from the Austrian army seized L'viv in the name of the new republic. This was followed by seizure of city after city, and in a few days the Ukrainian blue and yellow banner waved throughout most of Galicia and other provinces of Western Ukraine.

The young republic was immediately attacked by the newly-resurrected Poland. Under the guise of using them against the Bolsheviks, the Poles received supplies and military equipment from the Allies, who at that time were well-nigh panic-stricken at the thought that the Bolsheviks might overrun all of Europe. The Ukrainian forces, on the other hand, although of sufficient manpower, were underfed, badly clothed, poorly equipped and ill-trained. That they fought unceasingly against terrible odds, is a tribute to them and their cause.

THE UNION OF TWO REPUBLICS

On January 22, 1919, amidst great rejoicing, representatives of the Ukrainian republics met in the historic St. Sophia-Square in Kiev, and there proclaimed the federation of the two sundered parts of Ukraine into one Ukrainian National Republic, with the supreme power vested in the Directory headed by Petlura. It was indeed an inspiring moment. For what could be more striking and characteristic of this courageous people than this act, when—surrounded on all sides by the Bolsheviks, the Poles, and the royalist Russian forces, all intent upon destroying the newly arisen Ukrainian state—they made the supreme gesture of their conviction in the sanctity of their cause by uniting Eastern Ukraine with Western Ukraine.

The year 1919 was one of the darkest in Ukrainian history, relieved only by the shining courage of the Ukrainian soldiery in their terrific struggle to preserve their newly-won national freedom. Entire Ukraine was the center of events which defied precedent and begged a red description, a battleground of a merciless war, a war characterized by bloody raids, affrays and massacres, involving tens of thousands of men, a war of horrible persecutions wreaked upon the Ukrainian people by one enemy or the other.

The Attacks from All Sides

From all sides a ring of predatory enemies converged upon the republic. In the southwest Rumania was attacking the province of Bukovina, which had previously declared its union with the Western Ukrainian Republic. In the west, Poland was steadily advancing deeper into Ukrainian territory, thanks to Allied aid. From the east and south came the royalist Russian forces under Denikin and later Wrangel, also aided by the Allies. And from the north descended the Bolsheviks with their reign of terror.

No nation in modern history was ever made the object of such a many-sided and overwhelming at-

tack. And although the Ukrainians, united under Petlura, fought valiantly, and were at times victorious, yet it was humanly impossible to stave off final defeat for them and their cause, especially when more than one-third of their armed forces fell before the spread of the typhus disease,* which raged unchecked mainly because of the lack of medical supplies which the Allied blockade, ostensibly aimed at the Bolsheviks, refused to permit to enter into Ukraine.

Reason For Hostile Attitude of Allies

It may be peculiar to some that the Allies which had pledged themselves to the highly-touted Wilsonian principle of "self-determination" should have taken such a hostile attitude towards the Ukrainian struggle for freedom and thereby helped to defeat it. In this connection, it must be understood that from the very start the French policy was pro-Polish. France was for Poland "grande et forte, tres forte," for such a Poland might become "a new France to the east of Germany," doubling the power of France in the west. For that reason, France strongly supported Poland in her invasion of Ukrainian territories. In this she was backed by America and Italy. The British alone reacted unfavorably to this policy, predicting that the extension of Poland's boundaries at the expense of another nationality would prove in the future to be a continual source of trouble for Poland and the countries supporting her. How true was this prediction! Herbert Adams Gibbons, American journalist and writer, explained this hostility of the Allies towards Ukraine and their support of Polish and royalist Russian armies in the following manner: "An independent Ukraine however, does not seem to fit in with the interests of the victors in the World War, as these interests are conceived by statesmen... The misfortunes of the Ukrainians have come from the fact that the independent existence of their nation was an obstacle to the political aims of all the rival forces contending for supremacy, and at the same time proved to be an irresistible magnet to the occult powers behind armies, which lust for oil and coal and monopolies of food stuffs and raw materials."**

* Concerning this, Henry Alsberg of the "Nation" (Nov. 1, 1919) had this to say in his article on the "Situation in Ukraine": "But forse of all is that every third person in the Kamenietz has had typhus. In the other cities the situation is the same. In the army it is worse. At Vapniak I was with Petlura at a review of a frontier garrison where out of a thousand troops at least two hundred had had typhus. Against the epidemic Petlura's government is quite powerless to make headway. The Ukrainians are condemned to death by the fact that the Entente is backing Denikin. In an interview I had with Petlura, he begged that if only for humanity's sake the Red Cross would send over a mission to fight typhus. Let me add here that right across the river in Rumania are all the medical supplies necessary, as well as plenty of food with which to feed the dying Ukrainian children. The head of the American Red Cross in Czernowitz, and also the head in Bucharest, had a first impulse to send supplies here. But two American Red Cross delegates have since come from Paris, who say that they will have to go first to the Ukraine to investigate conditions. One of them told me that the Entente had decided to back Denikin, and would do nothing for the Ukrainians in Petlura's territory. In short, far from having any mission to relieve the terrible suffering, they had been sent merely to report on how near Petlura was to breaking down."

** "Ukraine and the Balance of Power"—"Century" magazine, July, 1921.

UKRAINIANS UNDER RUMANIA TODAY

And so—on December 9, 1919, by virtue of the Minorities Treaty signed at Paris, the Allies handed over the Ukrainian provinces of Bukovina and Bessarabia over to Rumania, a territory of 22,000 square kilometers, containing a compact mass of close to 1,250,000 Ukrainians. Despite her promises to safeguard the racial, religious and linguistic rights of the Ukrainians, Rumania has been guilty of the notorious "Balkan methods" of governing them, which consists of cruel persecutions and abuses, directed towards the destruction of the Ukrainians within her borders as a separate nationality. One of the results of this policy—in the words of "Dilo," leading Ukrainian daily, published in L'viv—is that "the Ukrainians under Rumania have not a single elementary, secondary, or technical school, and private schools are not allowed. The same applies to reading-halls, and cooperative societies. No Ukrainians are allowed in the Civil Service, and Rumanian enterprises import Rumanian labor rather than employ local Ukrainians."

CARPATHO-UKRAINE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On September 10, 1919, by the Treaty of St. Germain, the newly-created Republic of Czechoslovakia absorbed 15,000 square kilometers of Ukrainian territory then known as Podkarpatska Rus' and today as Carpatho-Ukraine, containing about 655,000 Ukrainians, as "an autonomous unit within the Czechoslovak Republic." Despite this guarantee, Czechoslovakia under Masaryk and Benes failed to grant the region any autonomy, but was guilty of trying to denationalize its inhabitants.

With the rise of the new Czechoslovakia in October, 1938, however, and the retirement of most of those who had guided its destinies up to that time, the status of Carpatho-Ukraine changed considerably. On October 11, it received Home Rule. On October 26, a Cabinet composed entirely of Ukrainians was appointed by Prague to govern it, headed by Monsignor Augustin Voloshyn, the new premier. On November 2, however, by the so-called Vienna arbitration verdict of Germany and Italy, the most fertile portion of Carpatho-Ukraine (with its capital Uzhhorod and cities of Mukachiw and Koshytsi) was allocated to Hungary.

The allocation was a result of Hungary's ambition to absorb all of Carpatho-Ukraine. In this ambition she was supported by Poland, not so much because such an annexation would have given the two countries a common frontier, mutually beneficially to both, but because it would have removed from existence the autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine, which Poland fears will become the base of operations for the national unification and independence of the 45,000,000 Ukrainian nation, including the portion under her own misrule.

On November 19th, Carpatho-Ukraine formally received its new Constitution, providing for its autonomy.

Today, Carpatho-Ukraine is in the process of rapid development. Its population is animated by the belief—as Robert Best, United Press Staff Correspondent wrote on December 17 from Chust, new capital of the region—"that the hour for birth of greater Ukraine is rapidly approaching. Two developments today in Ruthenia (or Carpatho-Ukraine) tended to encourage their attitude. They were a decision at Prague that Ukrainian instead of Russian will henceforth be the official language in Ruthenia and that a new legislature of 30 members, selected solely from the government party, will be elected early next spring."

UNDER POLAND

On March 15, 1923 the Conference of Ambassadors at Paris recognized the occupation of Galicia by Poland and approved the Riga treaty whereby Poland and the So-

victs divided up between themselves the other parts of Western Ukraine. This decision was based upon two provisions, whereby Poland recognized that "the ethnographical conditions necessitate an autonomous regime," and guaranteed to respect the pledges she had made at the signing of the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919, of preserving the national rights of the Ukrainian people within her borders. This meant that Poland received not only Eastern Galicia but Northwestern Ukraine as well, including Kholm, Pidlisya, Polisia, and Volhynia, an area of 137,000 square kilometers (35% of her entire area), inhabited by a Ukrainian population upwards of 7,000,000.

From the very outset of her occupation of Western Ukraine, Poland has been guilty of not only breaking all these pledges she made guaranteeing Ukrainian rights but also of the grossest abuses of their elementary human rights, all in an effort to Polishize the Ukrainians. Many of these abuses have reached incredible lengths. Ukrainian national, cultural, and economic progress is retarded at every step.*

And several times Poland's mistreatment of the Ukrainians became so harsh as to become the object of complaints before international tribunals, especially when she resorted to a reign of terror. It is no wonder, therefore, that the London "New Statesman and Nation" (Aug. 29, 1931) stressed that:—"Among the abuses in post-war Europe the worst are the cumulative violations of the 'Minorities Treaty' by the Polish State... In Poland they have acquired a primary international importance... by reason of their barbarism and abundance." This was written at the time when the civilized world recoiled in horror at the "pacification" by Polish constabulary and troops of the Ukrainians, concerning which the "Manchester Guardian" (England) wrote then that:—"This so-called pacification has been carried out with ferocity which can only be compared to the previous atrocities carried out in the early nineteenth century by the Bashi-Bazouks in the old Turkish territories." Thus, then, has Poland carried out her pledges to respect Ukrainian rights. And to add an ironic touch to it all, on September 13, 1934, Premier Beck solemnly notified the League of Nations that Poland would no longer be bound by the Minorities Treaty. As if she ever had! Sir John Simon, the British delegate, sternly rebuked Beck for this repudiation by his country of her solemn pledges. "Rarely if ever," wrote the "Manchester Guardian" then, "has the representative of

* From 1920 to 1934 the number of Ukrainian schools has been reduced from 3,600 to 120; 2,974 schools have been made bi-lingual but only a few unimportant subjects are taught in Ukrainian. Not a single Ukrainian technical school exists; and out of the 28,855,420 zlotys allocated in the 1934-35 budget for universities and colleges, only 63,490 zlotys were assigned for two Ukrainian chairs in Warsaw University. Rigorous restrictions are placed upon the entry of Ukrainian students to the higher schools and universities. In 1931-32, out of 49,770 university students, there were only 2,192 Ukrainians. The students in Warsaw Engineering College then were divided as follows:—Poles, 3,692; Jews, 468; Ukrainians 6."—Lancelot Lawton, London's "Fortnightly Review," April, 1934.

Furthermore, those Ukrainians who do manage to graduate from the higher schools, find all sorts of obstacles and discriminations placed in their way of entering professions, and "find no outlet for their abilities in the state administration of Poland as long as they do not renounce their Ukrainian ideals."—"Political Quarterly," England, Oct.-Dec., 1932.

Then too, to drive hostile Polish wedges into the compact Ukrainian settlements, the Polish government resorts to artificial settlements of Ukrainian territories with Polish colonists, selling them their plots at greatly preferential rates. Various manifestations held by the Ukrainians, including memorial exercises for the Ukrainian war dead, are often banned or dispersed by Polish police.

any country at Geneva received so stern a rebuke."

Since that repudiation Poland has pursued her policy of oppression with even greater force. Early in 1938, she dissolved the Society of Ukrainian Women, including its 72 branches and a membership well over 50,000, and suppressed its two periodicals, "Zhinka" and "Ukrainka." The attack was then launched against the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, and many priests were sent to prison for conducting services or registering births in Ukrainian. Next to feel the brunt of the attack was the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. More than 200 of its churches in the Volhyn and Polisia districts were destroyed or converted into Polish institutions. Shocking though these acts of the Polish Government are, yet they pale before the terroristic "pacification" that is being wreaked on the defenseless Ukrainian population now. According to Donald Day, foreign correspondent of the Chicago Tribune Press (in a dispatch written from Riga, Latvia, dated October 18, 1938) "twenty thousand Polish police are assisting the army" in this "pacification".... "Using lists compiled by their spies, the Poles are reported to be beating mercilessly Ukrainians who are active in political and cultural organizations."

Very aptly has H. G. Wells described Poland in his book on the "Shape of Things To Come":

Excessive Restoration of Poland

"The restoration of Poland—the excessive restoration of Poland—was one of the brightest ambitions of Wilson. Poland was restored. But instead of a fine-spirited and generous people emerging from those hundred and twenty years of subjugation, and justifying the sympathy and hopes of liberalism throughout the world, there appeared a narrowly patriotic government, which presently developed into a vindictive and pitiless dictatorship; and set itself at once to the zealous persecution of the unfortunate ethnic minorities caught in the net of its all too ample boundaries... In the treatment of the Ukrainians involved in liberation, Poland equalled any of the atrocities which had been the burden of her song during her years of martyrdom."

"Let it not be supposed, however, that this mistreatment of the Ukrainians by Poland has broken their spirit," wrote E. A. Powell, in his book "Thunder Over Europe" (1931), "for not even in the Emerald Isle (Ireland) does one find more formidable fighting qualities or a more passionate national sentiment than in Ukraine." Nor has it retarded their national evolution.

"Deserted in the past by rich Ukrainian landowners who became Polish aristocrats," wrote T. P. Conwell-Evans in the British "Political Quarterly" (Oct.-Dec., 1932), "the Ukrainian peasants, aided by their hard-working priests, themselves of peasant stock, developed capacity and talent for responsible action. Their political leaders are not all sons or grandsons of peasants, many of them trained in the Universities of Prague and Vienna... A visitor to Poland making a tour of some of the Ukrainian villages will be agreeably surprised at the character of the activities carried on by the peasants, which betrays not only a deep seated national consciousness, but a readiness and ability to work together and a sense of citizenship... So vigorous a resurrection, starting at zero after the devastation of the Great War, is all the more remarkable as the Ukrainians have achieved it by their own unaided efforts, without credits from the state or from the Polish banks... The Ukrainians are too well consolidated to be moved; they cannot be assimilated, they are too numerous and too determined. Oppression will serve only to drive them into illegal and violent methods of protest. Up to now the vast majority tenaciously cling to constitutional methods... it would be disastrous if they began

to swell that band of hot-blooded young men, members of a secret military organization [UWO—predecessor of present-day OUN—Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists] who are impatient of constitutional redress..."

The futility of constitutional means for obtaining any rights from Poland, was well illustrated last December 21, when the Polish Government notified Ukrainian Deputies that it was rejecting their proposal for consideration by Parliament of autonomy for Poland's Ukrainian population.

The realization among Ukrainians that constitutional redress for them is well-nigh impossible has reached the point where they are beginning to regard war as the only salvation for them. Otto D. Tolischus, correspondent of The New York Times, noted this fact himself when he wrote (June 11, 1937): "Rich in tradition, history and culture of which the West in its pride knows little but which do not allow them to forget that they were the first of the East Slavic people to attain Statehood back in the ninth and tenth centuries, the Ukrainians again look forward to the re-creation of their own State such as the Poles did before 1914—so much so that they are already pursuing as far as possible the same policy and tactics that brought the Poles success, even to the extent of basing all their hopes on the next war."

"Black must be the injustices suffered by Ukrainians in Poland," a writer in the Catholic "Commonweal" (June 3, 1938) concluded, "since they regard the—maybe—suicidal catastrophe of an international war as a means of possible deliverance."

Today, the Ukrainian strivings for freedom have reached the stage where, according to a United Press dispatch from Warsaw (December 19, 1938) "Poland's foreign policy at the moment is dominated by the Ukrainian issue... Poland, it was admitted, would find it difficult to counteract any secessionist movement among her 7,000,000 Ukrainians—nearly one-fourth of the entire Polish population—if an independent Ukraine were established."

UNDER SOVIET RULE

By the Treaty of Riga concluded between Poland and the Soviets on March 18, 1921, the latter fastened their hold upon 450,000 square kilometers of Ukrainian territory, containing approximately a 35 million Ukrainian population. Two years later this territory was incorporated as an integral part of the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics, the strong national feelings of it preventing the Bolsheviks from robbing it of its national identity.

"From the very first," wrote the "Cork Examiner" (Ireland, May 7, 1938), "Ukrainians were of all peoples under the Soviet the least amenable, the most strongly individual, the most fiercely nationalist, therefore the most atrociously suppressed."

Despite the use of terrorism as a weapon of rule, the earlier years under the Soviets were characterized by certain cultural concessions granted the Ukrainians, as a partial offset to the violent political repression and economic exploitation of them. That this cultural sop failed in its purpose was evidenced by the Ukrainian peasantry's opposition to the government's requisition of foodstuffs which forced it to give it up and introduce for awhile the "Nep," or New Economic Policy, with its security of individual farming and freedom of private trade. With the passage of time and growth of the Soviets in power, however, even these cultural concessions began to be taken away, and the government policy aimed directly and systematically at the complete political, economical and cultural subjugation and denationalization of the Ukrainian nation. Although some Ukrainian cultural institutions were permitted to continue their existence, yet they found themselves emasculated of any real progress because of their being

forced to proceed only along channels of Communistic ideology. The same is true of Ukrainian writers in the Soviet Union. Those who rebelled against this policy or showed even the slightest trace of nationalist sentiment, were branded as traitors to the Russian Revolution, summarily tried and executed, or sent to the notorious prison camps in the north. Concerning one such trial, the London "Saturday Review" (January 18, 1930) correctly pointed out that "the real reason for bringing a charge against Jefremov, Czechivsky and the others is the desire to destroy the Ukrainian intelligentsia by getting rid of its chief representatives... Realizing its failure, Bolshevism has taken to its alternative weapons—terrorism and provocation. By this means it seeks to kill the creative efforts of Ukrainian culture and that is the real significance of the present trial... and, it might be added, of subsequent such trials."

Even these weapons, terrorism and provocation, failed to subdue the Ukrainian resistance, especially to the Soviet economic policy. Such opposition was usually followed by mass reprisals on the part of the authorities, which included the forcible shifting of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian population from their native habitat in order to artificially populate the vacated areas with alien peoples.

In 1932 and 1933 the Bolsheviks by their economic policy, and especially by their enforcement of rural collectivization, brought about an acute state of famine in Ukraine, which took a terrible toll conservatively estimated by such conscientious observers as William Henry Chamberlin, former Moscow correspondent of the "Christian Science Monitor" (Boston), to be well over 4 million lives. And although (in the words of a resolution submitted in the House of Representatives of the United States) the Soviet Government was fully aware of the famine in Ukraine and although having full and complete control of the entire food supplies within its borders, it nevertheless failed to take relief measures designed to check the famine or alleviate the terrible conditions arising from it, but on the contrary used the famine as a means of reducing the Ukrainian population and destroying the Ukrainian political and cultural rights.

Despite all such mass reprisals and terrorism of the authorities the national spirit in Soviet Ukraine burns as brightly as ever, a fact which Stalin as well as some of his underlings have themselves admitted. At the 17th Congress of the Communist Party, held in January 1934, for example, Stalin declared: "Only very recently in the Ukraine the deviation towards Ukrainian Nationalism did not represent the major danger but when we ceased to fight against it and enabled to grow to the extent that it joined up with the interventionists this deviation became the major danger."

Today this spirit is one of the chief worries of the rulers in Kremlin. That is why the purges in Ukraine are especially severe, directed against the "separatists." At the January 1938 session of the Moscow Party leaders, it was revealed that in the last Party purge of 100,000 persons, no less than 40,000 were in Ukraine, that 3,422 persons were ejected from the Party in Kiev alone. Last June a new purge of considerable severity was begun in Ukraine, where, as reported by Harold Denny, Moscow correspondent of The New York Times, "anti-Soviet sentiment and activity has been intensely stubborn since the first days of the revolutionary," and which "has been the field of a strong nationalist movement from the beginning of the Bolshevik revolution." That is why, to quote M. Butenko, late Soviet Charge d'Affaires at Bucharest, "the Ukraine is entirely administered by men faithful to Stalin sent from Moscow. The slightest sign of Ukrainian nationalism is repressed by ruthless methods so that the region is seething with hatred against the

THE SUN IS SETTING

(Sontse Nizenko)

By IVAN KOTLIAREVSKY

The sun is setting,
Eventide's nearing—
To thee I hasten,
On wings swift soaring,
Thou my own darling!

How truly vowed thou
To love me ever,
No one to fancy,
All men eluding,
Be mine forever!

Of yore, my sweetheart!
In each confiding
We loved so truly,
So pure and nobly,
In peace abiding.

Oh, when returning,
I fail to find thee,—
In painful anguish,
My white hands clasping,
In death I'll lay me!

Tr. by John Yatchew.

Bolsheviks." Especially drastic are the purges of the Red Army in Ukraine. Out of 18,000 officers of the Kiev and Minsk military districts, more than 50% have been "liquidated." From Tukhachevsky down there have been executions and banishments for separatist activities. The most recent purge, as reported by the Associated Press from Moscow (Dec. 20, 1938) is in the leadership of the Ukrainian Komsomol (League of Young Communists). The secret Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which operates in all Ukrainian territories, is especially feared by the Soviet authorities, so much so that its leader, Colonel Eugene Konovaletz, was assassinated in Rotterdam, on May 23, 1938, by a Soviet agent—a fact which the Rotterdam chief of police, Rossbach, himself confirmed. "That something was fundamentally wrong with the situation in the Ukraine," declares an editorial in the New York Herald-Tribune (December 19, 1938), "has been proved by the fact that during the recent months even Stalin's most trusted lieutenants have failed him when sent to the Ukraine, and he has had to dispose of those in the Ukraine in more rapid succession than in any other part of the country..."

In view of all this, it is no wonder that an Associated Press dispatch from Washington, dated September 23, 1938, reports that in the present crisis arising from Hitler's push towards the east, Moscow is concentrating its forces in Ukraine, for it knows that the Ukrainians are only waiting for the opportunity when they can strike for their freedom.

"For six hundred years..." writes H. Hessel Tiltman in his book on "Peasant Europe" (Jarrolds, London, 1934) "they (Ukrainians) have fought to remain Ukrainian. They have preserved their own distinctive language, their own Church, their own clothes, their high state of husbandry. And, at the end of that fight for centuries, as at the beginning, they face the world undaunted alike by poverty, persecution, and repression—demanding the right of 43 millions of people having a common stock and a common life to rule themselves. That demand may be resisted for a year, a generation or a hundred generations. But at the end of that time the Ukrainian people will still be asking their freedom. And there will be neither lasting peace nor the reign of justice in Eastern Europe until that right is granted, and the alien troops withdrawn, leaving the Ukraine to control its own destinies and enrich all the peasant lands by its example."

STEPHEN SHUMELYKO.

NEW YORK CITY.

LECTURE and DISCUSSION: "The Ukrainian Question in the Present Political Situation in Europe" sponsored by the Ukrainian Civic Center on **TEUSDAY, JANUARY 10, 1939** at International Institute, 341 E. 17th St., New York City, at 8 P. M. Admission Free. Speaker Mr. Eugene Lachowitch, co-editor of "Svoboda"

"Obyednanye" Urges Establishment of Free Ukraine

THE executive committee of the United Ukrainian Organizations of America approved the following resolutions at their annual meeting, December 24, 1938, in Jersey City, N. J.:

I. Greetings to the Government of Carpatho-Ukraine

Gathered at their annual meeting, the executive officers of the United Ukrainian Organizations of America, greet His Excellency, Premier Dr. Augustine Voloshyn and the entire Government of Carpatho-Ukraine. They declare that American Ukrainians have full confidence that this government will do everything within its power to assure that the state of Carpatho-Ukraine will remain in the hands of the Ukrainian people and that it will protect the spiritual and material security of the working people of Carpatho-Ukraine.

II. On the Assassination of Colonel Evhen Konovaletz

The assassination of Colonel Evhen Konovaletz, head of the executive council of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, in Rotterdam on May 23, 1938, by a Soviet agent, shocked all Ukrainians and aroused widespread national mourning. The Ukrainian people are aware that the Soviets hoped by this act to shatter the Ukrainian revolutionary movement which exists today in Ukraine under Russia and beyond her frontiers, and which is striving to liberate the Ukrainian people from foreign occupation and create from all occupied Ukrainian territories under Russia, Poland and Rumania, a free and independent Greater Ukraine of more than 45,000,000 people. We are witnesses to the fact that the revolutionary activity in Ukraine under the Soviets is increasing daily, the best proof of which is the recent "purge" of the highest officers of the Ukrainian Comsomols. Even there, the Soviet press reports, are Ukrainian separatists and nationalists who desire to separate Ukraine from Russia. Likewise in the Ukrainian Red Army, high officers in Kiev have been recently arrested on charges of being Ukrainian Nationalists, according to the Soviet press. These two facts demonstrate most clearly that the terrorist acts which the Soviets organize not only in Ukraine but also abroad, as for instance the assassination of Colonel Evhen Konovaletz in 1938 and of General Simon Petlura, head of the Ukrainian National Republic, in Paris in 1926, merely accelerate the liberation of Ukraine.

III. On the Creation of a Greater Ukraine

The creation of Carpatho-Ukraine has focused international attention upon the problem of a Greater Ukraine, uniting the Ukrainian territories now occupied by Russia, Poland and Rumania, into a sovereign independent state. This is a natural phenomenon. Therefore Ukrainians cannot understand why the clear and just question of a Greater Ukraine is identified constantly with the plans of Germany and her "Drang nach Osten." The Ukrainians in America from the time they first immigrated to this country have always maintained their interest in all the Ukrainian lands and energetically supported the ideal of a free Ukraine. As they did from the start, the Ukrainians in America today support their 45,000,000 kinsmen in their struggle to obtain self-determination. They believe so firmly in the necessity of a sovereign Ukrainian state uniting all the Ukrainian lands that they will never relinquish this ideal. The Ukrainians in America have and will continue to support materially the Ukrainian independence movement. They will likewise seek to obtain political support for their kins-

men from the United States and those countries which could aid Ukraine and would not demand in exchange that Ukraine become a vassal state. It must be emphasized that the Ukrainian people aspire to an independent state dominated by no nation.

IV. Ukraine and Democracy

Many ardent but ill-advised adversaries of Nazism and Fascism make the charge that the Ukrainian independence movement is inspired by Germany and is only the result of her machinations and calculations. This groundless charge is often made in so-called defense of democracy. Its only result is that it cloaks the Nazi government with the toga of defender of oppressed peoples and champion of the right of self-determination for these peoples. This function should belong to the democracies. Such unwise propaganda is designed against Nazism and Fascism but in reality becomes a boomerang against democracies and spreads among Ukrainians and other oppressed peoples disbelief in democracy and generally weakens the prestige of the democratic powers. In the final analysis these powers must be based on justice for all creeds, peoples and classes. The best guarantee against the possibility of the spread of fascist ideas among the Ukrainian people would be a clear and unequivocal recognition by the democratic powers of their full right to self-determination in all their ethnographic territories.

V. On Western Ukraine (Under Poland)

Ukrainians in America never believed that an agreement could be reached between Poland and the 7,500,000 Ukrainians in Western Ukraine or even that normalization of Polish-Ukrainian relations could succeed. The reason is that the history of Polish-Ukrainian relations shows that Poland never wished to achieve such normalization. Poland always sought, as she seeks today, to destroy the Ukrainian church, culture and nationality. In the Polish Sejm today there has not been found even a single Polish deputy who would support the Ukrainian demands for autonomy. The Polish government opposed and opposes Ukrainian autonomy because it does not desire the development of Ukrainian life but rather its destruction. It stands for violation of international treaties, barbaric pacifications of the Ukrainian people, wreckage and confiscation of Ukrainian churches, introduction of the Polish language into the Ukrainian church, liquidation of Ukrainian schools, cooperatives and economic and social organizations, and even the prohibition of memorial ceremonies over the graves of Ukrainian war dead. For these reasons, the Ukrainians cannot legally ameliorate their own condition because Poland herself has closed the door. It is useless for them to dupe themselves any longer about the possibility of obtaining autonomy from Poland. The situation must be faced realistically; no agreement can be reached with Poland, therefore, the Ukrainians must fight and forcibly take their lands out of the hands of Poland. Poland is leading herself into decline. It is self-evident that the coming partition of Poland will be the logical consequence of her irresponsible policy toward Ukrainians and other non-Poles within her borders.

(Signed)

United Ukrainian Organizations of America

Emil Revyuk, President

Dr. Luke Myshuha, Secretary.

Join the Ukrainian National Association

More Self-Determination

UKRAINIANS' AIMSEXPLAINED BY EDITOR

Dr. Luke Myshuha—editor of Svoboda, recently returned from Europe where he conferred with British, Czech and Carpatho-Ukrainian officials—describes the Ukrainian liberation movement in the following interview with him by a representative of the United Press.

NEW YORK, Dec. 22 — (Copyright, U.P.).—The Ukrainian question has become a world problem. The threat of war has focused international attention on the struggle of more than 45,000,000 Ukrainians in Russia, Poland and Rumania for independence.

Since the war the Ukrainian people have reminded the world powers that their division was forced by the Bolsheviks on one hand and the Allies on the other. As a result the Ukrainian Republic established in 1917 was destroyed.

Ukrainians in America protested as far back as 1919, sending a special delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference. Since then they have dispatched thousands of telegrams and memoranda to the great powers and the League of Nations, demanding the right of Ukrainian self-determination.

During most of this period the world did not even know of the existence of Adolf Hitler. Today when newspapers speak of the Ukrainian liberation movement as a creation of Hitler, little mention is made of the long struggle of the Ukrainians themselves for freedom.

YOUTH and THE U.N.A.

In a previous column it was brought out that the most serious problem that the Ukrainian National Association has to ponder over, is the one involving its younger members.

At the present time, there are about 30 U.N.A. youth branches in existence. That there are so many youth branches is encouraging... but how many of them are active? How many of them can boast of having held successful meetings every month? A branch is usually organized by some ambitious person; there is much enthusiasm among the members; several meetings are held; an affair or two is sponsored; much future activity is contemplated. In time, however, a member says he is too busy to attend meetings because he is attending night school; another excuses himself from meetings because he works nights; a third says he is busy doing something, and on it goes. And the result is, that the branch becomes inactive.

The U.N.A. has tried to interest its youth in the organization on countless occasions, and it is only lately meeting with some degree of success. This is probably due to the fact that it is finally being understood that the U.N.A. is not interesting itself in the youth for the sole purpose of obtaining new members. The interest is due to several more important reasons... the most outstanding being that it desires to safeguard their future, and can only do so when its younger members show enough interest in the organization to prepare themselves for the responsibility of managing it, when the proper time comes.

Next week's column will deal with the question: "How to create interest among the members of a U.N.A. youth branch."

ELIZABETH, N. J.

GALA NEW YEAR'S EVE DANCE sponsored by the Ukrainian National Home and the Ukrainian Social Club at Ukrainian Auditorium, 214-6 Fulton St., Elizabeth, N. J., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1938. Commencing 8 P. M. Admission 40 c. Committee Reserves All Rights. Don't miss this Gala Celebration!

Ukrainian Republic Proclaimed in 1917

Ukrainians proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic at Kiev above the ruins of Czarist Russia in 1917. Ukrainians also proclaimed the Western Ukrainian Republic in Lviv in 1918 upon the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. These two republics united in 1919, and in their defence thousands of Ukrainians died. The Kiev Republic was crushed by the Bolsheviks and the Czarist Russians of Denikin who were aided by the Allies. The Lviv Republic was destroyed by the Poles, likewise supported by the Allies.

But the Ukrainian ideal of an independent sovereign state was not destroyed.

Today thousands of Ukrainian youths are imprisoned in Soviet, Polish and Rumanian jails, charged with fighting for this ideal. Many write of Ukraine only as a pawn to further Hitler's ambitions. They guess what Hitler thinks of Ukraine. But few determine what the Ukrainian people themselves and their representatives proclaim and desire.

Sudeten Example Stirs Ukrainians

It is impossible for Ukrainians to understand why 3,500,000 Sudeten Germans can be united with Germany while 35,000,000 Ukrainians under Russia, 7,500,000 under Poland and 1,500,000 under Rumania must remain separated. And they cannot understand how Poland can seize Teschen with its some 80,000 Poles from Czechoslovakia on ethnographic principles and deny the millions of Ukrainians even the right to have their own university in Lviv.

Poland rejected the Ukrainian autonomy bill without discussion and the Ukrainian people despair of ever settling their problem peacefully with the Polish state.

They cannot look on without reaction when the Polish Government confiscates and destroys Ukrainian churches and in those remaining forces them to pray in Polish. No Hitler or German agents are needed in western Ukraine to create hatred; the Polish Government does this well enough alone.

As for Russia, there is no need to explain the revulsion of the Ukrainian people for the Moscow occupants after 5,000,000 Ukrainians died of starvation in 1932-33. For years we have read that all was quiet in eastern Ukraine under Russia. At the same time at every important party and political congress the Communists denounce the Ukraine revolutionaries who are struggling for the liberation of Ukraine. Similarly the many trials and "purgings" bely the statement that there is no revolutionary unrest in eastern Ukraine.

Rumania Bans Ukrainian Schools

The Ukrainian people in Rumania (in the territories of Bukovina and Bessarabia) are without Ukrainian schools or Ukrainian newspapers and even Ukrainian amateur theatricals are forbidden on the ground that they are against the state.

The young Ukrainian generation, fighting for the liberation of Ukraine, was brought up in the spirit of the Ukrainian intellectual leaders, Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko, who were truly democratic in their writings and deeds.

The Ukrainian people want to free themselves of Russia, Poland and Rumania. They want to determine their own destiny.

Today we have a small territory where more than 500,000 Ukrainians have autonomy—Carpatho-Ukraine in the federated Czechoslovakian Republic. This tiny segment of Ukraine is living proof of how the Ukrainian question can be solved peacefully.

(The Montreal Daily Star, December 22, 1938)