

JOHN KOLASKY

PROPHETS & PROLETARIANS

Documents on the History of
the Rise and Decline of Ukrainian
Communism in Canada



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Ukrainian pro-communist organizations have been among the largest and most influential of the "mass organizations" associated with the Communist Party of Canada. They included the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, the Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine, the Workers' Benevolent Association, and the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians.

This book includes more than 400 of the most pertinent documents relating to the origin, growth and decline of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations. Covering a period of more than 80 years, the documents deal with the origins of Ukrainian communism in Canada, organizational efforts and internal problems, attempts to influence government policy, changing relations with the Soviet Union, conflict with Ukrainian nationalists, and other salient issues. Documents translated by the editor appear in English for the first time. Taken together, these documents offer the most complete picture ever presented of an important component of the Canadian and international communist movement.

PART A

The Roots of Ukrainian Communism, 1904–18

Prophets and Proletarians

*Documents on the History of the Rise and Decline
of Ukrainian Communism in Canada*

**Compiled, Edited and Translated by
John Kolasky**

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Preface

The history of communism in Canada includes the history of the radical and socialist organizations which were the forerunners of the Communist Party of Canada and the ethnic mass organizations through which the party worked. Among the latter the largest and most important were the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, the Workers' Benevolent Association, the Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine and the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians.

Consequently, documents depicting the history of Ukrainian communism in Canada reflect the origin, ideology, activities, relationships, role, growth and subsequent decline of these organizations.

In spite of the fact that some documents have been lost or destroyed and others, such as those in the archives of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations and the Communist Party of Canada, are not available to researchers, the collection presents a fairly complete picture of the many aspects of the life and activities of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations in Canada. Lacking are documents that would throw more light on the inner relationships with the Communist Party of Canada and the authorities in the USSR since the Second World War. There are probably materials in the party archives on the first; however, it is hardly likely that there are many records regarding the inner relations with the USSR. Contacts are generally made not by correspondence but personally by the leaders with the Soviet Embassy, through special Soviet emissaries or by direct contact with Soviet authorities in the USSR. It is hardly likely that any minutes or notes of these encounters are made by the Ukrainian communist leaders.

Some difficulty was experienced in the translation. Archaic words and localisms were often used, especially in articles published in the earlier period. Many of the authors were workers with little schooling. They often used words that did not convey the intended meaning. Sometimes ideas were not clearly expressed and sentences were not grammatically coherent.

In transliteration a modified Library of Congress system was used. However, where there was a generally accepted transliteration of a place or

surname, it was used.

Some documents in the collection originated as internal organizational bulletins published in Ukrainian or English. Often information on the date, place of publication and publisher was not provided.

Titles of articles and documents are those used in the original text except in cases where they were shortened or where a title had to be provided, as in the case of excerpts from longer documents.

Those documents that initially appeared in English have been reproduced in their original form, including sentence structure, grammar, punctuation and spelling. Only the article "the" was deleted before the name "Ukraine." Words and sentences in bolder type in the texts appeared in the original.

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Abbreviations

ACU	Association of Canadian Ukrainians
AUC	Association of Ukrainian Canadians
AUUC	Association of United Ukrainian Canadians
CC	Central Committee
CEC	Central Executive Committee
CI	Comintern, Communist International
CLDL	Canadian Labour Defence League
CPC	Communist Party of Canada
CSC	Central School Committee
CUYF	Canadian Ukrainian Youth Federation
DEC	District Executive Committee
FUL	Farmers' Unity League
FUSD	Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats (in Canada)
MWUC	Mine Workers Union of Canada
NC	National Committee

NEC	National Executive Committee
NKVD	People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (Soviet secret police)
PAO	Provincial Archives of Ontario
SDPC	Social Democratic Party of Canada
SPC	Socialist Party of Canada
SR	Socialist Revolutionary
TODOVYRNAZU	Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine
UAAF	Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland
UCC	Ukrainian Canadian Committee
ULFMO	Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Mass Organizations
ULFTA	Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association
ULT	Ukrainian Labour Temple
ULTA	Ukrainian Labour Temple Association
UMWA	United Mine Workers of America
UN	United Nations
UNF	Ukrainian National Federation
UNH	Ukrainian National Home
UPA	Ukrainian Insurgent Army
URV	<i>Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti [Visty]</i> (Ukrainian Labour News)
USDP	Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (of Canada)

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WBA Workers' Benevolent Association

WPC Workers' Party of Canada

Introduction

The present volume brings together a selection of almost four hundred newspaper articles and editorials, letters, and excerpts from almanacs, memoirs and conference and convention reports that document the history of the Ukrainian communist movement in Canada. Some of the extracts and documents are from convention reports of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC) and the Workers' Benevolent Association (WBA) and inner organizational communiques, bulletins and other materials not available in any accessible archives. These documents and extracts outline the general history and highlight the important, the significant and the outstanding in the history of Ukrainian communism in Canada. The history of this movement is, in reality, the history of the Ukrainian left-wing mass organizations, their philosophy, development, mode of operation, activities and relationship to Canadian society, to the communist party and to the USSR. Since these associations supported the party, were led and controlled by party members and formed a base for the party, they are, consequently, referred to as Ukrainian pro-communist organizations and the Ukrainian pro-communist movement. The compiler of this collection was associated with and actively participated in the Ukrainian pro-communist movement since his early youth, was acquainted with most of the top leaders and worked with many of them for over thirty years.

The movement, which was especially influential during the four decades between 1918 and 1956, traces its roots to the first decade of the century. Initially most Ukrainians, who had been immigrating to Canada since 1891, had settled on homesteads in the three Prairie provinces. Although many Ukrainian homesteaders had been obliged to work for wages before turning to farming, it was only during the decade prior to World War One that a Ukrainian-Canadian proletariat emerged. The Canadian railroad construction

boom and the attendant expansion of the mining and forestry industries changed the complexion of Ukrainian immigration after 1905. The demand for cheap labour generated by these industries meant that almost 60 per cent of the Ukrainian males who arrived in Canada between 1906 and 1914 came as labourers rather than agriculturalists. Obligated to move from one hazardous and poorly paid seasonal job to another, and sometimes from one end of the country to the other, many of these young, single men found the promise of a better future in socialism.

Societies which included socialists in their ranks were established in Winnipeg in 1899 and in Lethbridge in 1904, but historians usually identify *Volia* (Freedom), established on 16 June 1907 by twenty-six men who had assembled near the Brechin coal mine on the outskirts of Nanaimo, British Columbia, as the first Ukrainian socialist society in Canada. After listening to a number of speakers, members of the new society took up a collection to purchase books and newspaper subscriptions, organized a reading club and decided to affiliate with the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC), the only political organization of its kind in the country at the turn of the century. Three months later a second Ukrainian branch of the SPC was organized in Winnipeg, while on 15 November 1907 the first issue of *Chervonyi Prapor* (The Red Flag), a socialist newspaper, was published in that city. The paper, which was dedicated to the task of "creating among Ukrainians in Canada cadres of socialist fighters for a new socio-economic order, for a better way of life for all people, a way of life which mankind cannot realize under the capitalist system," collapsed in the summer of 1908, a casualty of the recession of 1907-08. A fresh attempt to mobilize Ukrainian workers was launched in May 1909 when *Robochyi Narod* (The Working People) began to appear in Winnipeg. This time the effort to disseminate socialist ideas was initiated under more propitious circumstances. In November 1909 delegates representing eleven Ukrainian socialist societies in Canada assembled in Winnipeg and announced the formation of the Federation of Ukrainian Social Democrats (FUSD). During the ensuing decade, the FUSD (which was renamed the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party [USDP] in January 1914) concentrated on educating Ukrainian immigrant workers. Socialist activists tried to persuade Ukrainian workers, who were often illiterate, that the social order was not a divine creation but the work of men and that it could be changed and improved by men like themselves. To this end they organized literacy classes, established libraries, sponsored lectures, popularized workers' songs and put on plays.

Prior to 1912 the Ukrainian socialist movement was confined to western Canada. Total membership, which was distributed among some 15 branches, rarely surpassed 350. Winnipeg, the institutional centre of the movement and the city with the largest concentration of Ukrainians in Canada, always had a branch of the FUSD/USDP. Elsewhere in Manitoba and Saskatchewan branches appeared and disappeared at regular intervals and only those in

Regina and Moose Jaw enjoyed a degree of continuity. The indisputable centre of Ukrainian socialist activity during these years was in the coal-mining towns of the Crow's Nest Pass on both sides of the Alberta/British Columbia boundary. In 1912 the movement began to expand into eastern Canada. Branches were organized in large urban centres like Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto; in the hard-rock mining, pulp and paper processing, and steel towns of northern Ontario; and finally, during the war, in the smaller industrial centres of southern Ontario. By February 1915, 10 of 28 branches and 320 of 820 USDP members were located east of the Manitoba/Ontario boundary. A second socialist weekly, *Svidoma Syls/Robotnyche Slovo* (Conscious Strength/The Workers' Word), was even launched in Toronto (1915–17) to propagate socialist ideas, although it soon collapsed. Shortly before it was outlawed in the fall of 1918, 21 of 54 branches and 850 of 1,770 members of the USDP were located in Ontario and Quebec. Many eastern branches, especially those in Toronto, Hamilton, Welland and Montreal, were among the largest and most active in Canada.

The leaders of the Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada—Myroslav Stechishin and Paul Crath (Pavlo Krat), who left the movement in 1912 and 1916 respectively, and their successors, Matthew Popovich, John Navis (Ivan Navizivsky), Ivan Hnyda, Ivan Stefanitsky and Danylo Lobay—subscribed to the credo of European Social Democracy and the Second International. While calling for the abolition of private property in the means of production, Ukrainian socialists also sought to attain partial reforms within the capitalist system. They urged skilled workers to join trade unions and advised labourers to enroll in industrial unions like the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA); they encouraged participation in electoral politics; and they promoted reforms like the eight-hour day, higher wages, improved working conditions, abolition of child labour, old age and disability insurance and universal suffrage. Such policies soon brought the executive of the FUSD into conflict with the doctrinaire leaders of the SPC, who refused to join the Second International and scorned electioneering, trade unionism and reformism as palliatives and distractions that diverted the working class from the true cause of revolution—the overthrow of capitalism. Consequently, on 24 July 1910, the Winnipeg-based leadership of the FUSD and several North Winnipeg ethnic branches of the SPC severed their relations with the party and called for the creation of the Social Democratic Party of Canada (SDPC), an objective that was realized in 1911. For the next seven years the FUSD/USDP remained part of the loosely federated SDPC. Although the break with the SPC and the formation of the SDPC was accompanied by a certain amount of turmoil within the ranks of the Ukrainian socialist movement, the conflict was of brief duration. Ukrainian socialists in Alberta and British Columbia, who were on amicable terms with several pragmatic SPC leaders, refused to follow the Winnipeg-based

executive, constituted themselves as the Federation of Ukrainian Socialists (FUS), and published their own weekly, *Nova Hromada* (The New Community), for eighteen months in 1911–12, before capitulating and returning to the Social Democratic fold in 1913.

During the pre-war years Ukrainian socialists in Canada maintained fraternal ties with members of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Union (*Spilka*) and the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party of Galicia and Bukovyna. When prominent members of both parties, who assumed that Austrian victory and Russian defeat would have favourable cultural and political repercussions for the Ukrainian people, failed to oppose the Austrian war effort, relations soured. Beginning in 1915 *Robochyi Narod* and the USDP increasingly fell under the spell of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, who not only condemned the war, but also raised the issue of “national self-determination” for Ukraine (albeit in ambivalent terms), advocated workers’ control of the factories and called for an immediate redistribution of land among the peasantry. Although the USDP endorsed the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers’ Party and the Central Rada in Kiev during the first months of the revolution, on 22 December 1917 *Robochyi Narod* declared in favour of the Bolsheviks, citing the Central Rada’s failure to endorse peasant demands for an immediate redistribution of land and its refusal to allow pro-Bolshevik troops on the western front to cross Ukrainian territory in order to confront General Kaledin’s armies. Subsequent events—the Rada’s separate peace treaty with the Central Powers, the puppet regime of Hetman Skoropadsky and Petliura’s last-ditch effort to save the Ukrainian National Republic through an alliance with Poland—widened the breach between the leaders of the socialist movement and opponents of the Soviet regime who advocated independent Ukrainian statehood. In the meantime *Robochyi Narod*’s militant opposition to the war and its increasingly vociferous pro-Bolshevik pronouncements fanned fears of an international Bolshevik conspiracy in Canadian government circles. As a result, on 28 September 1918, the USDP and the SDPC were among fourteen radical organizations outlawed by the federal government. *Robochyi Narod* suffered the same fate, while all newspapers published in “enemy alien” languages were suspended until the conclusion of war. As in 1914–15, when entire USDP branches had been decimated by internment, a number of party activists were arrested, interned and deported, at least two of them perishing in the process.

Coercion and repression failed to break the momentum that had propelled the Ukrainian socialist movement since 1917. During the inter-war years the men who had led the movement during the last years of the world war, and who now identified themselves as communists, presided over the largest, most diversified and best organized network of cultural-educational, benevolent and homeland-aid associations in the Ukrainian Canadian community. Although the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians remained in the anti-communist camp,

not one of their associations—the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics, the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (allied with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church), the Ukrainian National Federation and the monarchist United Hetman Organization—could rival the pro-communist associations in terms of membership, dedicated leadership, discipline and the range of services and activities offered.

The first and most important of these associations had originated prior to the suppression of the USDP. In March 1918 the editors of *Robochyi Narod* and members of the Winnipeg branch had launched a nation-wide fund-raising campaign to erect a Ukrainian labour temple—a large hall with office space and a 1000 seat auditorium in which the party's national conventions could be held. Since the USDP, a political party, could not hold title to real estate, a cultural-educational organization—the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (ULTA)—was incorporated in May 1918. After the suppression of the USDP in September the ULTA assumed the party's role as promoter and disseminator of Marxist ideology and pro-Soviet sentiments among Ukrainian Canadians. During 1919 Ukrainian Labour Temple circles appeared in most urban and frontier centres where the USDP had been active. At the first general meeting of the ULTA in January 1920 it was decided to organize branches of the ULTA all across Canada. While most of the branches that appeared during the next few years were organized by former members or sympathizers of the USDP, a number of independent cultural-educational societies (*prosvity*), which had had no ties with the socialist movement, also affiliated with the ULTA, and branches organized by ULTA emissaries appeared in isolated rural and frontier regions previously without any organized cultural activity. By 1924, when the association obtained a national charter, there were enough rural branches to warrant a change of name: the ULTA became the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA).

Prior to 1922 the ULTA, much like the USDP, was almost exclusively the preserve of adult males. This changed in 1922 when the third convention of the ULTA resolved to organize women's sections and to establish "workers' children's schools" (*robotnychi ditochi shkoly*) in all centres of ULTA activity. Two years later the latter, which were established to combat the influence of church- and nationalist-sponsored Ukrainian evening schools (*ridni shkoly*), were augmented by the introduction of youth sections of the ULFTA. To train teachers and to arm local activists "with the knowledge of Marxism and Leninist teachings for the struggle against the enemies of the working class" the ULFTA sponsored five Higher Educational Courses of up to six months' duration between 1925 and 1938. The one hundred-odd graduates of the courses, who were dispatched to ULFTA branches in all parts of Canada, constituted the only salaried functionaries at the local level. They taught childrens' school classes on weekends and in the evenings; organized and led choirs, orchestras and drama circles; assumed responsibility for adult education

programmes ranging from lectures on topical issues to speakers', organizers' and secretaries' courses; and they were charged with preserving the ideological purity of the ULFTA rank-and-file. By February 1929, the fruits of their labour were clearly visible. The ULFTA, which numbered 88 general branches (2,651 members), 52 women's branches (1,330 members), 40 youth branches (1,312 members) and 7 affiliated non-member societies (190 members), boasted 50 workers' childrens' schools (2,204 pupils), 56 drama and choral societies, 76 mandolin orchestras, 60 branch libraries (13,327 volumes), and 1 student residence. The association held title to 63 labour temple halls and its assets were valued at almost \$700,000. A decade later, on the eve of World War Two, the ULFTA had 113 labour temples, 201 branches and 10,000 members.

Two other "mass organizations," a number of co-operative enterprises and four periodicals allowed ULFTA leaders to extend their influence to a much broader segment of the Ukrainian Canadian population. In 1922 the Workers' Benevolent Association (WBA) was established to provide Ukrainian workers with accident and sickness insurance and death benefits. By 1929, when it had 111 branches and 7,400 members, the WBA also ran an orphanage and a workers' retirement home on the outskirts of Winnipeg. Although membership declined between 1929 and 1936, the WBA survived the depression and proved to be one of the most resilient institutions in the pro-communist camp. Co-operative enterprises—grocery stores, bakeries, dairies and coal and wood yards—organized in Winnipeg, Fort William and several mining towns in northern Ontario also proved to be durable institutions.

Attempts to secure the adherence of the new wave of Ukrainian immigrants, who began to arrive in large numbers in 1924, were first made in 1926, when a network of information bureaus was established in labour temples in eight urban centres stretching from Montreal to Edmonton. A more ambitious effort to win the allegiance of the newcomers was inaugurated in 1931 with the formation of the Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine (TODOVYRNAZU). Formally committed to rendering material and moral assistance to Ukrainian victims of political repression in Galicia, Bukovyna and Carpatho-Ukraine, the Association also promoted and disseminated communist ideas and slogans. By the fall of 1932 TODOVYRNAZU had 87 branches and 6,675 members, over 50 per cent of them recent immigrants and almost 10 per cent former members of anti-communist societies. By the fall of 1939, when it was dissolved shortly after the "liberation" of Western Ukraine by the Red Army, membership had dropped to 4,500.

The first pro-communist newspaper, *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* (Ukrainian Labour News), the weekly that succeeded *Robochyi Narod*, began to appear on 22 March 1919. In 1935 it became the only Ukrainian daily newspaper in Canada. A semi-monthly women's journal (1923–37), a monthly journal for

youth (1927–37), and a weekly dedicated to farm issues (1925–40) were also published during the inter-war years. In 1929 the four periodicals had a combined circulation of just under 26,000.

Privation, Anglo-Saxon chauvinism and a sense of cultural isolation drove many Ukrainian immigrants into the pro-communist camp. They were attracted by the sense of purpose and the feeling of personal dignity that membership in the movement provided. Unlike other Ukrainian Canadian associations, the ULFTA condemned social injustices, urged the immigrants to defend their rights, and seemed to offer a simple, logical explanation and a plausible solution for the unhappy state of affairs in Canada. By pointing to the USSR, where workers and peasants were supposed to have taken power, ended exploitation, abolished unemployment and built a society destined to provide for the needs of all its inhabitants, the association's leaders seemed to substantiate their claims. These were made all the more appealing by the Soviet policy of "Ukrainization" during the 1920s and by the widespread belief that Ukraine was an "equal among equals," a nation in the vanguard of humanity's march toward a new and just social order. As only the most prominent and trusted ULFTA leaders had an opportunity to visit the land of their dreams during these years, the movement flourished, sustained by national pride and the promise of a "workers' paradise."

On the eve of the Second World War branches of pro-communist mass organizations were scattered all across Canada—from Sydney, Nova Scotia, on the east coast to Vancouver and Prince Rupert, British Columbia, on the west coast, and from Athabasca and Edmonton in the northwest to Windsor in the southeast. Every major urban centre populated by Ukrainians had at least one branch of the ULFTA, WBA and TODOVYRNAZU, although as many as four or five branches of each usually existed in Greater Winnipeg and Toronto. WBA and TODOVYRNAZU branches were located almost exclusively in urban centres and frontier towns; there were virtually no rural branches of either association. While 40 per cent of ULFTA branches were located in urban areas, 33 per cent in mining and pulp and paper processing towns, and about 25 per cent in rural areas in 1929, by 1940 the number of rural ULFTA branches had grown substantially, especially in the province of Alberta, where there were some thirty rural ULFTA halls. Indeed, with about 20 per cent of all ULFTA, WBA and TODOVYRNAZU branches by 1940, Alberta stood second to Ontario (where 30–40 per cent of the branches were to be found throughout the inter-war years) as a centre of pro-communist activity.

Two factors in particular were responsible for the strength of pro-communist mass organizations in rural Alberta. First, many local farmers had worked in the mines of southwestern Alberta, where they had been exposed to socialist and communist ideas. Second, prior to the 1920s Ukrainian cultural and associational life in rural Alberta had been relatively stagnant. Because the provincial administration had been reluctant to employ bilingual

Ukrainian-English public school teachers, who were usually the only persons able to organize and run reading clubs, drama circles and community halls (*narodni domy*) in Ukrainian rural settlements, Alberta, unlike Manitoba and Saskatchewan, had comparatively few of these local cultural-educational institutions before 1920. The presence of a very large bloc of settlers from Bukovyna, where the Ukrainian national movement had made fewer inroads prior to 1914 than it had in Galicia, also contributed to the lack of organized cultural activity in rural Alberta, as did the presence of Russian Orthodox clergy among the Bukovynians. As a result, the ULFTA was able to capitalize on this state of affairs during the late 1920s and 1930s by filling the vacuum with its teachers and the cultural-educational societies and activities they organized.

The men who led the ULFTA during the inter-war years—Popovich, Navis, Lobay, Matthew Shatulsky, John Boychuk and many others—were active members of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) from its inception. Boychuk had been among those arrested in Toronto in February 1919 for trying to organize an International Workers' party, a precursor of the CPC. Although it is not clear whether any Ukrainians were present at the clandestine founding congress of the CPC, held on the outskirts of Guelph, Ontario, in May 1921, several prominent party founders of British and Jewish origin had met regularly in Toronto for several months prior to the congress. When the CPC decided to establish a legal party organization, the ULTA sent ten delegates led by Popovich, Navis and Boychuk to the December 1921 founding conference of the Workers' Party of Canada (WPC, formally renamed Communist Party of Canada in 1924). At the WPC's first convention in 1922, Boychuk, Popovich and Navis were elected to the party's central committee, the ULTA was recognized as one of the party's "language federations" and *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* became an official organ of the WPC.

The WPC/CPC was able to control the ULFTA and other Ukrainian pro-communist mass organizations by forming "fractions" composed of party members at the local, district, provincial and national levels of each association. Before each ULFTA convention CPC members held their own secret fraction meetings at which they set the agenda and the general line to be followed by the convention. The mass organizations, especially the ULFTA, provided the party with a source of membership, contributed a large share of the funds required for carrying on CPC work and opened their buildings and facilities to the CPC and its subsidiary organizations. ULFTA members also participated in CPC mass meetings, demonstrations and electoral campaigns. In 1926, for example, ULFTA members in Winnipeg's North End played a decisive role in making Wasyl (William) Kolisnyk, a former USDP organizer and a ULFTA activist, the first Communist elected to public office in North America, when they elected him to city council. A decade later they helped

make James Litterick, a Scottish immigrant, Canada's first Communist MLA. The important role of ULFTA members in the CPC was also reflected in the party's membership statistics. By 1929-30, the 900-1000 Ukrainian members of the CPC represented about 33 per cent of the party's 2,500-3,000 members. Together with Finns and Jews, Ukrainians comprised up to 95 per cent of the CPC rank-and-file in 1930. Although the percentage of Ukrainians in the CPC dropped during the 1930s, as native-born Canadians, British immigrants and new ethnic minorities swelled the party's ranks to 15,000, Ukrainians continued to represent an important element within the CPC. Talented and able ULFTA/CPC workers were able to rise within the party during these years by attending special CPC-sponsored political courses and by studying at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Ukraine or at the Lenin School in Moscow. Ukrainian representatives on the party's central committee, always outnumbered by Anglo-Saxons, continued to command respect by virtue of the large mass organizations they led.

ULFTA leaders, like all members of the CPC, were obliged to adhere to the convoluted directives of the Third [Communist] International (Comintern), although prior to the mid-1930s they proved to be recalcitrant followers. The unwillingness of Ukrainian-Canadian communists to follow Comintern directives first manifested itself in the 1920s. In 1924 the Comintern undertook to discipline its member parties under the slogan of "bolshevization." Instructions issued at the Fifth Comintern Congress stated that every Communist party was to be "a centralized party permitting neither factions, nor tendencies, nor groupings—a monolithic party cast in a single block." In Canada implementation of this directive entailed the abolition of Ukrainian, Finnish and the ephemeral Jewish "language federations" within the party and emphasis on English as the common language. Henceforth Ukrainians who wished to belong to the CPC were obliged to join ethnically integrated factory or street cells. Although *de facto* "language" cells continued to exist in many factories and working-class neighbourhoods, the new party structure resulted in much confusion and dissatisfaction when Ukrainians could not communicate with other cell members. Ukrainian party members were also criticized for holding separate caucuses prior to CPC conventions to select their Central Committee representatives. Nevertheless, such caucuses continued to meet until direct intervention by the Comintern in 1930.

In 1928 the Comintern abandoned the "United Front" tactic of co-operation with non-communist labour organizations and Social Democratic parties. The pursuit of reforms which satisfied the immediate needs of the working class was rejected and the Comintern called for revolutionary struggle against capitalism and Social Democracy—"the last reserve of the old order." The CPC's efforts to mobilize the ULFTA for an open struggle against capitalism met with opposition from the association's leaders, including Popovich and Navis. Fearing arrest, deportation and the confiscation of their vast property

holdings—measures urged upon the government by their enemies—ULFTA leaders resisted the new Comintern policy of “class against class”: they publicly denied any connection with the CPC, stressed the association’s cultural-educational nature, made public displays of their loyalty to Canada, refused their halls for party meetings and rallies and displayed little enthusiasm for the CPC-led Worker’s Unity League (WUL) and Lumber & Agricultural Workers’ Industrial Union (L&AWIU). When tensions between the CPC’s Anglo-Saxon leaders and their Ukrainian counterparts became acute the Comintern intervened. Although CPC leaders were reprimanded for failing to suppress anti-Ukrainian sentiment in the party, the ULFTA’s leaders were ordered to submit to party leadership, cautioned against allowing their property interests to obstruct militant class struggle and advised to substitute “a real revolutionary programme” for their “bourgeois cultural activities.” Ultimately widespread unemployment brought on by the Depression persuaded ULFTA leaders to accept the Comintern’s line and paved the way for Ukrainian participation in CPC-led unions, demonstrations and strikes. By July 1931 the ULFTA endorsed a “turn to the path of general revolutionary class struggle.” Several months later Popovich and Boychuk were among eight prominent CPC leaders sentenced to five years’ imprisonment for membership in an “unlawful association” and “seditious conspiracy.” Numerous rank-and-file members were harassed and arrested and a few were deported during the years that followed.

If most ULFTA leaders came to accept the “class against class” tactic in Canada, a minority was increasingly troubled by acts perpetrated under this and similar slogans in the USSR and particularly in Soviet Ukraine. The assault on the peasantry, the excesses of collectivization, the man-made famine of 1932–3 in Ukraine, the arrest and execution of Ukrainian intellectuals, the suicide of prominent Ukrainian communist writers and commissars and the arrest and disappearance of two former ULFTA leaders, Irchan and Sembay, living in Soviet Ukraine, all raised serious doubts about the nature of Soviet rule. In 1932 a small group of CPC and ULFTA activists in Toronto accepted Trotsky’s critique of the USSR and were promptly expelled from both organizations. Three years later Danylo Lobay, an editor of *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* from its inception, and Toma Kobzey, a former member of the CPC’s Politbureau, broke with the CPC and the ULFTA when the latter rejected an open discussion of developments in Soviet Ukraine. While both groups remained committed to the construction of a Soviet Ukraine, established workers’ associations and published newspapers, neither group was able to break the momentum that the ULFTA and the CPC had acquired as a result of the Depression and the impending menace of fascism.

The triumph of Nazism in Germany, with its territorial ambitions and aggressive foreign policy, prompted the Comintern to shift its tactics once again. In 1935 communist parties in the west were advised to put the revolutionary struggle against capitalism, bourgeois democracy and their

socialist accomplices on hold by forming a "Popular Front" with socialists and liberals against fascism. Accordingly ULFTA leaders changed the name of *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* to *Narodna Hazeta* (The People's Gazette) in 1937; made overtures to the liberal and democratic Ukrainian Self-Reliance League; stepped up their campaign against the "fascist" Ukrainian National Federation, which maintained informal contacts with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Europe; and volunteered for service on the Loyalist republican side in the Spanish Civil War. Following the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact of August 1939 the Comintern again changed its line. The distinction between bourgeois democracies and fascist dictatorships became blurred once again and for the next two years the Allied war effort was condemned as "unjust, reactionary and imperialist." Although the Ukrainian pro-communist press did not openly call for Canadian withdrawal from the war, as did the CPC's English-language press, editorials in *Narodna Hazeta* suggested that the war would intensify rather than destroy fascism. As a result, on 4 June 1940 the CPC and a number of pro-communist organizations including the ULFTA were outlawed, their property seized by the government, and 98 CPC leaders, 33 Ukrainians among them, interned (1940-2). A chapter in the history of Ukrainian Canadian pro-communist organizations had come to an end.

Hitler's decision to invade the USSR in June 1941 transformed the fortunes of Ukrainian-Canadian pro-communist organizations dramatically. Almost overnight the Soviet Union was recast as Canada's "gallant ally" and its sympathizers endowed with an aura of martyrdom. As their commitment to the war effort now equalled that of the most patriotic English-speaking Canadians, Ukrainian pro-communist leaders were able to rub shoulders with many prominent intellectuals and civil libertarians and use these contacts to regain their legal status and most of their property. During July-August 1941 those leaders of the banned ULFTA who had not been interned established the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland and began to publish *Ukrainske Zhyttia* (Ukrainian Life), a weekly, in Toronto. At its first convention in June 1942, the new body changed its name to the Association of Canadian Ukrainians (ACU), and by 1943, when the CPC re-emerged as the Labour Progressive Party (LPP), the ACU was publishing a second weekly, *Ukrainske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word), in Winnipeg. Even more important was the fact that for the remainder of the war the ACU and its press were able to slander all Ukrainian nationalists as "Nazi hirelings," attract a handful of prominent nationalists into their camp and create the impression that they were the legitimate spokesmen of Ukrainian Canadians.

When the second convention of the ACU met in Winnipeg on 12 January 1946 the Ukrainian-Canadian pro-communist movement was at its zenith. For the first time a convention of the pro-communist movement hosted Soviet diplomats, on this occasion representatives of the Ukrainian SSR. The

organization, which again changed its name, this time to the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC), boasted over 13,000 members distributed among 315 branches. In 1945 alone, 2,579 new members had been recruited. The association's two Ukrainian weeklies, with a combined circulation of 25,000, were read by up to 60,000 persons, and an English-language semi-monthly tabloid, *The Ukrainian-Canadian*, was launched the following year. The founding of a new organization, the Society for Cultural Relations with Ukraine (SCRU), was announced during the 1946 convention, WBA membership was growing by leaps and bounds, and the AUUC purchased camp grounds for members in a number of provinces. Although their membership represented no more than 5 per cent of the Ukrainian Canadian population, leaders of the pro-communist mass organizations were able to mould Canadian public opinion on Ukrainian issues.

The movement's triumph was brief. Its decline proved as rapid as its ascent. By 1947, in the wake of Gouzenko's revelations, Soviet popularity in Canada, as elsewhere in the western world, was giving way to the Cold War. The subsequent arrival of Ukrainian refugees, who had first-hand knowledge of the Soviet regime and who were admitted to Canada in spite of a well-orchestrated campaign of defamation by the AUUC and its press, which tried to represent them as "war criminals," also undermined the movement's strength and resiliency. So too did the deaths of several veteran communist leaders and the departure of several leading activists for the USSR. However, the primary causes of decline were socio-economic and psychological. By opening up economic opportunities the post-war economic boom not only provided security from want, but also dissolved the Ukrainian working-class neighbourhoods and mining communities and broke down the cultural barriers which had helped to sustain the movement prior to the 1940s. Although a hard core of aging male veterans remained within the fold, the younger generation, deficient in its knowledge of the Ukrainian language and fully integrated into Canadian society, deserted the movement. With the expansion of tourism and access to the USSR after 1956 many of those who had remained within the movement began to lose faith and drift away. They were disturbed by the inefficiency, bureaucracy, absence of personal liberties and evidence of Russification that they encountered on their visits to Ukraine. As a result, by the 1960s the movement was confined to the mining towns and large industrial centres of Ontario, Manitoba and Alberta. The number of AUUC branches had fallen to 152 by 1954, while in 1970 only 61 branches were represented at the national convention; AUUC-owned halls declined from 112 in 1952 to 43 in 1973; the two Ukrainian-language papers were merged into one weekly, *Zhyttia i Slovo* (Life and Word), with a circulation of only 4,500 by 1973; and *The Ukrainian-Canadian* was transformed into a monthly in 1968. Most telling was the fact that by 1966 the youth sections had all but disappeared, while three years later only three children's schools with a total enrollment of

thirty-three survived. By the late 1980s the continuing decline of the AUUC had decreased its membership to less than 2,000 and the number of halls to about a dozen. The paper with its approximately 1,500 subscribers was tottering on the brink of collapse. Only the WBA continued to expand until 1963, when its membership peaked at 13,500, although by 1974 it had fallen to 8,500 and continued to decline thereafter.

Although the LPP (or CPC as it came to be called once again in 1959) refrained from promoting revolutionary confrontations and no longer sought to assert its hegemony over mass organizations, relations between AUUC leaders and the CPC were strained during the post-war years. Prior to 1960 AUUC leaders worked hand-in-glove with the party's National Executive Committee (NEC), as the Politbureau was now called. Ukrainians, who represented up to 20–25 per cent of LPP members around 1950, supported the party with their financial contributions, canvassed and distributed leaflets during elections and elected LPP/CPC members to city council in Winnipeg and Toronto. While many prominent LPP members of British and Jewish origin responded to revelations about Stalinist excesses and the Soviet invasion of Hungary by abandoning the party in 1956–7, Ukrainian leaders aligned themselves with hard-liners in the NEC. As a result, while the LPP tottered on the brink of extinction, Ukrainians acquired more influence within the party and gained prestige in the eyes of Soviet authorities. Yet, by the early 1960s, AUUC leaders like Peter Krawchuk and Peter Prokop (Prokopchak) were at loggerheads with the NEC. Disturbed by the prevalence of the Russian language in Ukraine, they criticized Soviet efforts to justify this state of affairs at closed sessions of the NEC and at private meetings of the AUUC. In the end, however, they yielded to pressure from Moscow and the NEC and withdrew their criticism. When John Kolasky, a veteran of thirty years in the CPC and Ukrainian mass organizations, and a former student of the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, produced a book entitled *Education in Soviet Ukraine* in 1968, which indicated that Russification was the result of a planned and systematically applied policy rather than a temporary aberration, he was expelled from the CPC and AUUC. Similarly, although the AUUC's national executive condemned the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia almost unanimously, only one prominent member, John Boyd (Boychuk), left the CPC and ultimately the AUUC in protest. Once again AUUC leaders capitulated to pressure from the NEC and published a CPC statement justifying the invasion in their press.

The leaders of the Ukrainian pro-communist movement failed to take a principled stand in public because by the 1960s they found themselves on the horns of a dilemma. Their moral paralysis was an outgrowth of the ties which bound the AUUC leaders to the CPC and the Soviet regime. A lifetime of participation and training in the communist movement had left them incapable of evaluating the Soviet Union objectively and with no work experience except

as full-time functionaries within the party and its mass organizations. Moreover, since the 1950s AUUC leaders had enjoyed a special relationship with Soviet authorities denied to most CPC leaders and had profited from business ventures such as the export of parcels to the USSR (*Ukrainska Knyha*) and group travel to Ukraine (Globe Tours). By the early 1970s they were extending their business interests into the “ethnic food” market (Chimo Holdings Ltd., Heritage Foods Ltd.). Consequently business interests were placed ahead of principles. It was ironic that the Soviet regime retained the support of the men and women who led the Ukrainian pro-communist movement in Canada by facilitating their ascent into the ranks of petty capitalists.

Arranged under forty-three chapter headings, the documents in this collection span the period from 1907 to 1986 and provide a unique overview of the rise and decline of the Ukrainian communist movement in Canada. They deal with all of the developments and issues mentioned above and many others. Although most of the documents have been selected from the Ukrainian-Canadian socialist and communist press and from the convention reports of Ukrainian-Canadian pro-communist mass organizations, articles and editorials from CPC organs and mainstream English-language newspapers and periodicals, as well as materials from several archival collections, have also been included. Together they should provide a balanced and accessible contribution to the history of a controversial movement.

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PROPHETS AND PROLETARIANS

Chapter 1. The First Ukrainian Socialist Paper in Canada

Among the Ukrainians who began migrating to Canada in 1891–2 there was a small minority that had become imbued with socialist ideas in their native Ukraine. Most of them found employment in cities and towns or on various construction and other projects where socialist sentiments began slowly to crystallize into organized radical, cultural and political activities. In 1904 the first of a number of local pro-socialist cultural organizations, the Taras Shevchenko Society, was formed in Winnipeg with a reported membership of 400. In 1907 Ukrainian branches of the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC) were organized in Winnipeg, Portage la Prairie and Nanaimo. In 1909 a conference of Ukrainian socialists resolved to form the Federation of Ukrainian Social-Democrats. A year later the Ukrainian federation, together with the Jewish and Latvian federations, formed the Social-Democratic Party of Canada. In 1914 the Ukrainian federation was renamed the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party.

One of the first undertakings of the Ukrainian branches of the SPC was the launching in November 1907 of a socialist paper in the Ukrainian language, Chervonyi Prapor (the Red Flag). Although the paper began as a weekly, it later became a bimonthly and then a monthly before ceasing publication in 1908 after eighteen issues. The first issue proclaimed its political creed.

1. The Political Creed of Chervonyi Prapor

Where lie the interests of the working class? All humanity is divided in the present society into two classes: the capitalist class (the owners of the means of production) and the proletarian class (people without any means of production except their labour power). In order not to starve to death, the workers are forced to sell their labour power to the capitalists. The capitalists, combining raw materials which they possess with labour power, obtain commodities which they sell on the market. From this develop large masses of capital, which rule the world, and profits and income, which the capitalists

amass without working. And what does the working class get? A miserable wage which barely suffices for a destitute existence and for the further propagation of slaves of capitalism. These conditions force the working class to fight for the improvement of its living conditions.

Since the time when, in every land, humanity passed from feudalism to capitalism and classes of proprietors and hired labourers emerged, a struggle began between them. At first, not understanding their interests, the workers smashed factories. Later the workers began to understand that struggling in this way, they would not gain anything, that having destroyed the machines and factories, they forced themselves into unemployment and death by starvation. Then the proletarians began organizing. They formed their trade unions for a more planned struggle against capitalism. Through the unions the proletariat struggles for an increase in wages and a decrease in the working day. But in time the workers realized that economic struggle alone is not enough because as long as the capitalists maintain power in their hands they make the laws which are more advantageous to them, which help them to steal from the worker the profit he produced. And having understood this, the working class began a struggle for political power. But unions are not suitable for such a struggle and the proletariat formed its own independent political party, or in other words, a socialist party. In his struggle a worker cannot stop halfway. Whether he wishes it or not, he will eventually come to the conclusion that the overthrow of private ownership and its replacement by a social one is a historic necessity. The worker sees his salvation in Socialism.

The Socialist Party of Canada, formed about four years ago, has set as its objective the replacement of the capitalist system by a socialist order. Because a socialist order can only be realized and maintained under a full brotherhood of proletarians of the world and particularly in each country, the Socialist Party of Canada has undertaken the task of uniting in its ranks workers of all nations and faiths who inhabit Canada, and leading them in the political struggle.

Our paper, as the organ of the Socialist Party of Canada, is designated for that section of the Canadian proletariat which speaks the Ukrainian language and has undertaken to assist this section in the achievement of education, organization and a clear comprehension of the universal ideal of socialism. *Chervonyi Prapor* will lead the working class into battle against lawlessness, exploitation and slavery.

SOURCE: Editorial Board, *Chervonyi Prapor*, 15 November 1907.

2. The Red Flag

Another editorial, signed by the editor, who was one of the more prominent leaders of the early socialist movement in Canada, conveyed the fervency and the hope of the early socialists for a more just social order.

The Red Flag is generally recognized as the socialist banner. The capitalists and politicians of the various bourgeois parties, priests and judges and lawyers and all other similar birds cringe at the sight of the Red Flag. For them the Red Flag is the banner of a deadly and decisive enemy. Because under the Red Flag a militant section of the awakened and conscientious working class is gathering. And that class must wrest from the capitalists the right to the ownership of all the resources of the earth for its salvation; must introduce an order in which everything that the workers produce with their hands will belong to them. Consequently, hatred of the Red Flag is simultaneously hatred of all the working class. He who does not stand under the Red Flag is a conscious enemy of the working class or its traitor or an unthinking and befuddled bull whom the capitalists have made their blind tool. Therefore, be careful, brother, lest you end up in either of these two categories. So listen to what is the meaning of the Red Flag and why the capitalists hate it.

First of all, the Red Flag is your own flag. It is the flag of all those sincere men and women who wish to work according to their ability for the good of society. This is the flag of the future society in which justice and brotherhood will reign. . . .

It expresses hope in the resolution of better people of all countries of the world to destroy all the evil aspects of the present system and to erect in its place a more orderly, finer, more harmonious and more equitable social order. It represents the brotherhood of all people regardless of language, race or boundaries. Its colour is the symbol of blood which flows equally in the veins of all people of the world and in this manner binds them together.

The Red Flag is the flag of the international movement for the liberation of the labouring masses . . . from the last form of slavery, that is, wage slavery. This slavery will continue as long as masters have the ownership of the means of production of the necessities of life. The Red Flag will lead to the abolition of the mastery of man over man, will make the workers the owners of the means by which all riches are produced. The Red Flag means that all the products of labour should belong to the worker. It means that when the brotherhood of people triumphs, there will be neither drones nor parasites who grow fat on the sweat and blood of their brothers.

For thousands of years they taught us that the earth is a place of sorrow and misfortune and that it must always be so. This teaching was convenient for the masters because it held the slaves in submissiveness and deceived them with the uncertain future beyond the grave. Socialism preaches that the earth is a

place of joy if only there was no slavery on it. Socialism is struggling for a kingdom of humanity on earth. The recognition of equals only leaves no room for masters and exploiters.

Thus the Red Flag is the flag of earthly life and joy. The Red Flag is a symbol of love and not hatred, mutual help and not coercion and slavery. Over 20 million people in various parts of the world march triumphantly, carrying before them the Red Flag.

And the Red Flag is dear to them because for them it signifies full liberation and the brotherhood of man. Neither tsars nor lords nor warriors will stop them on this march. Arrests or scaffolds will not frighten them. Persecution multiplies their ranks, doubles their activities. Misfortune binds them closer together. Socialism has become the only hope, the highest ideal for all degraded and aggrieved, for all who work without hope for tomorrow, for women torn from their homes and children, for children oppressed in the factory inferno. They look at the Red Flag with eyes dilated, with hope, the only hope.

From the Urals to London, from New York to San Francisco, and from Yokohama to Baku, the Red Flag flutters triumphantly and its followers march onward and onward ever more quickly to early and certain victory, to the attainment of brotherhood on earth.

This is why the capitalists and their henchmen, their detachments and spokesmen attack and abuse and smear the great, mighty and invincible Red Flag.

SOURCE: Myr. Stechyshyn [Myroslav Stechishin], *Chervonyi Prapor*, 12 December 1907.

Chapter 2. The Early Ukrainian Socialist Movement in Canada

The socialist doctrine took root in Canada among Ukrainians employed in the basic industries in the cities and in lumber and mining camps. The difficulty of integrating into Canadian society and the isolation, privation and hardships provided the basis for the dissatisfaction and alienation on which the socialist movement grew.

The activities of the SPC branches consisted basically of efforts to expand their ranks and to indoctrinate the members with the socialist ideology. Great emphasis was placed on lectures, discussions and reading of socialist literature.

1. The Ukrainian Branch of the SPC in Nanaimo

It is exactly one year since Ukrainians began arriving in Nanaimo, B.C. In a few months about thirty people arrived from all parts of America. When there were that many of us, our more enlightened comrades called a meeting which was held near Brechin mine in the bush.

It was decided at the meeting to form a Ukrainian branch of the Socialist Party of Canada and now such a branch exists under the name, the Ukrainian Socialist Association *Volia* (Freedom). It was also decided to start a library and a collection was taken up for this purpose. In spite of the fact that there were so few of us, \$38 was collected.

Up to now about twenty-five members have joined. Each pays monthly dues in the sum of 35 cents. Of this 10 cents from each member goes to the Canadian Executive Committee and 25 cents remains for subscriptions to newspapers and the purchase of books. The library already has about 150 very fine books. The members come together very gladly, read the newspapers, debate and borrow books for reading.

SOURCE: Report to *Chervonyi Prapor*, 15 November 1907.

2. The Growth of the SPC and the Ukrainian Socialist Federation

The Ukrainian socialist movement experienced some rather spectacular initial successes in the early stages of its organizational campaigns. In addition to the formation of original branches of the party, a number of existing local educational-cultural associations, some of which owned their own accommodation, became locals of the party. This early upsurge was viewed by the party as the beginning of a great momentum in the growth of the socialist movement.

Our party is growing! After British Columbia and Ontario, labouring Alberta has organized and magnificently stepped into the political arena. Manitoba is also not sleeping.

The socialists are becoming a power which has spread from coast to coast, from Quebec to Vancouver!

The toiling masses of proletarians and farmers have awakened. The industrial crisis gripping the country has raised them from sleep. Hunger and danger have threatened everyone with cold and death and people have come to their senses. The people now see clearly that the cause of all their suffering is the poor management by the capitalists. The working masses are organizing to take Canada into their own hands.

The Ruthenian* worker and the Ruthenian farmer, one can say, are marching to socialism in the front ranks. Generally the immigrants are more strongly pervaded with the spirit of struggle for a better fate than the local English. It is no wonder—we in Canada have experienced hell (slavery). Our eyes are not sooted with capitalist lies.

Not only are letters and reports coming from individual workers from all areas of Canada that they will only support the Socialist Party of Canada, but whole Ruthenian associations are joining and taking their place under the Red Banner of our invincible labour army.

As is already known, seven of our associations of Ruthenian-Ukrainians have become committees of the party. In Nanaimo and Vancouver there are groups of Ruthenian members of the SPC; in Frank, Ruthenians and Czechs formed a Slav Socialist Union; in Winnipeg there is a local with 120 members; in Stonewall, the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Farmers' Reading Society and in Portage la Prairie, a group of Ruthenian socialists have joined the party. In addition, in Ontario, in Rainy River, a large Ruthenian-Ukrainian reading society will soon certainly join our famous federation.

Socialism is triumphing! The workers of other nationalities are also not sleeping.

* Ukrainians from Western Ukraine were referred to as Ruthenians during their early years in Canada. Here Ruthenian and Ukrainian are used interchangeably.

It is now possible to think of a Ukrainian socialist union of all Canada. There are 10,000 Ruthenian workers and farmers in Canada. The capitalist treats them as he wishes because illiterate people have neither books nor education and do not know the Canadian laws, since they are written in English.

The capitalists treat us like slaves. As nannies they have given us Presbyterians; as watchdogs over us they have appointed all types of hirelings.

We Ukrainian-Ruthenians of all Canada must organize into a Ukrainian socialist federation which will be part of the Socialist Party of Canada. We need books, newspapers, orators and organizers in the Ruthenian language. No one will give us this if we do not see to it ourselves. Let the Ruthenian-Ukrainians respond from all the areas of Canada, from all the extra gangs, the farms and marshes, the factories and mines as to whether they wish to save themselves and their children, whether they wish to apply themselves to building in Canada a great invincible organization, a Ukrainian Socialist Federation.

Because the truth is on the side of the Socialist Party of Canada, it will overcome the liberals and the conservatives, it will stay the hand of the executioner and will heal our age-old wounds. Socialism will triumph and paradise and life will reign on earth!

May it live! May the Socialist Party of Canada grow!

SOURCE: *Chervonyi Prapor*, 11 January 1908.

3. Rus'* is Arising!

Organizational successes, no matter how slight, were interpreted as the harbingers of great victories to come. They were often accompanied by exhortations to renewed efforts. It is significant that there were organizational successes in the Interlake region of Manitoba, between Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba, an area of poor land and indebted farmers, where pro-communist support was very strong in the 1930s.

All Rus' Manitoba has awakened from one end to the other. The worker and the farmer are extending brotherly hands to each other in order to gain by joint effort a better fate, to free themselves from the capitalist webs.

Beyond Winnipeg and Stonewall, Sarto has risen. Now Komarno and Pleasant Home are calling for the provincial organizer, comrade H. Slipchenko. They also wish to organize.

Hey, Rus' colonies across Canada! Follow the example of the people of Sarto and Stonewall and we will organize all Canadian Rus' into one

*Reference to Kievan Rus' (ninth to thirteenth centuries), the first state on Ukrainian territory.

invincible Socialist Party. We will fill the parliaments of Canada with our deputies; we will raise the educational standard of the working people and instead of slaves we will become free; instead of being poor and destitute, we will become lords! Together with the working people of all nationalities of Canada we will bring order to all the companies now oppressing us and will really make Canada that earthly paradise which we expected to find here on arrival from the old country.

Only let us organize!

SOURCE: *Chervonyi Prapor*, 27 February 1908.

Chapter 3. Revolutionary and Anti-War Agitation

On 9 May 1909 the Federation of Ukrainian Social-Democrats launched another socialist paper, Robochyi Narod (The Working People). In addition to the routine socialist propaganda, the paper carried on a vociferous campaign against war, called for world revolution and voiced enthusiastic support for the Bolsheviks in Russia.

1. The World Revolution is Approaching

The world revolution is approaching. In all countries both the proletarian masses, for whom it is bringing liberation, and the class of ruling oppressors, for whose domination it is bringing an end, are preparing for it.

The revolutionary movement is spreading in all countries, belligerent and neutral, with furious speed and irresistible force.

The success of revolutionary democracy in Russia has influenced the growth and significance of that movement.

No force can any longer stop the world revolution.

It came out of Russia, will cross all countries, destroy the old established order, introduce a new one and renew human life throughout the world.

The end of the war is drawing nearer. The proletariat will not continue it much longer whether its instigators wish it or not. . . .

SOURCE: *Robochyi Narod*, 22 December 1917.

2. Mission of the Proletariat

We are living in the days of great historic events, on the eve of the fall of capitalism.

There can no longer be even the slightest doubt that the present bloody butchery of the peoples of Europe for a redivision of the world and mastery in it, instead of accomplishing the wishes of the imperialist bourgeoisie of the warring states, will deal their mastery a fatal blow and dig a grave for the present social order.

Sooner or later this had to happen unless humanity became completely insane and allowed this war to continue to the complete destruction and exhaustion of the warring blocs, which would set European “civilization” back several hundred years.

But it will not come to that. The most important participant in this war, the hero of our time, the worker, will not allow this.

The war has taught the workers a great deal everywhere, in all countries.

In all the warring countries the labouring masses were told that the country must conduct a defensive war and exhorted them to carry out their patriotic duty and defend the fatherland.

But it has been revealed that bourgeois diplomacy of both warring blocs secretly planned to divide the world between themselves in the event of victory.

The German imperialists with their Kaiser swore in the name of heaven that they are forced “to defend themselves.” And now they unceremoniously push their way into Ukraine and Russia, disregarding the peace terms with these countries.

Naturally, for bourgeois governments peace terms are scraps of paper.

There was talk of defending the freedom of small oppressed nations. In the meantime all those who talk so much about it oppress the nations enslaved by them and suppress their smallest attempt to liberate themselves.

The worker sees all this and begins to recognize the false colours of matters presented to him.

He sees that for the ruling classes it is not a question of defence of the fatherland but more security for their interests. It is not a matter of liberating small nations but of placing them under their domination and exploitation.

Masses of working people are beginning to understand that the defense of “their” fatherland does not require the conquest of other countries and the oppression of other peoples; that the exploiting capitalists, who are continually seeking new markets and new colonies, require this.

Yes, the masses are beginning to understand that their fatherland basically does not belong to them because they do not own anything in that fatherland.

The proletarian has no fatherland. But he wants to have one. He wants to have the right to regard himself as a real citizen in that fatherland.

He is the producer of everything necessary to maintain human life, the provider for the whole world. That is why he wants to be a citizen and master of the whole world. Not a citizen and master of one country, because he creates for and maintains on his shoulders not only one country. . . .

This war, in which masses of working people shed rivers of their blood, cannot allow the old order to continue its existence.

It will not realize the plans of the capitalist predators. They know that very well themselves and would like, at least, to continue the old property relationships and the old order. But they have lost control over events.

In the meantime, a new power is emerging which will take control over the further course of events. This is the power of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Russian revolution is the prologue to the proletarian revolution in all Europe and in the whole world which must come in order to change the existing unbearable social order.

The proletariat sees this more and more clearly and understands its mission; it will carry it out.

SOURCE: Robochyi Narod, 23 March 1918.

3. With Whom are We?

With whom are we, with the Bolsheviks or the Ukrainian Central Rada*?

We reply that we are with the international revolutionary proletariat, which has not betrayed international socialist principles and courageously struggles in various countries under various circumstances against capitalism, imperialism and militarism for socialism.

As regards the Bolsheviks and the Ukrainian Central Rada, it would be more correct to ask whether they are with us, that is, whether they are also in the ranks of the international revolutionary proletariat in the struggle for socialism.

In the class struggle, in the struggle of the proletariat for its liberation and the replacement of capitalism by socialism, we cannot follow in the wake of one or another socialist party and blindly trail after its movements to the left, right or forward.

We must regulate our stand according to the general situation of all the revolutionary proletariat, which is faithful to international proletarian solidarity and the struggle for social revolution.

* The Ukrainian national government that proclaimed the independence of Ukraine on 22 January 1918.

What is our stand today? The same as that of all socialist revolutionary parties: the German under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht, the Italian under Lazzari and the Russian under Lenin. . . .

SOURCE: *Robochyi Narod*, 10 April 1918.

PART B

The Inter-War Period, 1918–40

Chapter 4. Formation of the Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations

The first Ukrainian pro-communist organization, the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association (ULTA), grew out of the USDP as a mass educational-cultural organization. When the USDP was banned in September 1918, ULTA was gradually transformed into a national organization and replaced the USDP as the disseminator of socialist and Marxist ideas among Ukrainians. The establishment of Soviet power in the Russian Empire, the rising revolutionary wave in Europe, the unsettled post-war conditions in Canada and the subsequent Depression favoured the growth of the ULTA. It developed into a national organization with branches from coast to coast which had either been local independent associations that affiliated with ULTA or new branches formed by ULTA organizers who travelled from the large centres to the most isolated Ukrainian communities. The formation of the ULTA was subsequently followed by the formation of two more national Ukrainian pro-communist organizations.

1. The USDP and the Formation of the ULTA

When speaking of the genesis of the Ukrainian progressive movement in Canada, one must begin with the first three branches of the SPC. If the talk is about the history of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, then it begins on March 1, 1918, when the first branch of the association was formed in Winnipeg. We must acknowledge, however, that the main contingent of members in Winnipeg came from the USDP. They were also the main core of the ULTA branches formed in cities where the USDP existed. It must be noted here that it was the USDP that educated and trained the members of the ULTA both politically and organizationally and gave it its working class character. And it is in this that the USDP rendered a great service to the Ukrainian progressive movement.

SOURCE: Peter Krawchuk, "The Ukrainian-Canadian Community Yesterday and

Today," in *Our Commitment to the Future in a United Canada* (Winnipeg: Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, 1978), 37.

2. The Formation of the ULTA

This happened in 1918. At that time Winnipeg had the strongest branch of the USDP in all of Canada. With it worked the Vynnychenko Dramatic Club, which numbered about 100 members. *Robochyi Narod*, the organ of the USDP, was also published there. These organizations, the editorial staff, the print shop and the administration of the paper did not have their own building and were forced to rent accommodation and often move from place to place. In addition, both the party and the paper had developed and grown to such dimensions that they could not find suitable premises. It was imperative to consider owning accommodation. . . .

Consequently, at the beginning of 1918, comrades who worked for *Robochyi Narod* at that time suggested constructing a place of their own, to be named the Ukrainian Labour Temple. The proposition was first discussed in a limited group of the more active members of both local organizations and then placed before all the membership of those organizations and subscribers of *Robochyi Narod* at a closed conference which was held on 1 March 1918 in the Royal Theatre. Not only was the proposition accepted at this conference, but a building committee for the Ukrainian Labour Temple was elected and nearly \$4,000 was collected and declared toward the cost of its construction.

News of the intention to build a Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg was greeted enthusiastically not only by Ukrainian workers in Winnipeg but throughout Canada, because this was to be a central building in which there was to be accommodation for the print shop and publishing association, for the main national committees and for conventions. Therefore, assistance for the construction of the Ukrainian Labour Temple hastened from branches of the USDP as well as individual Ukrainian workers.

The comrades in Winnipeg were faced with the question: Who should be the legal owner of the Ukrainian Labour Temple? It was necessary to deed the lot which was to be purchased, as had been decided. It could not be deeded in the name of the branch of the USDP because a political organization did not have the right to own real estate. Yet, it was necessary to have an owner who would not only be in charge of the building and the property but also of all the cultural-educational work.

Already at that time, for some of us, it was becoming clear that it was necessary to take advantage of the opportunity and organize a mass cultural-educational association which would also include those workers, who, till then, had not joined our existing organizations, but revealed a great interest in the building of a Ukrainian Labour Temple. Repelling those workers from

us would be a crime against our movement. The prospects were excellent.

For that reason it was decided to organize a mass cultural-educational association under the name Ukrainian Labour Temple Association, which undertook wide cultural-educational obligations in general labour matters and moral and material assistance to Ukrainian workers and farmers, especially immigrants. It was incorporated... and became the owner and manager of the Ukrainian Labour Temple, the construction of which was begun in May 1918 and completed in February 1919.

At that time nobody had yet thought of expanding the ULTA beyond Winnipeg. The USDP, with its branches throughout Canada, was able to cope with all the work that was possible to conduct in the localities.... However, already in September 1918 there were developments which completely changed the situation and hopelessly turned our plans in a different direction. This was a period of the greatest wartime tension. Darkest reaction emerged in Canada and began to apply drastic measures against the revolutionary labour organizations. The USDP and its organ, *Robochyi Narod*, became victims of that reaction. The USDP was declared illegal and *Robochyi Narod* was forbidden to publish....

One had to forget the legal rebuilding of the USDP or the formation of some other political organization for some time. But those Ukrainian workers and farmers who had belonged to the USDP could not be without an organization or any contact. Here the legally incorporated ULTA filled the gap and, sooner than one could have hoped, it became necessary to extend its activities throughout Canada.

But at first it was not possible to organize branches of the ULTA because it was necessary to make certain revisions in sections of the constitution and supplement them in accordance with the plan to extend the organization. This could only be done at the general annual membership meeting. Consequently, it was decided to accept applications for membership from all the provinces in Winnipeg where the applicants were obliged to send their applications and dues. In many localities groups of ULTA members who had joined the organization in this fashion were quickly formed. In some places these groups became educational societies under various names. In 1919 the ULTA already had members in nearly all the localities where branches of the USDP formerly existed....

On 16–18 January 1920 a general annual meeting, that is the first convention of the ULTA, attended by membership representatives of the association from various localities in eastern and western Canada, was held. At this convention it was decided to organize branches of ULTA all across Canada....

SOURCE: Matvii Popovych [Matthew Popowich], "Istoriia Tovarystva Ukrainy Robitnycho-Farmerskyi Dim" [A History of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association], in *Almanakh Tovarystva Ukrainy Robitnycho-Farmerskyi Dim v Kanadi i Bratnikh Organizatsii 1918–1929*

(Almanac of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association and Fraternal Organizations, 1918–1929), (Winnipeg: Robitnycho-Farmerske Vydavnyche Tovarystvo, 1930), 5–10. Henceforth cited as *Almanakh TURFDim*.

3. The ULFTA Branch in Saskatoon

The embryo of the working-class movement among Ukrainian workers in Saskatoon was the Workers' Benevolent Association, organized in July 1917. The society had a local character. . . . The bylaws of the society were drawn up by the local comrades themselves and lacked a clearly defined line regarding both assistance to and the duties of members. All this was the reason for various misunderstandings that developed often in the society and hampered its development.

The great revolution which erupted at that time in tsarist Russia and Ukraine had a profound influence on the local Ukrainian workers who, till then, belonged to patriotic societies. The echo of the revolution influenced the members of the working class. They began to leave the patriotic organizations en masse and join the Workers' Benevolent Association, which grew to 150 members in a short time. Having become stronger, the society began to carry on cultural educational work among its members. There were reports, lectures and talks on various scientific subjects. The society also staged plays and concerts, which were successful both morally and materially.

In 1921 the society sent its delegate to the second convention of the ULTA. Immediately after the convention the first Workers' Children's School was organized, which was attended by scores of workers' children. The society was located in the National Home, for which it paid a stipulated rent. All the cultural-educational work which was carried on by the society among the Ukrainian workers became salt in the eyes of the patriotic leaders. They began a persistent and vile struggle against our society, endeavouring to destroy it. The struggle ended with the ejection of the children's school and the Workers' Benevolent Association from the National Home by the patriotic leaders. . . . The society rented other accommodation, which in a short time turned out to be too small to carry on organizational work.

In 1922 the society conducted a great campaign in favour of the starving in the Soviet Union. It brought in over \$2,200.

In the spring of the same year we conducted a concentrated campaign to collect money for the building of a Ukrainian Labour Temple in Saskatoon. The campaign was conducted so successfully that in the autumn, in October, the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Saskatoon was opened. . . .

In our own accommodation the work developed on a wide scale in all branches of organizational-educational activities.

... The working women were organized in the autumn of 1921. The branch of the women's section participated and always participates actively in various campaigns which the organization conducts in the interests of the labour movement and the labour-farmer press. The members of the branch gave much of their time to such campaigns as aid for the starving in the Soviet Union, the political prisoners in Galicia, the striking miners, the flood victims in Galicia and the press campaigns.

In 1922 the children's mandolin orchestra was organized... and in 1927 it put on a series of concerts in the province of Saskatchewan and in some localities of Manitoba. During its tour, the orchestra won acclaim not only among Ukrainian workers and farmers but also among workers of other nationalities. The English press wrote favourable reviews about its concerts....

In 1924 the society merged with the ULFTA and incorporated its building with the ULFTA.

In 1926 a branch of the youth section was organized... The same year a branch of the WBA was formed; it works jointly with the branch of the ULFTA....

From the very beginning our branch has conducted cultural-educational work among the Ukrainian workers. There were courses for the illiterate and the semi-literate and courses of the English language that were attended by about fifty comrades, mostly immigrants who benefited a great deal.

In addition, from time to time there were reports, lectures and mass meetings at which various labour matters and questions were discussed.

The children's school has been operating for the last seven years. In it hundreds of workers' children studied reading and writing the Ukrainian language, music and singing. They also received a proletarian education.

In 1927 a course in folk dancing was organized which had fifty-six students. The course was a great success.

Dramatic work was placed on a high level. Men and women workers attended our stage plays and concerts in large numbers....

The ULFTA branch in Saskatoon helped and continues to help many neighbouring farm branches, sending out speakers and organizers. The branch also gave material assistance to other weaker branches and individual comrades in difficult circumstances.

... The branch owns a building which, together with the inventory, is worth \$18,000.... All the Ukrainian labour organizations are located in the Ukrainian Labour Temple. The ULFTA branch has 40 members, the women's section—22, the youth section—35, the WBA—40. In the branch there is a drama and choral group numbering 40 members, two mandolin orchestras with 27 members and an orchestra of bow instruments numbering 7. The children's school has 40 pupils.

SOURCE: "Viddil TURF Dim v Saskatuni, Sask." [The ULFTA Branch in Saskatoon, Sask.] in *Almanakh TURFDim*, 168-70.

4. The ULFTA Branch in Brokenhead, Manitoba

Brokenhead is one of the larger farm districts settled by Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, Czechs and Slovaks. Ukrainians, who are in the majority, first began settling here in 1898 amid great poverty. They cleared the land and made it suitable for grain growing. There are no roads yet; when it rains it is impassable.

Prior to the organization of the branch there was no real educational work. Beginning in 1918, a few young people would gather and put on amateur shows in the local school. Sometimes an amateur group from Ladywood, a neighbouring locality, would pay a visit to our school with a play.

In 1921 comrade Kolisnyk, candidate at the time for the provincial legislature in our constituency, organized an association in Brokenhead which was called *Nove Zhyttia* (New Life). It was affiliated with the ULTA. There were about twenty members. The society immediately acquired a small library and located it in the home of one of the members.

Before 1926 *Nove Zhyttia* was not able to carry on any kind of cultural-educational work. With the exception of monthly meetings, two or three mass meetings and picnics, no other work was carried on. At the end of 1926 the association organized a children's school. Classes were held in the public school after regular hours. But the public school teacher, a 100 per cent Ukrainian patriot, intrigued against the children's school. He reported to the minister of education that this was an illegal revolutionary school and the trustees were forced to refuse the school for the teaching of the native language.

This caused the comrades to think more seriously about their own hall; the need had become vital. In the spring of 1927 the association resolved to begin building, a hall immediately. Every member pledged to donate 10 dollars and 10 days' labour. A choir and a drama group were formed, which began to organize programmes to assist in the building of the hall. Together the comrades applied themselves energetically to the task, although they were busy with their own domestic work. By the fall the association had already completed a fine building.

The official opening of the hall took place on 14 January 1928. The drama and choir groups put on a great concert on this occasion, to which the choir from the Red Deer-Brightstone branch was invited. Representatives of the CEC, comrades Petrash and Kobzey, came. They spoke to the assembled farmers, appealing to them for contributions to pay off the debt on our hall and to become members. In a short time the guests contributed \$160 and eight new

members joined. The next day a meeting was called and it was resolved to change the association into a branch of the ULFTA. Shortly, we received a charter and a new stamp. Since that time we have had a branch of the ULFTA which sent a young comrade to the Higher Educational Course in Winnipeg.

Having its own hall, the branch began to revive. The choir and drama groups developed their work on an especially wide scale. A month later comrade Vynohradova was invited from Winnipeg to organize a branch of the women's section of the ULFTA. At a meeting on the occasion of her visit, a branch of thirteen members was formed.

On 19 May 1928 there was a concert in our hall by the mandolin orchestra from Transcona and on 30 June another concert by the second group of the girls' mandolin orchestra from Winnipeg.

At present the ULFTA has 35 members, the drama and choir groups—20 and the women's branch—15. At the beginning of July 1928 a children's school was started. All the assets are valued at \$4,200.

Our branch has very favourable conditions for growth. There are no enemy societies here. The patriotic press, which had a wide circulation here in the past, has disappeared and has been replaced by our labour-farmer press. The choir and drama groups are composed of the finest youth, which is an example for the youth that is outside our organization. Through its influence our youth sets the tone for all social life in the district.

SOURCE: "Viddil TURF Dim v Brokenhed, Man." [The ULFTA Branch in Brokenhead, Man.] in *Almanakh TURFDim*, 81–2.

5. How and Why the Workers' Benevolent Association was Formed

The Workers' Benevolent Association (WBA) was organized at the end of 1922 on the initiative of the membership of the ULTA. The need for this organization was created by the continuous local and national collections of funds to aid workers and farmers who, as a result of illness, injury or other misfortune, were left in such a predicament that they were forced to ask for help. . . .

In order to remedy this and to conduct the necessary programme of assistance in an organized manner, it was proposed in Winnipeg to organize a workers' benevolent association. On 30 September 1922 there was a meeting regarding this question to which the membership of the ULTA in Winnipeg was summoned and, at that very time, the first branch of the WBA was organized, a constitution was adopted, a decision was taken to incorporate it and a national executive was elected which was charged with issuing an appeal in the name of the WBA to workers throughout Canada to organize themselves

into branches of this association.

At first not all members of the ULTA understood the necessity and expediency of organizing the WBA. They did not see that it appeared as a result of one of those necessities which life and the development of our organizations placed before us. They also did not see that the WBA could also serve as a means of organizing masses of workers which not one of our other organizations could reach, that in the WBA it was possible to educate those workers as conscious fighters for workers' interests....

SOURCE: M. Popovych, "Istoriia Tovarystva Ukrainyskyi Robitnycho-Farmerskyi Dim" in *Almanakh TURFDim*, 28–9.

6. The Formation of the Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine

Among Ukrainian postwar immigrants who came to Canada, there were many who had served in the *Sich* Riflemen and the Ukrainian Galician Army....

Rank-and-file soldiers, who assembled in the Ukrainian labour temples, organized meetings in which they exposed the crimes of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists committed in 1914–20.

This campaign began in the second half of 1930. In the first months of 1931 it took on wide dimensions. Ever wider circles of Ukrainian post-war immigrants began to join this movement. Among them were some who had recently participated in the labour-peasant liberation movement in Western Ukraine and had been participants in the struggle for social liberation from under the occupation of the Polish nobility, the Romanian boyars and the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie.

Before the leadership of the Ukrainian labour-farmer organizations arose the question of uniting these wide circles of post-war Ukrainian immigrants into an organization which would fulfill their aspirations. These were the times of the bloody, infamous pacification by the Polish nobility in Western Ukraine. Ukrainian workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals were bloodied by the canes, bayonets and bullets of the Polish lancers and soldiers. The landlords' prisons in Poland were crammed with political prisoners—revolutionaries from Western Ukraine. The Ukrainian working class, especially the political prisoners, needed immediate material aid. For this reason the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Organizations resolved to form an association of postwar Ukrainian immigrants that would aid the liberation struggle in Western Ukraine and care for the political prisoners in Polish landlords' prisons.

On 1 March 1931 the first branch of the Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine (TODOVYRNAZU) was formed.

SOURCE: Petro Kravchuk [Peter Krawchuk], *Na Novii Zemli [In the New Land]*, (Toronto: Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, 1958), 210-1.

7. One Year has Passed since the Formation of TODOVYRNAZU

In Winnipeg the Riflemen's Committee was organized at the first Riflemen's meeting in the ULT on 13 November 1930. The meeting was announced only three days previously for 8 p.m. in the reading room, which accommodates 30-40. It was still 15-20 minutes before the appointed time when about 200 riflemen had already filled the reading room and the corridor. . . . The meeting was transferred to the large hall in the ULT.

Over 500 young workers came to this meeting. . . . Among those present were mostly new faces, even strangers to each other. . . . A protest resolution was passed against all coercion and betrayal by the Ukrainian bourgeoisie which, in alliance with the Polish bourgeoisie, oppresses the toiling masses of Western Ukraine.

Such meetings were held in all localities of Canada where Riflemen's Committees had been organized. In Winnipeg 500-600 came to the Riflemen's meetings, most of them not members of our organizations. . . .

On 1 March 1931 in the ULT in Winnipeg, with several hundred workers present, an outline of the bylaws for a new Ukrainian mass labour-farmer organization, the Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine, was read. This was followed by the signing up of members. Immediately about 250 workers joined. . . .

A good indicator of the rapid growth and the work of TODOVYRNAZU is last year's campaign conducted during two weeks in May. Although it was not prepared and there was still a small number of members, over \$700 was collected for aid to political prisoners in Western Ukraine. This year's campaign, which ended 31 January, also indicates the results of the work of TODOVYRNAZU. Although complete results are not in, the Central Executive Council already has over \$3,500 and over 1,600 new members. . . .

SOURCE: *Farmerske Zhyttia*, 9 March 1932.

Chapter 5. The Ukrainian Pro-Communist Press

The Ukrainian pro-communists established a number of publications to disseminate their views among Ukrainians. In 1919 they launched a weekly, Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti (Ukrainian Labour News) in Winnipeg. In 1920 it became a semi-weekly, in March 1922 a tri-weekly and, in January 1935, a daily. On 1 September 1937 it became Narodna Hazeta (People's Gazette). Another weekly, Farmerske Zhyttia (Farmers' Life), was launched in May 1925. A monthly journal, Holos Pratsi (Voice of Labour), appeared in April 1922. Another, a monthly journal for women, Holos Robitnytsi (Voice of the Working Woman), began publication in February 1923. The two were merged in March 1924 into a semi-monthly, Robitnytsia (Working Woman). For the youth there was Svit Molodi (World of Youth), which was launched in 1927. In 1932 its name was changed to Boiova Molod (Militant Youth).

1. The Beginning of the Publication of Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti

Up until 28 September 1918 *Robochyi Narod* was published twice weekly in Winnipeg. It was the organ of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party in Canada. The Conservative government banned *Robochyi Narod* together with the USDP and other socialist organizations in Canada. . . .

In January 1919 comrade Ivan Navizivsky, the former administrator of the *Robochyi Narod*, called several leading comrades for a conference regarding the publication of a new paper. At the conference it was decided to ask the Trades and Labour Council in Winnipeg that it obtain a permit from the government for the publication of a labour paper in the Ukrainian language. And since the Trades and Labour Council was already publishing a labour paper in English under the title *Western Labour News*, the comrades decided at the conference to name the Ukrainian paper *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* (Ukrainian Labour News). This was in order that both papers appear as similar to each other as possible to give the impression that they are both published by

the same people.

The Trades and Labour Council readily agreed to assist in the matter of publishing a Ukrainian labour newspaper and applied to the government for permission. . . . It was necessary to prepare an issue and send it to Ottawa for approval. Comrades M. Popovych and D. Lobay composed the first issue . . . in the Ukrainian and English languages and the Trades and Labour Council sent it to the Secretary of State in Ottawa. After about two months a reply arrived from the Secretary of State that it was permissible to publish such a paper. . . .

On 22 March 1919 the first issue of *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* was published in the Ukrainian and English languages. There were five such issues in two languages. . . .

With the sixth issue, that is from 26 April 1919, *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* was published in the Ukrainian language only. . . . After the publication of the eighth issue . . . dated 10 May 1919, the well-known general strike broke out, which completely halted all work in town. With the outbreak of the strike *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* also ceased to appear.

The publication of the eight issues of *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* was plagued with the greatest hindrances on the part of the censor. . . . He did not like the ordinary news taken from the English bourgeois press because those news items spoke of the successes of the revolutionary workers in Europe. The censor wrote that those news items were carefully selected in order to spread Bolshevik propaganda. . . . In his last letter the censor threatened to disallow the publication of the paper and to lay charges against its publishers. Who knows how it would have ended had it not been for the strike which stopped the publication of *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* and, in the meantime, freed the censor from carrying out his threats. . . .

During the strike the police and the army made a search in the editorial offices and the print shop of *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* during which the type was scattered over the floor in the print shop and the administrative ledgers and various documents were taken from the desks. Similar searches were made in the homes of individual comrades who worked in *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* and at the Ukrainian Labour Temple.

After the strike, beginning on 12 July 1919, *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* was again published without any further complications. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 22 March 1924.

2. After One Year

March 22 marks the first anniversary of the publication of the first issue of *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*

After one year *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* is coming out twice a week in an edition of more than 6,500.

Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti has made progress in a short period of time when it was obliged (and still is) to be careful regarding every written word, when it alone took a wholly proletarian position on Ukraine and Europe, when against it spoke and still do (or at least do not agree with it) all the other Ukrainian clerico-nationalist papers in Canada. Only *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* opposed the revolution and counter-revolution in Ukraine and especially the Petliura adventure. . . . And today after a year of existence we can declare boldly: We were and are right.

After one year of our existence all those who reproached us for the position we took have found themselves without any ground under their feet. All their gods have fallen, all their thrones have been shattered and they have been left without any support. They are now "generals without an army," because those who formerly supported them are now leaving them. They are morally bankrupt.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 17 April 1920.

3. What Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti Stands For

Fights for the organization of the workers into the Communist Party of Canada and revolutionary trade unions under the leadership of the Workers' Unity League.

Fights for the revolutionary training of organized cadres of the proletariat and independent farmers who would lead the class struggle for full liberation of the workers from capitalist exploitation.

Fights against the lack of organization and ignorance among the workers and for proletarian culture, education and mutual aid while building the organizations of the Ukrainian workers and poor farmers: The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, the Workers' Benevolent Association and **TODOVYRNAZU**.

Fights for the abolition among workers of drunkenness, gambling, ignorance and negligence and instead brings them class consciousness and education, determination to struggle and faith in their victory.

Fights for social security against unemployment at the expense of the capitalists and their state.

Fights for the close union of workers and poor farmers, the two great sons of labour who are mercilessly exploited by the capitalist system.

Fights against the police terror, against the capitalist attack on the communist party, against the deportation of foreign-born workers and organizes the workers of Canada in this struggle.

Stands on guard for the interests of workers and peasants and oppressed peoples of the world and exposes the bandit policies of the imperialist predators.

Carries moral and material support for those striking workers who are struggling against exploitation and coercion by the capitalists and their armed defenders in police uniforms.

Carries into the farthest corners to workers and poor farmers its truthful and militant word and cultivates proletarian solidarity and unity among them.

Defends the workers and peasants of Western Ukraine, oppressed by the Polish nobility, the Romanian landlords and the Czech bourgeoisie and exposes the mercenary policies of the Ukrainian gentlemen and would-be gentlemen.

Defends the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Soviet Ukraine from the attacks of the bourgeois and mercenary press and the military intentions of the capitalists. Exposes the reasons for the present great economic crisis and calls upon the unemployed to join the ranks of the unemployed associations and fight under the leadership of the militant revolutionary organizations.

Therefore, every worker and poor farmer should subscribe to and disseminate *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* among his acquaintances.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 3 November 1931.

4. Press Campaign in Edmonton a Great Success

Each year in November there was a well-prepared and publicized press campaign for the Ukrainian pro-communist press. Since the subscriptions did not cover the cost of publication, there was an annual collection for the "press fund" together with a campaign for new subscribers. A quota for the press fund and new subscribers was set for each locality. Every member of the ULFTA was expected to collect donations and solicit new subscriptions. Every reader was canvassed for the renewal of his subscription. Generally quotas for money and new subscriptions were overfulfilled nationally. Locally the campaign was directed by a press committee. Each city was divided into wards, each with its own press subcommittee.

The November press campaign in Edmonton this year was a great success. We overfulfilled our quota by almost doubling it. . . .

Our quota: \$850 and 20 new subscribers. Altogether in November we raised \$1,367.18 and obtained 35 new subscribers. . . .

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 29 December 1936.

5. Number of Correspondents' Reports for the First Quarter of 1937

The editorial office of *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* has received 872 correspondents' reports in the first three months of 1937. During that period we published 761 reports in our paper. That leaves 111 reports. Of these 53 will not be published in our paper because their content is not suitable for publication, while 58 reports await their turn. . . .

Each of our correspondents should remember that one must not try to settle personal scores through the press. . . . One must only write about matters that interest all toilers and serve the interests of building the working class movement. Regarding the irresistible urge to write poetry, we will talk about this "malady" another time.

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 31 March 1937.

6. The First Month of Narodna Hazeta

On 1 September 1937 the name of Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti was changed to Narodna Hazeta, with a new, more interesting and more readable format resulting in a significant increase in circulation.

A month has passed since the first issue of *Narodna Hazeta* was published. Only one month. A short period of time, but there is already a good trend.

In Winnipeg itself the number of new readers of *Narodna Hazeta* during this month has increased by more than 150, and overall *Narodna Hazeta* has already exceeded 1,500 readers in Winnipeg.

Letters arrive daily from outside Winnipeg from new readers who declare that they like to read *Narodna Hazeta* and are therefore subscribing to it. On average, six new subscriptions arrive daily from outside Winnipeg.

Those who deliver *Narodna Hazeta* in Winnipeg and news vendors from various localities in Canada relate and write that everywhere there are good responses, interest and desire to read *Narodna Hazeta*. . . .

All this indicates that *Narodna Hazeta* in Winnipeg has a wide field which it hopes to cover with the help of its present readers, sympathizers and workers.

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 1 October 1937.

7. Narodna Hazeta in Saskatoon in First Place

Of all Ukrainian newspapers in Canada, *Narodna Hazeta* has won first place in Saskatoon, and from the very first issue. We sent 500 Ukrainian addresses in Saskatoon to *Narodna Hazeta* so that they could be sent sample copies. In addition to that, we ordered twenty of the first issue for distribution.

The news vendor protested: "What am I going to do with these additional twenty copies, to whom will I sell them?"

When the first issue arrived, that very evening comrade Nazar came running to the labour temple and asked whether there were any more copies of *Narodna Hazeta*, because he had sold the twenty copies instantly. He said he could sell as many more if he had them.

A few days later the vendor met me on the street and ordered five more copies for sale, because there were not enough.

A week later we again increased it by five. Now our vendor sells 150 copies of *Narodna Hazeta* each week or 500 monthly....

SOURCE: Ivan Klybanovsky, *Narodna Hazeta*, 1 October 1937.

8. The Launching and Role of Farmerske Zhyttia

The paper, *Farmerske Zhyttia*, was launched in the very heat of organizational activity of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association on the farms. In various farm districts, meetings of Ukrainian farmers (Verigin, Kamsack, Canora, Wroxton) were held at which organizers explained the aims and the duties of the ULFTA. There were requests from Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Alberta to send organizers to form branches.

It is understandable that with the growth of the ULFTA on the farms *Farmerske Zhyttia* circulated. And where *Farmerske Zhyttia* penetrated, eventually new branches of the ULFTA appeared. Once again the truth of the saying that the paper builds the organization and the organization build the paper was confirmed....

SOURCE: Petro Kravchuk, *Piatdesiat rokiv sluzhinnia narodu* [Fifty Years of Serving the People], (Toronto: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 1957), 169-70.

Chapter 6. The Leaders

The Ukrainian pro-communist movement in Canada owes its rise, development and growth in part to its leader-founders. They were diligent, aggressive and completely dedicated to the cause they propagated. All came from relatively poor backgrounds and all arrived in Canada prior to the First World War. Nearly all were from Western Ukraine and all had been influenced by socialist ideas in their youth. They included John Navizivsky, Matthew Shatulsky, Matthew Popowich, John Boychuk, Danylo Lobay and John Stefanitsky. The younger leaders who played a prominent role after the First World War had immigrated to Canada in their youth or were born here. Among them were Myroslav Irchan, Peter Prokopchak, Peter Krawchuk, Stepan Macievich, John Weir (Wewursky), Michael Korol, John Boyd (Boychuk), Stanley Dobrowolsky, Stanley Ziniuk, William Teresio, William Harasym, Mary Kardash, Helen Weir, Hannah Polowy, Anna Lapchuk and Mary Skrypnyk. There were also branch and district leaders who worked with fervour and dedication at the local level. There are no biographical sketches of many of the leaders. Of those that exist most are inadequate, including those on Matthew Popowich and John Boychuk, two of the four original leaders.

1. John Navis [Navizivsky], 1888–1954

Navizivsky became associated with the Ukrainian socialist press from the time of his arrival in Canada. After the First World War he emerged as the administrator of the Ukrainian pro-communist press. Although not the ablest of the leaders, he was a clever administrator, was recognized by Moscow and eventually gathered the reins of leadership in his hands.

Ivan Mykhailovych Navizivsky was a participant in the Ukrainian progressive immigrant and labour movement in Canada. He was born... into the family of a poor shoemaker, completed a teachers' seminary and was persecuted for revolutionary agitation among the peasants, as a result of which he was forced to immigrate to the U.S.A. in 1908... He joined the Socialist Party. From 1911 he lived in Canada, where he worked on the paper, *Robochyi Narod*. Together with Popovych he played a leading role in the Ukrainian

labour movement, fighting against opportunist elements. Navizivsky participated in the formation of the Communist Party of Canada, for a long time was a member of its CC, was one of the founders... of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association and the Workers' Benevolent Association, was a participant in the VI Congress of the Communist International and led the Ukrainian delegation of the toilers of Canada which visited the USSR. For revolutionary activity he was thrown into a concentration camp in 1940, where he remained more than two years.... In the postwar years he headed the Canadian Ukrainian Publishing Association, which published the Ukrainian progressive newspapers.

SOURCE: *Ukrainska Radianska Entsyklopediia* [Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia], vol. 9, 1962, 461. Henceforth cited as URE.

2. Matthew Shatulsky, 1883–1952

Shatulsky was the ablest and most versatile of the early leaders of the Ukrainian pro-communist movement. As a writer he was equally effective in a number of literary genres: editorials, reports, stories or feuilletons and was the ablest of the Ukrainian editors in Canada. He was also a recognized authority on Ukrainian music, dramatics and folk dancing. As an orator he was unsurpassed. He gave the movement ideological direction, working out its political line, strategy and tactics and directing their implementation. His capacity for work seemed limitless, and while other leaders were often away on tours, he carried the greatest burden of the work. His absolute faith in and total commitment to the communist cause transcended all his personal relationships and guided his whole life. None of the written memoirs, obituaries or biographical sketches fully recognize his outstanding ability or his role in the Ukrainian pro-communist movement.

Matthew Myronovych Shatulsky was born in... Volhynia (Ukraine) into a poor peasant family. He began working very young, being employed for a time as a longshoreman in Odessa.

In 1909 he left his fatherland for economic reasons and immigrated to the U.S.A.... A year and a half later... he came to Canada.

During the next nine years Matthew Shatulsky, the future journalist, worked... at various jobs; it seems there was not a job at which he did not work at one time or another....

An outstanding characteristic of Matthew Shatulsky was the fact that, in spite of long hours at hard work, he found time to study. He read literally masses of books, read the Ukrainian and Russian classics, studied labour literature, became acquainted with Marxism.

Matthew Shatulsky was a born genius. Although he did not have the opportunity to go to school, he became a highly cultured person, a skillful journalist and a writer. . . . Matthew Shatulsky began his organizational activity with amateur dramatics. . . .

In March 1920 Matthew Shatulsky was invited to work on the editorial staff of *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*. From that time his work took on wider dimensions and became more known. On *URV* he worked first as assistant and later as editor-in-chief. . . .

Although journalism was the main field of activity of the late comrade Shatulsky, he was also an experienced organizer, expending a great deal of energy in the building of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, the Workers' Benevolent Association and the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians. He was also an outstanding orator whom the workers and farmers loved to hear.

In 1940 Matthew Shatulsky . . . was arrested and interned together with other leaders of the Ukrainian progressive movement in Canada. . . .

A characteristic trait of Matthew Shatulsky was his unbelievable capacity for work and productivity. . . .

With the death of Matthew Shatulsky the Ukrainian progressive movement in Canada, and the whole Canadian progressive movement, has suffered a very heavy loss.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 31 December 1952.

3. Danylo Lobay, 1890–1966

Although quiet, modest and unassuming, Lobay had the courage to raise the question of the persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals in Ukraine at the Ukrainian party fraction meeting of the Fifteenth Convention of the ULFTA in 1935. Together with Toma Kobzey and other defectors he later formed the Ukrainian Labour Organization and the paper Vpered (Forward), which ceased publication in 1940. For a period he was editor of Ukrainskyi Holos. Following is his autobiographical sketch from an appeal he sent to Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti and the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations.

I am the son of a poor peasant. I came to Canada in June 1913 as a nineteen-year-old. I worked that year on the construction of an agricultural school north of Winnipeg as an ordinary labourer. At the end of December I came to Winnipeg and at the beginning of January 1914 I joined the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party. From that time I belonged uninterruptedly only to revolutionary workers' parties and to other labour organizations, was a member of their central committees and was even secretary of these committees

(USDP, ULFTA). I never belonged to nationalist or church organizations. . . .

In the first years of my life in Canada I worked as an ordinary worker when work was available and later worked on labour papers. My membership in labour organizations never depended on work on a newspaper. I worked in labour organizations before I obtained employment at *Robochyi Narod*. Later I left work on the newspaper for various reasons and went to work physically, but never left the labour movement. . . .

In 1915–16, when all the leaders left *Robochyi Narod* because there was no money, I worked on the staff of that socialist paper, but I was not paid even \$25 a month and I was forced to work in the harvest in order to pay rent. . . .

The first time I began working at *Robochyi Narod* was in 1915, when I had been in Canada two years and was twenty-one.

Twenty years later, in March 1935, I was accused of “counter-revolutionary deviation” only because in my speech (not even at a public gathering) I brought out some undeniable facts regarding the situation in Soviet Ukraine. . . .

I have the longest uninterrupted record in the labour movement of all those who now work in the centre of the ULFMO and on the newspapers. My record is clean. Not one of the older workers in the centre of the ULFMO has such a record. . . .

SOURCE: Danylo Lobai [Lobay], *Za diisne vyiasnennia polozhennia na Radianskiyi Ukraini* [For a Valid Explanation of the Situation in Soviet Ukraine] (Winnipeg-New York, 1935), 41–2.

4. Myroslav Irchan, 1897–1937

In 1923 the Ukrainian pro-communist movement welcomed into its ranks a new immigrant, Myroslav Irchan, a writer and dramatist of considerable note. By 1929 he found the atmosphere in the Ukrainian pro-communist movement in Canada somewhat stifling and immigrated to Soviet Ukraine. He was arrested in 1934 to perish in the purges. After his arrest he was denounced by those who had been loudest in their praise of him. After he was rehabilitated in the USSR in 1957 the attitude of the Ukrainian communist leaders again changed to praise. Following are two articles on Irchan from the communist press depicting the changing attitude toward him before and after his arrest.

Among us on Canadian soil now lives M. Irchan, one of the most popular Ukrainian proletarian writers that Western Ukraine, the world war and the revolution have given the Ukrainian toilers this side of the ocean. . . .

He never belonged to the bourgeois world. The son of a poor peasant, he led the life of a poor student. Already at that time he was drawn to the

workers. . . .

And now this writer-comrade is near to us here in Canada. He is thin, pale and even shy. One looks and asks: "Is this a rebel?" Yes, this is he, weak physically, but strong in spirit and in his faith in a brighter future for which he struggled, is struggling and calls us to struggle. . . .

Give me your wounded hand, comrade, the one on which the fingers are stiff from shrapnel. People say that there are also wounds on your body. They are even painful, although you do not talk about this and do not show them to anyone.

Yes, comrade, do not show them. They are visible without that. All your works are one great painful wound on the body of the fighters of the working class, on the body of the innocent tortured mothers, children, old men, girls in the bloom of youth, raped by gendarmes. . . .

Even though the body is in wounds and the heart is drenched in blood, the spirit is unshakable, the faith is firm.

And so today, on the tenth anniversary of your literary activity, for this spirit, this faith, I press in a comradely manner your crippled hand, not on my own behalf, but on behalf of all those who read your works, on behalf of all those to whom those works are dedicated.

And I believe that this hand will put on paper more than one pearl on which rebels for the liberation of the working class will be raised.

SOURCE: M. Volynets [Matthew Shatulsky], "Desiat lit literaturnoi pratsi M. Irchana" [Ten Years of M. Irchan's Literary Work], *Robitnytsia* [The Working Woman], 15 October 1924, 9–13.

Irchan's real name was Andrii Babiuk. During the last war he was in the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, a special detachment of the Austro-German army in the last war. After the Revolution, this detachment of Ukrainian quislings was part of the German army of occupation in Ukraine. With the collapse of the Central Powers, they continued to fight the Ukrainian people until the rank and file mutinied and joined the Red Army. Irchan went with the regiment (he couldn't very well do otherwise) and posed as a supporter of the Soviet Union. . . .

Irchan escaped from the Soviet Union and went to live in Prague in Czechoslovakia. Here he was a member of the secret fascist terrorist conspiracy, the Ukrainian Military Organization. . . .

The secret organization decided that they had to change their tactics, since the prospect of another anti-Soviet war in the near future had receded. So they told their members to work their way into Ukrainian communities in different parts of the world, become associated with progressive and pro-Soviet circles and then find their way back to Ukraine to prepare from inside, through sabotage and spying, for the eventual day when Germany and Poland would

launch their second war against the Soviet Union.*

That is how M. Irchan came to Canada in 1926† and began writing for the Ukrainian labour press. And that is how he finally made his way back to Soviet Ukraine in 1929 and there continued his secret work of sabotage and spying until he was apprehended, tried and sentenced in 1933....

SOURCE: John Weir, *The Canadian Tribune*, 22 April 1944.

5. Peter Prokopchak, 1903–1981

Although quiet, modest and efficient as an administrator, Prokopchak tended to be somewhat pedantic, with an inclination to long, involved speeches. After his return from the USSR in 1934 he led the relentless campaign to purge the Ukrainian pro-communist movement of the supporters of Danylo Lobay. It was clearly evident that he was being groomed for the leadership, which he assumed on the death of Navizivsky in 1954. His steadfast loyalty to Moscow was considerably shaken by the campaign of Russification in Ukraine. He became somewhat embittered, especially after the Communist Party of Canada withdrew the report of its delegation to the Soviet Union on the national question.

He was born into a peasant family... in the Lemko** region. When he was eleven years old the First World War broke out...

Thus from a young age he experienced difficult times which influenced the formation of his character and world outlook...

After returning home he faced difficult economic and political conditions. The Lemko region found itself socially and nationally oppressed by the Polish aggressors. The people of the Lemko region did not submit to the oppressors but put up resistance. Peter Prokopchak joined this protest movement...

In 1926 Peter Prokopchak set out for Canada. He worked at various occupations, the longest as a coal miner in Diamond City and Coalhurst in Alberta. Here he joined the Ukrainian labour-farmer movement, the miners' union and the Communist Party.

He immediately revealed great organizational abilities and became one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association. In 1930 the branch of the ULFTA in Coalhurst sent him to the Higher Educational Course in Winnipeg, which he completed very successfully. Immediately after the conclusion of the course the Central Committee of the ULFTA sent him to Kharkiv in Soviet Ukraine to continue his education at the Ukrainian Institute

* The charge is preposterous; Germany and Poland were not allies.

† Irchan came to Canada in 1923.

** The Northern Lemko region of Ukraine was ceded to Poland by the USSR in 1945.

of Journalism.

Having completed a three-year course of studies, Peter Prokopchak returned to Canada and was appointed editor of the journal *Robitnytsia*. Then at the national convention of the ULFTA he was elected recording secretary of the Executive Committee. Simultaneously he was elected secretary of the National Bureau of the Ukrainian fraction of the Communist Party of Canada. He held both posts until his internment in July 1940, when the federal government banned the ULFTA and the Ukrainian progressive papers.

During various years Peter Prokopchak was editor of the papers *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, *Narodna Hazeta* and *Ukrainske Zhyttia*.

He was a talented educator and pedagogue and directed many Higher Educational Courses, which contributed many able organizers, journalists and directors of amateur cultural groups to the Ukrainian progressive movement. . . .

For many years Peter Prokopchak headed the NEC of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians as secretary or chairman. For the last three and a half years, until his death, he was honorary president of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians. . . .

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 9 November 1981.

6. Peter Krawchuk, 1911–

Although he has only a minimal formal education and a six-month Higher Educational Course sponsored by the ULFTA, Krawchuk acquired a good grasp of the Ukrainian language and history to emerge as an accomplished journalist and one of the ablest of the post-Second World War leaders of the Ukrainian pro-communist movement. Ambitious, energetic and productive, he has written considerably on the Ukrainian pro-communist movement in Canada. However, his writings, although numerous and containing much valuable information, are marred by lack of objectivity and vituperation. Although deeply disturbed by Russification, he is careful not to jeopardize the frequent invitations and the special privileges he enjoys in the USSR by courtesy of the Soviet authorities.

Born 6 June 1911 in the . . . Lviv region. In 1927 joined Selrob* and in 1928–30 worked in its apparatus in Lviv. In 1929 became a member of the Young Communist League of Western Ukraine. In 1930 immigrated to

* Ukrainian Peasant-Labour Union, a pro-Soviet alliance formed in Lviv in 1926 and the legal front organization for the illegal Communist Party of Western Ukraine. Banned by the Polish government in 1932.

Canada, where he immediately joined the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, the Workers' Benevolent Association and the Young Communist League. From 1932-6 he was secretary of the CC of the Youth Section of the ULFTA. From 1931 he was a member of the Central Executive Council of the Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine. A member of the Communist Party of Canada since 1932. From 1936 worked on the papers of the Labour-Farmer Publishing Association, *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* and *Narodna Hazeta*. In 1940-2 was imprisoned in the concentration camps in Kananaskis, Petawawa and Hull jail. . . .

SOURCE: URE, vol. 7, 321.

7. Stepan Macievich [Matsiievych], 1909-1971

He was born into a poor peasant family. After completing elementary school he entered a *gymnasium*. With no prospects in his native Bukovyna... he immigrated to Canada with the help of his uncle at the age of nineteen.

Like all immigrant workers, he was employed as a labourer. Under the influence of his uncle he joined the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association... in which he participated actively, especially in the drama circle. . . .

In addition to his physical work Stepan Macievich found time to expand his understanding. He was absorbed by the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and at the beginning of the 1930s he joined the Communist Party of Canada, in which he took an active part. . . .

Having journalistic talents, he wrote literary sketches... The Labour-Farmer Publishing Association invited him into the administration. He worked in this post until July 1940, when the Ukrainian labour-farmer press was unjustly banned... At that time the leading activists of the Ukrainian progressive movement were arrested and interned. . . .

On the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada he published, together with other activists who had escaped arrest, an underground Ukrainian paper, *Za Voliu* (For Freedom).

In the summer of 1941... Stepan Macievich, together with other activists, initiated Ukrainian Committees To Aid the Fatherland and organized in Toronto the publication of the paper *Ukrainske Zhyttia* (Ukrainian Life), of which he was the editor for many years. . . .

Stepan Macievich completed a course in political education of the Communist Party of Canada... In 1938, on an assignment from the National Council of the TODOVYRNAZU, he visited Bukovyna and established contact with the Communist Party of Northern Bukovyna and with progressive mass organizations. . . .

For many years Stepan Macievich was a member of the National Executive Committee of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and its recording secretary.

For a year and a half (1953–4) he was in Kiev as a special correspondent of the Ukrainian progressive press in Canada and the U.S.A....

SOURCE: Zhyttia i Slovo, 23 August 1971.

8. Michael Korol, 1911–

He was born on 25 October 1911... in the Cherkasy region of Ukraine. His parents were poor peasants. In order to support his large family Ambrose Korol journeyed three times to Canada to earn money. The last time was in 1913, when he took with him his oldest son, Ivan.

His mother remained at home with nine children.... After the war a typhus epidemic raged.... The family of Ambrose Korol lived through a great tragedy; his wife and seven children died. Only son Michael and daughter Melaniia were left....

Ambrose Korol decided to take them to Canada. Before they reached Canada the father died and they came under the care of their brother, Ivan.

Being a member of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, Ivan Korol sent Michael to school in the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg, where he studied the language, history and geography of Ukraine. During the day he attended the public school.

When the Ukrainian Labour Youth Association was formed (later renamed the Youth Section of the ULFTA), he was one of its founders. In 1928 he joined the Young Communist League (YCL). In 1929–30 he was secretary of the Central Committee of the Youth Section of the ULFTA.

In the summer of 1930 he completed the Higher Educational Course. Later the YCL sent him on an organizational mission among the miners of the nickel industry in Sudbury. For some time he was also on YCL work in Montreal.

Noting the journalistic abilities of Michael Korol, the CC of the YCL appointed him editor of its organ, the *Young Worker*. Then, at a convention of the YCL, he was elected a member of its CC.

In 1939 he went to work among the Canadian Ukrainian youth, becoming national secretary of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association.

During the Second World War he worked in the gold mines in the town of Timmins. The workers... elected him vice-president of their union (1943) and a member of the town council.

While working in a mine he was seriously injured.... His life was only saved by a successful operation on his skull.

In 1946 the convention of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians elected him a member of the National Executive Committee. Since 1954 he has also been working as the manager of the Canadian Ukrainian Publishing Association.

As a public figure Michael Korol participates actively in the struggle for peace and friendship of nations and is a member of the Canadian Peace Congress. He was also a participant in two world peace congresses in Warsaw and Stockholm. This year, together with Mary Skrypnyk, he headed a large group of Canadian Ukrainians which participated in the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the funeral of T.H. Shevchenko in Kaniv. . . .

SOURCE: Ukrainske Zhyttia, 8 November 1961.

9. John Boyd [Boychuk], 1913–

In 1930, at the age of seventeen, John Boyd was the youngest student in the Higher Education Course of the ULFTA in Winnipeg. In 1936 he became a member of the Communist Party. His rise in the party was rapid, if not spectacular. In 1958 he was appointed editor-in-chief of the party's organ, the Canadian Tribune, and elected to the party's Central Committee, Central Executive Committee and Secretariat. In 1967 he was appointed the CPC representative on the editorial board of the international communist journal, the World Marxist Review, in Prague. Boyd was in Czechoslovakia when democratic reforms, which he supported, were being introduced. He opposed the invasion by Russian and Warsaw Pact troops and in October, 1968, resigned from the Central Committee. On his return to Canada in 1969, he resigned from the party and has since been denounced by the leaders of the party and of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations.

John Boyd was born in Edmonton forty years ago. His parents were among the early immigrants from Ukraine to the West and were active in the workers' movement before they met and married. His father, John Boychuk, worked many years in the coal mines and at other jobs.

And in 1918, when John was only five years old, his father was arrested and sentenced to five years in prison for anti-war activity. At that time, too, however, there was a strong public protest against persecution of progressive workers and John Boychuk served only three weeks in jail.

John Boyd's "public activity" began in that year, 1918, when he started to go to Ukrainian school, studied music and lisped recitations from Shevchenko's poems at Lanuke in Alberta.

John Boychuk went east, first to Kapuskasing and then to Thorold, working in the paper mills, and in 1924–5, when the first youth section of the

Ukrainian association was established in that town, John Boyd was elected its secretary. So he can draw on organizational experience not only of twenty-five years ago, but twenty-nine.

In 1930 John Boyd was forced to halt his formal education. In that year he was expelled from the Thorold High School because he refused to join the military Cadets.

But the young lad, who had already taken part in provincial conventions, was not only the pride of the workers in Thorold but had come to the attention of the national leaders. And that same year he was chosen for the Higher Educational Course of the association in Winnipeg, where the late Matthew Popowich taught rising young leaders both the theory and the organizational problems of the workers' movement.

In 1931 John Boyd became the editor of the *Militant Youth*, the monthly magazine of the youth section, and soon also assumed the post of the national secretary of the youth organization. And in 1932 he made his first tour of the whole of Canada—he has crossed our country many times since those days.

In 1933 he became youth organizer in Alberta and there he met and married Gladys Kucheran, whose miner father and mother were also pioneer members of the workers' movement and who was also an active youth leader, and taught Ukrainian school and orchestra in Lethbridge as well. . . .

In 1935 John Boyd was called to Toronto to edit the *Young Worker*. He later became the first editor of the youth magazine *Advance* and still later went to work on the *Daily Clarion*.

In 1940 he returned to Winnipeg to work in the People's Co-operative and became the manager of the Co-op creamery in Minnedosa. But in 1942 he was called back to Toronto where he became the business manager of the *Canadian Tribune*.

In 1943 John Boyd was elected to the Toronto Board of Education. But the drive for the Second Front to finish fascism in Europe was on and John Boyd resigned his seat to join the Canadian Army. He was not able to go overseas, however, since the Army recognized his talents by making him the editor of the magazine of the Signals Corps, the *Signalman*.

Returning from the army in 1946, he was again elected to the Board of Education in Toronto while working on the *Daily Tribune*. And the next year he was elected national secretary of the Canadian Slav Committee, which post he has capably filled for the past six years.

This year has taken him on nation-wide tours, speaking, lecturing and organizing All-Slav activities—concerts, picnics, exhibits, film distribution—and on several delegations abroad. He is a member of the national committee of the Canadian Peace Congress and attended the world peace congress in Sheffield and Warsaw in 1950 and the Asian and Pacific peace conference in Peking last year, about which he informed tens of thousands of Slavic and other Canadians in meetings in all parts of Canada.

Today he is known and respected all over Canada and in many parts of the world. He is still a young man, but he has managed to pack in a lot of fine work in those forty years, winning the esteem and love of his many co-workers and many thousands of workers.

SOURCE: *The Ukrainian Canadian*, 1 June 1953.

10. Stanley Dobrowolsky, 1917–

Like most of the younger leaders of the AUUC, Stanley Dobrowolsky is typical in his total commitment and absolute dedication to the communist movement. Pleasant, able and energetic, he rose quite rapidly in the ranks, becoming assistant to the national secretary of the NEC of the AUUC in 1954 and treasurer in 1966. He has studied in Kiev and has been a communist candidate in a federal election.

Stanley Dobrowolsky's greatest difficulty is finding enough time to spend with his wife Rose and his two children Jerry, six, and Nancy, three. And no wonder! When Stanley's activities in Montreal and district are listed you will wonder when he finds time for meals.

Being the provincial secretary-organizer of the AUUC in Quebec is a full-time job, but when you add that he is also the secretary of the Montreal Slav committee, chairman of the Montreal English-speaking branch, choir director in Pt. St. Charles, member of the Montreal Peace Council plus numerous other responsibilities, you marvel where he gets the strength and energy.

Stanley's greatest asset in his work with people is his friendliness and sociability, his generous acceptance that their problems are his own and that his help is necessary. This characteristic has endeared him to old and young alike, and has helped him tremendously in his work as an organizer.

Perhaps his background and upbringing have something to do with his deep understanding of people. Orphaned at the age of eleven, he was one of the many children who found a home in the then existing Workers' Benevolent Association orphanage in Parkdale, Man. There, he claims, he gained most of his organizational experience, being active in the Youth Club and in sports, and as editor of the monthly bulletin board. Even at that time he was an ardent reader, often playing "hookey" from English school to stay home and read.

When Stanley was eighteen, the WBA sent him to London, Ont., to take a course in physical training. Shortly after that in 1936, he attended a leadership and teacher's course that was sponsored by the ULFTA. This lasted six months. He was assigned to work in Lachine, Quebec, where he taught Ukrainian school, orchestra and choir. While there he also organized a sports group that was the pride of the district and some of its members to this day

participate in the annual Montreal and district sports meets.

During the first months of the war Stanley worked in a war plant where he helped organize and became secretary of the union, but soon he volunteered for the armed forces, where he served three years. In the air force he was sports editor of the ordinance newspaper, *Long Pointer*, led classes in gymnastics and organized sports leagues. This he did through the YMCA.

Discharged from the armed forces Stanley felt that he would like to continue his education in physical training. He took a three-month refresher course with the aim of attending McGill University, but here the pressure of organizational work which he considered more important intervened.

He became provincial organizer of English-speaking branches and youth clubs and later, when Tony Bilecki, then provincial secretary, was transferred to Winnipeg, took his place.

In spite of all these activities Stanley found time to spend two summers as chief counsellor at the International Children's Camp "Wetiahee" in the Laurentians, which he enjoyed very much. He was also active in the Home and School Association in Lachine, serving for a while on the executive.

Being so consistent in his own work, it is no wonder that his pet peeve is anyone who promises to undertake a responsibility and neglects it. Stanley is doing a wonderful job of building the AUUC and the movement for peace in the Montreal district. . . .

SOURCE: Mary Skrypyk, *The Ukrainian Canadian*, 15 December 1949.

11. Hryhorii Rubanets, 1881–1944

The local branches of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations emerged and flourished through the sacrifice and dedication of local activists, some of whom developed into prominent local leaders. Most have passed away, leaving scanty if any records of their contributions. Following is the obituary of one such leader by a fellow member.

Timmins, Ont.—On 10 August came the sad news of the death of the late Hryhorii Rubanets. The deceased was born in 1881 . . . in Bukovyna.

He came to Canada in 1909 and at first worked in Quebec at prospecting. A year later he came to Cobalt and worked there one year. In 1911 he came to Timmins, where he lived the rest of his life. The late Rubanets worked tirelessly in organizing the workers in the struggle for improved conditions. In 1912 a miners' strike broke out in Timmins. The deceased played a leading role in that strike, for which he spent several weeks in prison. In 1914 he organized a branch of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party. This branch conducted work until the organization of the Workers' Party of Canada, of

which he became a leader. He was also a leader of the underground Communist Party of Canada...to which he also recruited me in the fall of 1922. He was a paid organizer of the miners' union which existed here prior to 1920. In 1922 the deceased headed the committee to aid the starving along the Volga in the Soviet Union. He rallied to that committee a group of women of whom was formed a strong women's branch, which joined the Women's Section of the ULFTA. The same year the construction of the ULT was begun. And there too he was in the forefront. The construction was begun but there was little money. To economize the deceased took a week's leave of absence from the mine and went to Sturgeon Falls to a sawmill to purchase building material more cheaply at the source. He did not ask any remuneration for this service. In the autumn of 1922 the construction of the ULT was completed. The deceased then became concerned about a children's school. There was a sizeable group of children but no teacher. Rubanets also solved that problem, finding a teacher in South Porcupine, the late I. Syska. Thus began the educational movement here under the leadership of H. Rubanets.

The late Rubanets worked with such sincerity to 1934. At that time he fell ill with silicosis, a miners' illness....

Farewells were delivered by I. Onatsky from the Labour Progressive Party, Tom McNeil from the Miners' Union, M. Tkachuk from the Ukrainian mass organizations.... All the speakers recognized the great merits of Rubanets as one of those who laid the foundations for the progressive and trade union movement in Northern Ontario. As M. Tkachuk said: "Whoever writes the history of the progressive movement in Canada must also include Northern Ontario, and here he will find the name of H. Rubanets, who placed the foundations under today's labour movement...." F. Vasyliuk, speaking on behalf of the Workers' Co-operative, noted that the late Rubanets was among the first organizers of this co-operative, which has developed into one of the finest enterprises of that type in Northern Ontario. All these facts indicate that in Northern Ontario hardly anything was organized without the leading participation of the late H. Rubanets....

SOURCE: V. Karcha, *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 31 August 1944.

Chapter 7. Growth

In the history of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations there were periods when little, if any, progress was made. This was due to a number of factors, such as the controversy with the Communist Party over the question of "the turn onto the path of revolutionary struggle," the implementation of the "turn" itself, several serious controversies in the ranks, and the defection of a substantial number of valuable and experienced leaders and activists. However, these setbacks were only temporary. On the whole the period was marked by a phenomenal growth of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations both through the development of existing branches and the formation of new ones, as is evident from the following documents.

1. Rapid Progress of ULTA

It seems to me that in order to see how the educational and organizational work is developing among Ukrainian workers in Canada, it is necessary to examine and study the last page of *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*... in which workers from everywhere write about the labour movement in their localities.

Take, for example, the report of the branch of the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Drumheller. Not long ago... they had a weak branch of the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association and the comrades always complained that there was no one to conduct the work properly. And today? Their quarterly report speaks for itself. The association had an income of \$1,322.40 during the three-month period. This does not include the several hundred dollars which the committee has on hand for remodelling the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Drumheller. This also does not include the \$731.80 collected for the starving along the Volga. ...

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 22 April 1922.

2. T. Kobzey's [Kobzei] Report to the Fifteenth Convention of the ULFTA

As indicated by comrade Kobzey's report, the ULFTA and its sections number 8,838 men and women members. The Ukrainian Workers' Children's School has 1,935 pupils. The libraries of the ULFTA have 26,898 books.... Value of the property of the ULFTA is \$652,983.90. Since the last convention \$21,769.90 has been paid on the debts on the buildings. In May and November, 1934, a total of \$32,119.62 was collected for our labour-farmer press and 1,394 new subscribers were acquired....

SOURCE: *Zvit i Rezoliutsii Piatnadtsiatoho Zizdu Tovarystva Ukrainskyi Robitnycho-Farmerskyi Dim shcho vidbuvsia v dniakh 18 i 19 bereznia 1935 roku v Ukr. Rob. Domi u Vinnipehu* [Report and Resolutions of the Fifteenth Convention of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association which was held on 18 and 19 March 1935 in the Ukr. Lab. Temple in Winnipeg], (Winnipeg: Tovarystvo Ukrainskyi Robitnycho-Farmerskyi Dim, 1935), 7-8. Henceforth reports of the ULFTA conventions are cited as *Zvit* with the number of the convention and its date. All reports were published by the ULFTA in Winnipeg shortly after each convention for internal organizational use.

3. The ULFTA is Growing in Numbers and Strength

When we reported on the December campaign we set ourselves the task of organizing ten new branches of our organization by the time of the Sixteenth Convention of the ULFTA. We have partly accomplished our task, we have organized six new branches and acquired one society for the ULFTA....

New branches have been organized in the following localities: Frontenac, Quebec; Norman, Beverly and North Star, Alberta; Canora and Yorkton, Saskatchewan. The T. Shevchenko Society in Opal, Alberta, has joined the ULFTA.

Our slogan: thirty-five new branches from the fifteenth to the sixteenth convention* will be realized when we organize four new branches.

John Boychuk, secretary
NEC, ULFTA.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 19 June 1937

* The fifteenth ULFTA Convention was held on 18-19 March 1935, the sixteenth on 19-24 July 1937.

4. The WBA Overfulfills its Quota

Calculations on 30 November of the two-month campaign for new members for the Workers' Benevolent Association revealed that the quota of 800 new members, which the association decided to recruit in the months of September and October, has been overfulfilled. The WBA recruited 816 new members during that period... During the campaign thirteen new branches were organized.

With the conclusion of the campaign the number of members in the WBA exceeded 5,000. New members continue to join after the campaign. The National Executive receives several applications daily...

A turning point in the organizational work of the association was made at the eleventh convention... In one year from the eleventh to the twelfth convention* 800 new members were recruited and one new branch organized. After the twelfth convention the pulse of organizational life began to beat even faster. Over 800 members and 13 branches were acquired in two months.

The rapid growth and the strengthening of the organization is due in part to the changes in its structure adopted at the twelfth convention and in part to the sincere work locally, the work of the organizers and the sound leadership in the centre.

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 4 December 1937.

5. The Ranks of TODOVYRNAZU are Increasing

The forces of the Association to Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine (TODOVYRNAZU) are increasing. Our secretaries are writing more letters and new members are joining.

At the meeting of the Central Executive Council on 13 December thirty-eight new members were admitted. A new branch has been organized in Carrot River, Saskatchewan, with 15 members and in Vauxhall, Alberta, with 12 members. In other localities: East Coulee recruited 4 new members, Highness Creek, Alberta—3, Preston, Ontario—2, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan—1 and South Porcupine, Ontario—1. Altogether 38 members and 2 new branches—a fine achievement.

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 20 December 1937.

* The eleventh was held on 12–14 July 1936 and the twelfth on 28–9 July 1937.

6. A New ULFTA Branch of Eighteen Members is Organized

The 8th of May will be an historic day for Ukrainians in Sioux Lookout. On that day a branch of the ULFTA was organized here.

At exactly 2 p.m. over thirty workers gathered at a prearranged place for a meeting. The meeting was opened by comrade Korobeinik, who said that now more than ever we need a worker-farmer organization.

Then the chairman called upon the representative of the district committee, who spoke on the present international situation, especially of the military events in Europe and the Far East. Then he touched on the question of organization of Ukrainians in Canada and explained the tasks and aims of the various Ukrainian organizations in this country. In concluding his address the representative of the district committee appealed to those present to become members of the ULFTA.

In response to his appeal, eighteen members joined, after which an executive of eight was elected. And so the dream which was nourished so long by progressive Ukrainians of our town was realized at last.

We now announce with pride to all Ukrainian workers in the vicinity of Sioux Lookout that we have begun a great deed which they will help bring to a successful conclusion. A cultural-educational basis for our Ukrainian colony in the far north has been established.

Scattered around Sioux Lookout are logging camps, saw mills and gold mines in which hundreds of Ukrainian workers are employed. They very often come to Sioux Lookout as to the first civilized centre. Till now the local Ukrainians did not have a cultural-educational organization which could satisfy the wishes of the majority of the local Ukrainians. The National Home, unfortunately, did not attempt to fulfill the wishes of the majority of the Ukrainian toiling mass.

Instead of honestly facing the facts and becoming a real national centre... the leadership... began to support only the enemies of the Ukrainian working people.

We are informing all Ukrainian workers outside our town that we have a real Ukrainian national centre, which henceforth will work to satisfy the needs of the Ukrainian people and to promote the unity of the Ukrainian workers. All you who work in bush camps, on the railroad, in the saw mills, mines and on claims, come to your centre....

A Member.

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 18 May 1938.

7. Thirty-two Join New Branch of the ULFTA on the Farms

Bonne Madone, Sask. I wish to write about our locality. I am one of many readers of *Narodna Hazeta* but I never saw articles from our locality.

Not far away, in Wakaw, a Ukrainian film, *Natalka Poltavka*, was shown. A large number of farmers came to see this film, which indicates that Ukrainian farmers are interested in their culture. There were farmers who came twenty and even thirty miles to see the film. There were also many old farmers. Although the hall in Wakaw is quite large, it could not accommodate everyone... and it was necessary to have three showings.

The Ukrainian farmers also indicated an interest in organizing and for that reason it was resolved to call a mass meeting in the school in Bonne Madone to which comrade Krenz of Saskatoon, who toured with the film, was invited.

Again many farmers and their wives assembled. They were interested in what the speaker would say. They selected from among themselves comrade Petro Pakhota to chair the meeting....

Comrade Krenz spoke about matters which we must all experience. He indicated in his speech that farmers have a hard life because they are not united and because various parasites profit from the labour of farmers....

After comrade Krenz's speech the farmers asked questions to which they received full and satisfactory answers. On the appeal of a comrade the farmers agreed to join the ranks of organized workers and farmers in order to struggle jointly for a better life. In this manner we organized a branch of the ULFTA to which twenty-two applied....

We hope that if we all work in the organization we will succeed in increasing the membership of our branch....

Mykola Khytyk, Farmer

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 29 September 1937.

8. Report of Organizational Tour of the Peace River District

Highland Park, Alberta. The district conference in Highland Park resolved that I and comrade I. Zamorsky go on tour in December in the district to strengthen the organizational work in the branches of the ULFTA and to form new branches. Comrade Zamorsky could not go, therefore I went alone. Time was limited and I could not visit all the localities where there were Ukrainians....

I visited a number of localities where we already have branches and also places where our organizers have not been yet.

The Ukrainians in this district number not hundreds but thousands, however, our organizations are not very widespread because the farmers live 30-80

miles from the railroad and it is not always possible to reach such places.

Even in those localities where our organizers have not yet been the farmers are quite sympathetic to the militant movement and one notices a desire to struggle for the right to live. A large number of farmers require relief and clothing, but all this is very difficult to obtain because they are not organized. Collectors forcibly collect tax arrears and, although farmers complain, they have not yet raised any organized opposition. They are not sympathetic to the Social Credit Party because they are convinced that they have been misled.

In some localities there are still branches of the UFA and the CCF, although they are not active. . . .

SOURCE: Farmerske Zhyttia, 13 January 1937.

9. In the CEC of the ULFTA

On 2 August the newly elected CEC of the ULFTA held its first meeting, at which three new locals were admitted to the ULFTA in the following localities: Seba Beach, Alberta, 14 members; Mears, Manitoba, 9 members; Beardmore, Ontario, 9 members. At this meeting the admission of 10 new members was confirmed. Altogether 42 new members were accepted at the meeting of the CEC. . . .

Thus, at the sixteenth convention, which has just ended, the ULFTA had 165 branches. Since the convention 3 branches have been organized, making a total of 168 branches.

Our call at the sixteenth convention for 200 branches and 1,000 new members by the end of 1938 is being acted upon from the first week after the convention.

The provincial and district committees should place the question of organizing new branches and recruiting new members on their agendas. . . .

On behalf of the CEC, ULFTA,

J. Boychuk, financial secretary.

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robotnychi Visti, 6 August 1937.

10. The Growth and Achievements of the ULFTA

... At the time of its banning the ULFTA had 161 men's branches. The women's section of the ULFTA had about 40 branches. Alongside there was the Federation of Canadian Ukrainian Youth and the Junior Section of the ULFTA.

We had 87 mandolin orchestras, 6 bands, 13 sports groups and about 40 active drama groups.

Five six-month Higher Education Courses and one three-month course in the organization's centre and a number of provincial and district courses were held for the improvement of the cultural work. The three-month course was held in 1924 and the six-month courses in 1925–6, 1928, 1930, 1936 and 1938.

We crowned our cultural work with a large festival in 1939 in Toronto. . . .

SOURCE: Ivan Boichuk [John Boychuk], *Borotba za lehalizatsiiu TURFDim* [The Struggle for the Legalization of the ULFTA] (Toronto: TsVK, TURFDim, 1948), 24. Henceforth cited as *Borotba*.

Chapter 8. The Training of Cadres

In order to function and grow the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Mass Organizations required cadres. They needed organizers, functionaries, administrators, editors, reporters and, above all, teachers and cultural workers. Consequently, to train cadres they organized courses. There were national, provincial, district and local courses operating full-time, evenings or weekends. Some lasted six months, others a weekend. The curriculum included a range of topics from music to dialectical materialism and Marxism. Local evening or weekend courses were often organized to train worker-correspondents for the press, speakers or functionaries such as chairmen, secretaries and treasurers of local branches. Courses of longer duration included a variety of subjects taught by teachers of language and music and by leading political activists.

There were six national courses between 1924 and 1936. All were held in Winnipeg in 1924, 1925-6, 1928, 1930, 1936 and 1938. The first lasted three months, the others six months. The number of students in each course varied, but rarely exceeded forty. Other courses, which were quite numerous, varied in content and number of participants.

1. Educational Work in the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Mass Organizations

One of the best means of creating new groups of active workers and preparing them politically for this work is the organizing of courses, which should be held on weekends or in the evenings. These courses should continue for some time. They must include...the study of the science of Marxism-Leninism, the programme of the revolutionary movement of the workers and poor farmers, current political questions, the delivery of public speeches, labour reporting and so on. In connection with this it is very important to organize English courses, because they help in overcoming the isolation which separates those workers who do not know the English language from the general labour movement. ... It is necessary to keep a careful record of the development of the participants of these courses in order to promote the best elements to leading work in the mass organizations.

SOURCE: Zvit i Rezoliutsii Semoi Konventsii Robitnychoho Zapomohovoho Tovarystva [Report and Resolutions of the Seventh Convention of the Workers' Benevolent Association], 21, 22 and 23 July 1931, 21.

2. Report on the Work of the Montreal District ULFMO

Educational courses are conducted in the whole district: in Montreal a course in political education, attended by 21 participants.... in Point St. Charles and Turcotte a joint course in political education, attended by 32... in Lachine a course in political education attended by 29.... Each course is held twice weekly....

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 19 July 1934.

3. We have Begun a District Course

Hillcrest, Alberta. The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Mass Organization in Crow's Nest Pass has begun a three-month district course. Comrades participate from Hillcrest, Bellevue and Coleman.

The director of the course and teacher is comrade Hutsaliuk. The first lecture took place on 16 November in Hillcrest. At the lecture there were seventeen students. Of these seven were ladies. The students are divided into two groups. The lectures begin at 11 a.m. and again at 7 p.m.

In the first lecture comrade Hutsaliuk introduced the subjects which we will study. Further lectures followed on the development of human society, beginning with primitive communism and ending with capitalism....

We are to study the following subjects: history of the revolutionary movement, political economy and Marxism-Leninism.

We have exemplary discipline in the course. None of the students has yet missed a lecture. All arrive on time. We also maintain good order during the discussion and question period.

The lectures are also visited by auditors who are interested in the lectures.

Before us, the students, stands a great task. We need to arm ourselves with the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which will give us guidance in our daily organizational work....

M.F. Vakaliuk

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 12 December 1936.

4. Graduation of New Cadres from the Political Educational Course in Lanuke, Alberta

On the basis of decisions of the district conference, the Myrnam and Ranfurly district committees of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Mass Organizations planned to conduct jointly a summer course which was to prepare better cadres of workers for the labour-farmer organizations and the revolutionary movement in general. . . .

Consequently, the course was actually begun on 3 July of this year. There were 51 male and female applicants for the course. Five of them, mainly locals, did not attend regularly but 46 attended regularly and studied to the end. The course was attended by 37 boys and 9 girls. Among them were 7 young organizers who already had long and short tours through the rural areas under the auspices of the Youth Section of the ULFTA and the FUL and were even quite successful in some localities.

At this course we had 19 male and female comrades who had previously attended similar courses which had been conducted in Ukrainian or English. There were 27 who attended such a course for the first time. Of the 46 participants, 32 completed the course with a good and 14 with a poorer standing. We named this course after MATTHEW POWOWICH, who had been released along with comrade S. CARR a few days previously from Kingston Penitentiary.

A. Woytyshyn taught all the subjects. We studied political economy, history of the trade-union movement and political parties, the revolutionary movement in Canada in general, the agrarian question in Canada, practical organizational work, practice in speaking and some historical materialism, mainly Marxian dialectics. . . .

The course was conducted according to new methods of teaching. All control, order and discipline were introduced by the students themselves with the assistance of the instructor. For more efficient conduct of the course, five committees were elected, made up of male and female comrades. The school committee looked after order in general; the sanitary looked after the food, cleanliness in the kitchen and the appointment of four assistants each day for the cook; the editorial committee collected and corrected articles and put up the wall newspaper each week; the sports committee organized and conducted sports activities; the art committee looked after plays and concerts.

All the students were divided into four groups. . . . In each a leader was appointed who assisted the students of the group to deal with and master the material of the previous lecture.

In the groups all studied together, discussed, reviewed, questioned and corrected each other and thus assimilated all that was taken in the course. When something was not clear for a group, it was taken up in class with the instructor. After two weeks, nearly every day there were two-hour conferences

with questioning of the students, observations and corrections. Students encouraged one another in each group because the groups competed with each other and for an incorrect answer . . . the whole group was responsible and not only the student.

In the second half of the course there was practice in public speaking for two hours nearly every day. From six to eight speakers were assigned each day.

Lectures in class and group study took up eight hours each day, and sport and rest the remaining time . . . A.B.

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 21 August 1934.

5. Before the Conclusion of the Higher Educational Course

Six months is a long time. More than one among us, young students, wondered how to pass all that time. And in summer at that.

And really, it was often not easy to study. Hot days, stifling nights made studying difficult. Sometimes it was necessary to get up in the morning in order to cram or write something because during the day although one sat half-naked, sweat did not permit one to write, it wet the paper.

Are there fortresses which Bolsheviks cannot conquer? Youthful energy of our students, unshakable will and unconquerable desire to learn took precedence. We conquered fortress after fortress, and not only conquered but fortified them so that later we could help others to conquer.

Political economy, economic geography, grammar, psychology, history of the revolutionary labour movement, history of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), history of Ukraine and the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine, history of the trade-union movement and so on. . . . Page after page revealed new problems for us, gave us more and more knowledge and orientation in all complex problems of the rise and development of the revolutionary labour movement.

Take, for example, the history of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik). It seems that there is not a history of any party so complex, so rich in various problems as the history of the All-Union Communist Party. And no matter how complicated the problem in the international working-class movement to be solved, knowing the history of the All-Union Communist Party, it is easy to seek its solution.

There were times when more than one of us wished that the day had not 12 but 15-18 hours, that 2-3 hours were enough sleep so that there would be more time to study.

Before realizing it we were studying the last subject on our course, Leninism and the more important problems of dialectical materialism. There,

apparently, is no other more complex subject for study than materialist dialectics as a philosophical science, which is the fundamental theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism. The generality and complexity of the heterogeneous problems of this science are not easy to master. In order to understand the importance of the subject, it is enough to note that materialist dialectics is the methodology and the fundamental theoretical basis of scientific perception in all its branches. . . .

It is necessary to sit many hours over the problem of unity of opposites, the law of transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa, the law of the negation of the negation and many others. . . . Once you understand, everything becomes clear. You know why the mechanists and idealists opposed the economic teachings of Marx and Lenin, why various groups and deviations arose in the parties of the proletariat, why and where everyone will end up who strays from the correct path indicated by the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Examinations in our course have already begun. In a few days thirty-nine of us, young boys and girls, will disperse to work across Canada. . . .

One concept binds us all: regardless of where we are we will work for one great cause—the cause of the liberation of the toiling masses. . . .

Bilan, student

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 24 October 1936.

Chapter 9. Adult Education

From its very formation there was a strong emphasis, in what later became the ULFTA, on the promotion of education among adults as a means of raising the level of understanding of the Marxian ideology and of producing more effective members in the communist movement. The branches organized courses for the illiterate, courses in English, courses to train correspondents for the press and functionaries for the branches. In addition there were lectures and joint readings for the mass of members and libraries in the larger branches and a central or travelling library where books could be ordered by mail.

1. Local Educational Courses and Joint Readings

...According to reports, 22 branches had courses for the illiterate, 46 had joint readings, 17 had educational courses, 5 had courses in the English language....

The education courses included Ukrainian grammar, geography, history and others....

Report of the Secretary of the CEC of the ULFTA.

SOURCE: *Zvit (Vosmoho Zizdu 17, 18 i 19 sichnia, 1927)*, 5.

2. We are Studying English in the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg

Many young male and female workers are attending courses in English at the Ukrainian Labour Temple. At present there are 148 in this course. Lessons in English are conducted daily in the morning and in the afternoon for three hours, and three times a week, on Monday from 9 to 11 p.m., on Tuesday and Thursday from 7:30 to 10:30 p.m....

To make instruction easier the course is divided into groups. We now have one group of students who know some English, both spoken and written. They

attend daily from 9 to 12 in the morning. There are thirty-six such students.

In the English classes in the afternoon there are also two groups. One starts lessons at the very beginning. There are forty-five such beginning students in that group. They study from 1 to 4 in the afternoon.

Another group, which also studies in the afternoon, has nearly twenty students who know a little English, both spoken and written....

There is also an evening course in English which at present has forty-seven students. It is attended mainly by workers who work during the day....

The whole course is placed on an organized basis. Each group has its own executive elected by the students themselves. Representatives of the student groups are members of the educational committee which directs and jointly controls the work of the course....

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 13 December 1930.

3. Plan of the Organizational-Educational Committee, Timmins, Ontario

Beginning on Sunday, 23 August, the following are to speak: comrades Hontar, Halandzhiy, Parnega, Rogers, Martin, Ivaniuk and Hnatiuk. The speakers should select their own subjects and report to the chairman of our committee, comrade Maidaniuk.

It is suggested to the branches of the ULFMO that during the autumn and winter seasons they hold their meetings on Sunday afternoons because at that time it is easiest to draw the majority of the members to the meetings.

In addition to this it is planned to hold lectures in the Ukrainian Labour Temple every Wednesday. On Wednesday, 26 August, comrade Stiahar is to give a lecture on the Soviet Union; on 2 September there will be a lecture on the condition of the Ukrainian people in Western Ukraine which will be given by comrade Hontar; on 9 September comrade Martin will give a lecture on the Constitution of the USSR; on 16 September comrade Barabash will deliver a lecture on world events. Comrade Parnega will give a lecture on the World Youth Congress on 23 September and on 30 September there will be a mass meeting of women workers at which comrade Ivaniuk will speak on the role of women in the class struggle.

In addition, educational work must also be conducted in the wards. It has, therefore, been decided to call a meeting of all ward chairmen and secretaries at which work in the wards will be planned. Such a meeting is called for 24 August and on 7 September educational work in the wards is to begin. Prior to the above-mentioned meeting the secretaries should find suitable books for reading at the ward gatherings and propose them at the joint meeting on 24 August.

The plan of the district committee to hold a three-month educational course in our locality beginning on 1 November was adopted at our meeting. The course is to be held during the day and evening hours in order to accommodate all the membership of our branches of the ULFMO and our sympathizers. The educational committee suggests that a separate educational youth course be conducted at the same time. The branches of the ULFMO should obtain \$200 to organize the course.

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robotnychi Visti, 19 September 1936.

4. Conduct in the Organization

In addition to the various courses and lectures there were often special educational articles designed to advance organizational work by improving human relations. Following are two articles on personal conduct.

We often hear rumours about anger and misunderstanding in the branches. This happens mainly where comrades have as yet little organizational experience, where they are not well-read, have not been in the organization long and have seen little. In such branches the smallest trifle and people are angry with each other.

Anger is evidence of limited understanding. Actually, an understanding person will never be angry and especially at a comrade. An understanding person will not be angry even with opponents because we will not overcome our class enemies by anger but by knowledge and organization. And how will our organization develop if we become angry with each other over the slightest trifle. . . .

I repeat that this is a sign of mental underdevelopment and therefore we should once and for all stop becoming angry and consequently holding enmity toward each other.

When someone directs an offensive word to a thinking person, he sees in it an insignificant word from an insignificant person and is not angry because of it. . . .

Clearly, everyone should be careful, before he utters an unfriendly or abusive word, to consider what to say and whether such a word is merited. Everyone should remember that through his words he displays his character before the public. If, comrade, you utter a common, rude, offensive word, those who are listening and can think will regard you as a simpleton. . . .

On this occasion let us also add: be *aboveboard*. Let us not say anything about a person when he is not present, because this is dishonest. If we are telling the truth, and we are not cowards but bold fighters for the truth, let us speak the truth in the person's presence or remain silent.

When we speak the truth, it is not to offend, to reproach or to annoy but to correct, to set a person on the right road. Even when we criticize someone, let us first ask ourselves whether, in his place, we would have done otherwise.

Let us hide our "I" and always think of "we." Let us not say "I did" but "We did." However, when we say "we will do it," remember that we should be first, thus giving encouragement by our example to others. . . .

Act according to these instructions, comrades, and there will be love and harmony among you and your organization will become an example for the whole district. The labour-farmer organization is growing so rapidly and is spreading throughout all of Canada because its members are at least a little different in their way of thinking and their conduct from those who are not class-conscious or very reflective.

SOURCE: Farmerske Zhyttia, 3 August 1927.

5. How Not to Carry on a Discussion

In their loyalty to their paper and the labour-farmer movement in general our readers often attempt to recruit a new reader or a member to the labour-farmer organizations. A comrade wishes to convince a person, but this person has been prejudiced by the Petliurites and generally by the yellow-blue press and the priests against our whole movement. It is not so easy to convince a person in one short discussion. The comrade becomes excited, the opponent also. Finally they both utter impolite words. . . . As a result such a "parishioner" thinks that all members of the labour-farmer organizations are hot-headed. . . .

Some are prejudiced against the labour-farmer movement, its organizations and press because of the influence of agents of the masters, the Ukrainian gentlemen and would-be gentlemen, and all the so-called intelligentsia which, in fact, has very little intelligence.

It is necessary to speak to poor farmers or workers or farm hands in a friendly manner, sincerely, with conviction and to the point. For this it is necessary to know the facts. To know them, it is necessary to read one's press and to use the facts and evidence in it. One must not attack another person or his views, because it is not his fault that he does not understand matters as they really are. It is necessary to explain in a comradely manner and to repeat over a long period before a person is convinced.

It is most important that the readers and members of all our organizations should conduct themselves everywhere in such a manner that no one could point a finger at them because they do not live as they teach others. One must not be selfish or two-faced, spread falsehoods, have anything to do with home brew or dishonest company. In addition it is necessary to study, study and

study, not only to remember facts and evidence, but even words from the press and to use them so as to converse, not in broken language used in some village, but in the literary language, which has a wider, better and finer vocabulary such as is used in Soviet Ukraine, where the Ukrainian language is developing broadly....

When a bystander listens to a reader who has learned something from reading his press, he has a sense of respect for him and feels inferior to such a reader.... There are many farmers... who call themselves Bolsheviks or communists but, in fact, are not.... They behave selfishly, say one thing and act otherwise.

It is necessary to change this and then it will be easier for everyone to convince those poor farmers who are not yet with us in the class struggle for liberation.

We must also turn our attention to those who become quickly discouraged. A person once tried to get a subscription from a neighbour; he did not succeed, quickly became discouraged and writes that "here among these people it is not possible to do anything" and even upbraids them for it.

Comrades, educational work is difficult work. The masters and their agents have been sowing various poison in the minds of poor farmers for decades, have taught them to view the world through the master's dark spectacles. It is not possible to cast off these dark spectacles in one approach. It is necessary to work enduringly, determinedly and continually. A word here, two words there, there a fact, here some evidence, there a question and then another. In this manner can one convince every poor farmer whose place is in the class organization of poor farmers and in the labour-farmer educational organization, the ULFTA....

Finally, the last and most important: **HELP ONE ANOTHER IN WORK, IN MISFORTUNE, IN A DIFFICULT SITUATION.** There are many farmers at present who do not have seed grain or flour or clothing or credit with the storekeeper from whom they always purchase. There are others who are slightly better off. It is the duty of the latter to help... those poor ones. Who else will help them? Even if they are not members of our organizations, but are not outright enemies, we must help them. Through such help you will draw them most quickly into your group and they will become sincere sympathizers of our whole class movement....

Remember, comrades, that the masters only promise, but, till now, have not helped the poor.

SOURCE: Farmerske Zhyttia, 29 April 1931.

6. Report on the Work of the ULFMO Travelling Library

In the second year of its existence the travelling library... has made great progress, having doubled the number of readers from last year....

The borrowing of books began in October 1932. By June 1933 there were 225 readers who borrowed 2100 books....

Of these 225 readers...the majority lent the books locally to their acquaintances and also gathered groups of workers around them and read and discussed with them what had been read....

The demands of the travelling library have increased to the point that it is necessary that all branches of our organizations help to expand our library with good new books so that it may service not hundreds but thousands of workers and poor farmers in Canada....

CC, Travelling Library

SOURCE: *Farmerske Zhyttia*, 26 July 1933.

Chapter 10. The ULFTA Children's Schools

The leaders of the ULFTA were fearful lest their children fall under the diverse influences of the social environment, which was generally hostile to the communist ideology. Consequently, education of the children was one of the basic activities of the ULFTA. It trained its own teachers in special courses that lasted up to six months and held classes for children in the evenings, on Saturdays and sometimes on Sunday mornings. Among the subjects taught were Ukrainian literature and grammar, history and geography of Ukraine, music, dancing and physical culture. However, the curriculum was designed to impregnate the children with the communist ideology, allegiance to the USSR and the principle of the class struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a world socialist system.

1. The Question of Ukrainian Schools

In the last year our organization far from satisfied even the most important demands and needs of the labour and farmer children's schools. For that reason the convention is emphasizing those problems concerning the ULFTA schools which it is most essential to solve in the nearest future.

The Central Executive Committee together with the Central School Committee must take decisive steps in the coming year in order to finally publish our own primer and at least the first reader for our schools, because none of the school texts in the Ukrainian language is suitable for use in our schools.

The Central School Committee should insist decisively that all ULFTA schools submit to centralization, that they adopt a single plan of instruction, that they use texts prescribed by the CSC and establish children's libraries in accordance with instructions and book lists of the CSC.

The Central School Committee should make, with the sanction of the Central Executive Committee, every effort to send a school inspector to all ULFTA children's schools as far as this is possible. He should have firm

control over all teachers of the ULFTA schools and demand from them reports on the state of teaching and on their work in the schools.

The local school committees and teachers must submit absolutely to the instructions and discipline of the Central School Committee and send it monthly reports on their work.

A search for teachers by the local school committees can only be made through the Central School Committee and not directly. A teacher who does not have written permission from the Central School Committee cannot teach in any ULFTA school.

The branches and societies in which the school suffered in the past mainly through neglect must make every effort to place the question of the school in first place among their most important matters.

SOURCE: Zvit (Semoho Zizdu 25, 26 i 27 sichnia, 1926), 36.

2. Mobilize the Pupils for the ULT School

In September instruction begins in the Ukrainian labour children's schools in Canada. It is necessary locally to really work in order to get back last year's pupils and recruit new ones. . . . School committees, teachers and ward committees should visit Ukrainian workers and poor farmers and explain to them the obligations and the work of our ULT schools in order to persuade them to register their children. It is not enough to rely on the announcement of the opening of school and individual initiative in the registration of children. It is necessary to visit the homes, talk with the parents and the children and draw them to the ULT schools. First of all, there must be a review of all the members of the Ukrainian labour-farmer organizations whether their children are of school age and whether they will be attending the ULT school. . . .

In those localities where there is no organized ULT school but where there is an organization of the ULFMO, it is necessary to organize a ULT school. If it is difficult to maintain a teacher in a newly organized school, the work with the children should be assigned to a more able man or woman comrade who will carry on with the help of the new booklets of instructions, directions from the Central School Committee and the close co-operation of the rest of the local members. . . .

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 28 August 1934.

3. Resolution on the Instruction and Education of the Children in ULT Schools

The sharpening of the class struggle, the threat of fascism and imperialist war places new demands on the labour-farmer organizations in regard to the education of the youth and the children of the toilers of Canada. . . . Bearing all this in mind the Fifteenth Convention of the ULFTA resolves:

...To unite teaching in school with the class struggle locally and in the various countries and to acquaint the pupils with the more important political and other events. . . .

To organize, for those pupils who have completed ULT schools, courses in political education in the language they understand (English or Ukrainian) in which it would be possible to explain to them questions which are closely allied with the labour movement, with work in the labour organizations and with the present political events and train them as good workers in the organization and the labour movement.

SOURCE: *Zvit (Piatnadtsiatoho Zizdu 18 i 19 bereznia, 1935)*, 31-2.

4. Our Worker Children's School

St. Catharines, Ont. Thanks to the Central Executive Committee and the Provincial Committee we received as teacher for the Ukrainian and Polish worker schools in St. Catharines P. Ishchuk, a student of the higher educational course.

There were no regular classes in the Ukrainian Labour Temple for more than three years simply because we had no steady and qualified teacher. Classes were held for two or three months during the whole school year. For that reason, children who even had the desire to study did not have the opportunity to benefit from schooling. Simultaneously, the Polish labour organization felt the need to organize and conduct a Polish worker children's school which comrade Yakubyshyn conducted last year and which had twenty-six children.

We have now drawn up the following school plan with the Polish comrades: on Mondays and Thursdays from 5 to 7 p.m. Ukrainian worker children's school; on Tuesdays and Fridays from 5 to 7 p.m. Polish worker children's school; on Wednesdays from 5 to 7 p.m. and on Saturdays from 10 a.m. to 12 noon joint classes in music for Ukrainian and Polish children. The teacher, comrade Ishchuk, is quite adequate in the Ukrainian and Polish languages. . . .

A mass meeting of school-age children was held on Sunday, 29 November to popularize the Ukrainian and Polish worker children's schools. At that meeting comrade Kotyk explained the difference between bourgeois education

and the upbringing of children in our Ukrainian Labour Temple schools. In our schools, in addition to Ukrainian language, singing and music, they also learn to understand whose children they are and whose interests they should defend.

Comrade Ishchuk explained the significance of education in general and working-class education in particular. Working-class education teaches how to conduct the struggle for a better life for the workers and their youth, which the bourgeoisie prepares for cannon fodder in the future war for the interests of the bourgeoisie, which teaches our children to be hostile to the workers' liberation movement. Our youth should be on the side of the class-conscious workers and the peoples' front against war and fascism. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 8 December 1936.

5. To Ukrainian School

Simultaneously with the general school season teaching will begin in the Ukrainian schools which have been in existence for many years in the branches of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association. These are additional schools and are very important for the upbringing of the Ukrainian-Canadian youth.

Every Ukrainian family should see to it that the young Ukrainian-Canadian generation knows the Ukrainian language, history and culture. Every person who knows more than one language becomes more useful in society and has more satisfaction in life. In learning the Ukrainian language, history and culture, the young Ukrainian-Canadian generation becomes more educated, more cultured and more informed generally.

Thousands of Ukrainians (and non-Ukrainians) who were present on 15 July at the Ukrainian Festival of Song, Music and Dance in Toronto will agree with our high evaluation of the ULFTA schools when we explain that the young people who played, sang and danced at the festival are students of the ULFTA schools.

Scores of young Ukrainian teachers, most of them already Canadian-born, are the educators of those highly cultured young people, who, with their fine playing, melodious singing and mass, lively dancing, delighted the throngs of people.

Ukrainian children's schools in the ULFTA branches are not only schools, they are excellent educational institutions. . . . Every father and every mother should regard it as a great honour to send their children to the ULFTA school. . . . To these schools children come only two or three times a week for a few hours. The organization makes every effort that its schools be accessible to children of all the poorest families. . . .

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 1 September 1939.

6. Teachers of ULFTA Schools in Western Ontario

In Western Ontario nearly every locality where there is a branch of the ULFTA has a Ukrainian school. It is characteristic that these schools are mostly directed by comrades who were born in Canada and were brought up in our organizations. Some of them finished the Higher Educational Courses held in 1936 and 1938...

The largest and finest ULFTA Ukrainian school is the one in Fort William directed by comrade Kost Kostaniuk, a student of the Higher Education Course in 1936...

Through his sincere and persevering work comrade K. Kostaniuk has now built up a large Ukrainian school which numbers about fifty children. The orchestras have over seventy participants. In addition to the school and the orchestras, comrade K. Kostaniuk at present conducts a course for orchestra instructors. They practice on mandolins and guitars.

Recently there was a teachers' conference of the entire district. The main report on methods of teaching in Ukrainian ULFTA schools...and on the tasks of the teachers was delivered by comrade K. Kostaniuk...

The members of the Ukrainian labour-farmer mass organizations in Port Arthur are happy and pleased with the work of their twenty-two-year-old teacher, comrade Hryts Stefaniuk, who, after completing the Higher Educational Course in 1938, became the director of the school and the orchestra on the instruction of the CEC of the ULFTA.

Comrade H. Stefaniuk, the son of a Ukrainian worker's family in Saskatchewan, is a pupil of our organizations.... His brother, Mykola, is at present teaching Ukrainian school in St. Catharines, Ontario...

Currently the Ukrainian ULFTA school numbers thirty-three pupils. (The school is also attended by children from other Ukrainian organizations.) The school has four classes. There are sixty-eight participants in the orchestras. He also organized an orchestra of guitarists... which numbers eighteen.

But comrade H. Stefaniuk is not only a good director and teacher, he is also a good instructor of folk dancing. Currently he is conducting a dance course which numbers forty-five participants. Because it was not possible for him to cope with all these tasks, the organization suggested to young comrade Firman, who had come with his family from Winnipeg, that he assist in the work of conducting the beginning class in school and the beginners' orchestra...

Comrade Joseph Hadovsky, a Canadian and the son of a Ukrainian farmer's family in Lac Bellevue, Alberta, directs the Ukrainian ULFTA school and orchestras in West Fort William. Joseph Hadovsky completed the Higher Educational Course in 1938...

In the Ukrainian ULFTA school in West Fort William there are thirty-six pupils. There are also three orchestras; the first numbers 14, the second 23 and the third (the beginning group) 9. He also conducts the choir, which numbers 23....

One and a half years ago a branch of the ULFTA was organized in Geraldton. Immediately thereafter a Ukrainian school was organized. The ULFTA, the Ukrainian school and the mandolin orchestra are accommodated in the Geraldton hall, which is jointly maintained by the branches of the ULFTA and the Russian Labour-Farmer Club....

The Ukrainian school has been directed for the last five months by comrade Dennis Kucheriavy, who formerly taught in Portage la Prairie and Brandon....

The Ukrainian school in Geraldton has 30 children, the orchestra 43 and the choir 25....

Recently the local clubs conducted a campaign to collect money for the construction of a skating rink. The ULFTA branch could not contribute because it did not have funds. However, it suggested that it would be agreeable to put on a concert in the theatre, the proceeds from which would go for that purpose. The local clubs gladly accepted the proposition of the ULFTA branch.

Comrade Kucheriavy prepared a concert which was put on in the local theatre that seats 500. During the concert the theatre was filled and several hundred were turned away....

The proceeds from the concert, which amounted to more than \$70, were turned over for the construction of the skating rink. This made a fine impression on local residents, among whom Ukrainian fascists from the UNF had been spreading various falsehoods about the ULFTA branch and the Ukrainian school....

The local English *Daily News* and the English weekly, *The Times Star*, wrote laudably and warmly about this concert and the ULFTA orchestra. Since then the influence of comrade D. Kucheriavy has increased considerably with the local populace.

In Sioux Lookout the Ukrainian school is conducted by comrade V. Trylinsky, the son of a worker's family from Transcona, Manitoba, a Canadian and a student of the Higher Educational Course in 1938.... In Fort Frances the Ukrainian school is directed by comrade E. Malanchuk, who previously taught in Ukrainian schools in Alberta....

In Currant River the Ukrainian school is conducted by comrade Dudchyn, whose son completed the Higher Educational Course last year and is now teaching in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan. At the very time I was in Beardmore the ULFTA branch was making preparations to open a school which was to be conducted by young comrade Pitsula, the daughter of a leading member from Fort William, a pupil of our organizations. When I returned from Geraldton to Fort William, I was informed... that a school had been opened and was

attended by twenty pupils. . . .

SOURCE: P. Arsen [Peter Krawchuk], *Narodna Hazeta*, 21 January 1939.

Chapter 11. Cultural Activities

The promotion of the communist cause by the ULFTA was closely linked with its cultural work. This consisted of concerts by mandolin orchestras trained in the Ukrainian schools and various choirs of the organization; dramas and plays staged by the ULFTA's drama groups; women's embroidery circles which put on exhibits; showings of films imported from the USSR and various youth and children's activities. The content of the cultural programmes was carefully selected to propagate the communist ideology. The ULFTA orchestras and choirs were among the best, if not the best Ukrainian ensembles in Canada. They were used most effectively to publicize the ULFTA and attract new recruits. At a time when TV was unknown and radio was still in its infancy, concerts put on by the ULFTA forces were often sensations.

1. Development of the ULFTA Cultural Forces

One of the main branches of activity of the ULFTA was its cultural work. . . . The first choirs and orchestras began developing . . . in 1922–3. The delay in the organization of choirs and orchestras was because there was no one who could read notes and understand music to direct them. Only after the organization of the Higher Educational Course, which trained the first directors, was the organization of orchestras and choirs begun.

The first mandolin orchestra was organized in 1922 . . . in Winnipeg by Matthew Popowich. This orchestra was composed exclusively of girls. It played a very important role in the development of cultural activities in the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg.

When the conventions of the ULFTA were held in 1923, 1924 and 1925 the girls' mandolin orchestra put on a concert for the delegates. They listened and were thrilled. After returning home the delegates began organizing similar orchestras in their branches of the ULFTA.

In 1926 the CEC of the ULFTA sent the girls' mandolin orchestra on a tour of Canada. This orchestra visited all the cities of Canada in which there were large Ukrainian communities. The orchestra put on concerts which were successful everywhere. . . .

In 1927 the CEC of the ULFTA again sent the girls' mandolin orchestra on a tour from Winnipeg across Canada. The second tour was also successful morally and materially. It was a great stimulus to the development of mandolin orchestras across Canada.

From 1925 to 1935 the number of mandolin orchestras in the branches of the ULFTA grew to 75, choirs to 30, dramatic groups to 50. . . . These groups regularly staged great concerts as, for example, on the Shevchenko anniversary in March. Very often the Shevchenko concerts were put on in the largest theatres or concert halls of the cities because the theatre halls of the Ukrainian Labour Temples proved too small to accommodate all the listeners. . . .

In the 1930s the cultural collectives staged district concerts. For these events the cultural collectives of several localities came together and put on concerts. Such concerts became very popular and drew large crowds. . . .

SOURCE: Krawchuk, *Na novii zemli*, 282–5.

2. Canada's Bolshevik Drama—Miroslav Irchan, Playwright and Prophet of a Proletarian Revolution

Those anxious persons who distract themselves over the question as to whether Canada has or has not a literature and a drama might look further afield than the English and French languages. One-sixth of our population have other mother tongues, and some of them are considering the matter of literature. . . . An uncommonly good Icelandic poet is said to live on a farm in Alberta; and one faction among the Ukrainians—the revolutionary party—have made a beginning with an indigenous drama—a drama with a purpose; moreover, they have living in Canada, in Winnipeg, a dramatic poet of unusual fecundity, and happy in an esteem which is almost worship among those of his compatriots who agree with his political views. For Miroslav Irchan is a propagandist, his plays have a political purpose, and they exert immense influence.

Ukrainians are one of those oppressed races whose popular heroes are their authors. Under Tsarist rule the Russian government sought to suppress their language and to substitute Russian. . . . In the nineteenth century the Ukrainians threw up two poets, Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko and so greatly are they revered that there is in progress a spirited contest in Canada between factions, the religious element acclaiming the heroes as nationalists and the Communists insisting that they were revolutionists. About Comrade Irchan there can be no mistake.

In matters of art the Ukrainian race is richly endowed, and in particular these people are passionately fond of music, of the dance and of drama. . . . The Communist agitators have astutely addressed themselves to this side of the

racial character, and that powerfully organized society, the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, wherever established, hastens at the earliest possible moment to give its compatriots good music, folk dancing and homemade vernacular drama. According to their latest reports, they have about fifty "mandolin orchestras," which, when not busy with national airs, play, and play uncommonly well, really good music, while an appreciable number of persons earn a living by training these orchestras, by teaching national dancing, and by training their amateur compatriots to produce plays in the Ukrainian language. The society is thoroughly communistic, and while the music taught has revolutionary associations, the plays performed from the beginning have been propagandist. At first these local agitators seem to have composed their own plays, and rough-hewn things they were, sometimes pleasing their audiences and sometimes failing, so that in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton and many smaller places crowds of Ukrainian farmers or labourers listened to crude entertainments performed by the more talented of their neighbours, most of them assailing with the utmost vigour the "Capitalist" and the government.

After a time plays began to come from Soviet Ukraine, with which the Canadian revolutionary Ukrainians maintain a close correspondence; and then in October, 1923, Miroslav Irchan came to Canada. . . .

Comrade Irchan was born on July 14, 1896. . . . His parents being farmers, "not very prosperous," as a child he was a shepherd, but he got an education, studying in Lemberg and Vienna. In 1914 he was mobilized in the Austrian army, but he disliked war, and began to write against it, his first book, "The Laughter of Nerves," being published in 1918. He embraced the revolutionary cause, fought the Poles "for several years... bears the scars of several wounds." In 1922 he is believed to have been one of a band of twelve Ukrainian Bolsheviks who made a raid into Polish Galicia and acquired great fame among the Ukrainian revolutionaries. According to the play which Irchan subsequently wrote—which is regarded in Canada as historical—this filibustering party surprised the houses of two Polish landlords and killed some of the occupants, but were overpowered by the Polish police and three of them, Melnychuk, Sheremeta and Tsapko... were killed or executed, while others received sentences of imprisonment. After a time Irchan escaped to Czechoslovakia, and from there he came to Canada. He arrived in this country an accredited member of the Communist Party, highly esteemed for his literary ability, and for his zeal in the cause of revolution. His first public appearance in Winnipeg was marked by most enthusiastic applause.

By this time the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association had set on foot its remarkable organization. It had about a hundred local branches, each so firmly under central control that its hall and other property is owned by the Central Executive Committee in Winnipeg. Each branch has for its aim, in addition to conducting a children's school and an orchestra, the establishment of

a dramatic wing, and wherever possible a salaried man is maintained who teaches the children, instructs and leads the orchestra, choir and dancers, and produces the plays.... Not every branch is strong enough to do all this, but plays are produced in fully 25 centres.... The head office in Winnipeg circulates plays among the local branches, so that the chain of stages is firmly organized, and courses of training in the production of plays, as well as in other arts regarded as necessary, are given at irregular intervals. Not all these plays are directly revolutionary; some are comedies containing no direct propaganda, but most of them preach revolution.... A feature of these performances is that the local leader in the agitation often makes a speech explaining the purpose of the play, and drawing the political moral.

Irchan's first play probably was "The Twelve," a dramatization and glorification of his filibustering expedition; it has proved very popular, is performed repeatedly, and has established Melnychuk, Sheremeta and Tsapko as household names and heroes among the Ukrainian Bolsheviks. It is in five acts, and has been known to take five hours to perform.

Act I is laid in the forest, and shows "The Twelve" preparing for their attack. In this act the three principal characters discuss, and advocate, revolution in terms which repeatedly have evoked loud applause from audiences of Canadian Ukrainians.

Act II depicts an attack on the dwelling of a Polish landed proprietor. The house has a guard of a sergeant and four gendarmes, and is connected by telephone with the police headquarters some distance away; the insurgents cut the wire, force the house, reconnect the telephone, and oblige the sergeant, at gun point, to telephone his superiors at headquarters and assure them that all is well and no reinforcement is needed. Thus assured against interruption, the insurgents hold a sort of court. The owner of the estate, a widow, is brought in with her son and daughter and some visitors; they are made to sit down, and Tsapko addresses them, reciting the crimes of the nobility and the capitalists against the labourers and the peasants. His indictment ended, Tsapko pronounces sentence—that the men, including the son of the house, are to be shot, and the owner and her young daughter to be thrust out, while the house is burnt. The men are driven off the stage to their death; the mother begs Melnychuk for the life of her son but he replies that "the revolution is deaf to prayers and does not know mercy." He gives the command—a fusillade of rifle shots is heard, and it is understood that the men have been killed, including the sergeant; all the Polish men exhibit cowardice in this scene. The execution accomplished, Melnychuk makes another speech, to the effect that the master class are heartless, and must be dealt with in this manner.

Act III shows the tables turned. The insurgents are in the forest again, hard pressed, short of food and ammunition, with overwhelming forces on their track. Some seek to flee back to "Soviet Ukraina," but Melnychuk is bent upon raising an insurrection in Galicia; a spy beguiles them, and the leaders

are captured by the gendarmes, who beat and otherwise ill-treat them.

Act IV is a continuation of the theme of the preceding act, the rest of the party have been captured. Tsapko is being beaten and Sheremeta, producing a revolver, fires at the assailant, but kills Tsapko. The act ends with the gendarmes beating one of the prisoners to death, and disabling the rest.

Act V is the execution scene. The trial of the filibusterers takes place in the prison yard, with many of the nobility, men and women, present. Amid applause of the noble audience, led by a Catholic priest with a cross in his hands, Melnychuk and Sheremeta are sentenced to death and the others to various terms of imprisonment. Sheremeta's mother enters and inquires for her son, whereupon the lady whose son had been shot and whose house destroyed asks the mother where her son is, and exults in the retribution. Finally the prisoners are shot, the nobility gloating indecently and the victims making a heroic end with revolutionary speeches upon their lips.

A critic ignorant of the Ukrainian language cannot undertake a final judgement upon the literary merits of these plays.... As an appeal to the people for which it was written it is extremely effective, the testimony of eyewitnesses of performances being that it sweeps Ukrainian audiences off their feet. Loud applause greets the revolutionary sentiments in the forest; the shooting of the aristocrats and the policemen is cheered to the echo; the audience is beside itself with indignation when the revolutionists are ill-treated, many of the women weeping; and the effect after the final scene is profound.

A companion play, called "The Hurried Trial," treats of the same men to much the same effect, but with less art. Act I is an exchange of speeches by the three heroes on the need for a revolution, varied by a debate with a Ukrainian from Canada on politics among their compatriots in this country. Act II exhibits the rising of the people and the capture of the leaders of the Poles; the third act shows them sending messages from their cell, and the fourth (and last) act is devoted to their execution, with Polish ladies looking on in glee, a priest saying "In the name of Jesus Christ, all revolting Galicians shall be killed," and a long-drawn out display of courageous defiance by the heroes.

These plays are understood by revolutionary Ukrainians in Canada to be an accurate account of an actual occurrence. As has been noted already, Irchan is said to have taken part in this raid. . . .

In 1923 another play by Irchan made its appearance, "The Unemployed." This also dealt with events in Galicia, and is said to depict actual events in the revolutionary struggle there. Embodying the familiar theme of the poor girl forced to sell herself to the rich man, it is even cruder in construction than the earlier plays, much of the first act consisting of an elementary lecture on the principles of revolution by the hero, a disguised agitator; it is also very savage, the curtain descending in the first act, for example, upon the agitator standing, cigarette in mouth, with his foot upon the corpse of the owner of the saloon in

which the scene has been laid—having throttled and robbed him. The rich villain (who, by the way, keeps a house of ill-fame) also is strangled in the end, when the revolution has been achieved.

Another play, "The Awakening of the Workers," made its appearance in the winter of 1923-24, and had a rather short life; the scene is laid in Canada. In the first act a Bolshevik leader exhorts a group of gunmen, gamblers and unemployed "to arise and break their chains"; the second act purports to exhibit the vicious luxury in which the capitalists live; and the third act, the awakening of the workers, shows the insurgents killing the capitalists by knife, gun and bomb, and seizing power.

Greater favour has been shown to "The Family of the Brushmakers," a four-act play which was first produced early in 1925.... Two families are linked, one very poor, all its members but one blind, and earning a living by making brushes, while the other is that of a chemist. The brushmaker's son has his sight, and after working in a factory becomes a revolutionary agitator; he falls in love with the patriotic daughter of the professor of chemistry, who has invented poison gas for military purposes, to his great profit, in the war. The hero opposes the war, is imprisoned, is forcibly enlisted and sent to the front, is gassed and returns blinded; while the heroine is converted to the revolution, leaves her father, and casts in her lot with the agitator. The play ends in the destruction, first of the monarchy, and then of the "bourgeois republic" which succeeded it, and the establishment of "the dictatorship of the proletariat." When produced this play has proved very powerful, affecting men to tears as well as the women and children.

In 1928... another Irchan play began the rounds of the informal circuit which had been established. Entitled "Spies and the Communist Party," it is a reversion to his earlier manner and may be described as a demonstration of the technique (as the Communists would say) of revolution; it has made its appearance at a moment when the Communist leaders are assuring their followers that a great war is fast approaching, that Canada will be involved, perhaps the battleground, and that the Communist Party will be obliged to "go underground." It is in three acts, the first showing a secret meeting of members of the Communist Party, who are plotting to kill the head of the police and begin an insurrection. In the second act it appears that two government agents are among the plotters, and are reporting to the Police Commissioner. In the third act these agents are detected and killed; a youth who belongs to the Young Communist League spies on the spies, overhears their conference with the Police Commissioner, and reports it to the Communists; a great deal of shooting follows, the Young Communist and two agents being killed, and as a pendant, the assassination of the police chief announced. The procedure of the trial and execution of the spy is shown in considerable detail, and the audience is given to understand that the play is a close transcript of the methods followed in Galicia, and that knowledge of this sort may be useful in

Canada.

A peculiarity of many of these plays, due to their having been written for amateur actors, is the large cast which is required for them; the one just described has about 25 actors.

Comrade Irchan is an industrious writer, and during his half dozen years in Canada his output has been high. In addition to the works already mentioned he has produced "The Mutineer," "Underground Galicia," "The Tragedy of the First of May," "The God of Blood," "The Brigand Karmeliuk," "The Price of Blood" and "The Burning Bush"—all plays, in addition to two prose works, "In the Weeds" and "Carpathian Nights." This list may not be complete, for he addresses himself exclusively to his compatriots, lives aloof from the general life of Canada, and is unknown to the mass of Canadians. Yet he is, one may contend, the most popular and influential author in the country. Is there another writer in Canada whose appearance on the platform would be greeted with resounding, long-continued applause—whose every new play is eagerly witnessed, who can see his audience spellbound, women weeping, men grinding their teeth, and then elevated with joy when the story takes a welcome turn? Comrade Irchan has a restricted public, but he commands its allegiance.

SOURCE: Charles Roslin, *Saturday Night*, 9 February 1929.

3. Great Success of the Film, If War Comes Tomorrow

Soviet films were shown quite regularly in the Ukrainian Labour Temples. The first of these was the film, Taras Shevchenko, an epic on the life of the great bard of Ukraine. An organizer of the ULFTA toured Canada with the film, which aroused considerable interest. Soviet films served both as entertainment and propaganda.

For three days from 1 to 11 p.m. the film, *If War Comes Tomorrow*, was shown in the Ukrainian Labour Temple. Thirty-five hundred people who had an opportunity to see this interesting film were very thrilled and now a discussion about it has spread through the whole city. Many more people wished to see it, but because it was already scheduled in other cities it was not possible to keep the film in Toronto any longer.

The film presents the defensive might of the Soviet Union in a struggle against a fascist aggressor in a very realistic manner. The film was made during manoeuvres of the Red Army in the Soviet Union. . . .

A well-trained worker-peasant army, a mighty naval fleet, a modern and highly qualified air force, cavalry and grandiose divisions of tanks inflict shattering blows on the fascist aggressors "who dared to poke their pig's snout

into our Soviet garden.”

Appearing before masses of those mobilized for the defence of their fatherland, K. Voroshilov, the People's Commissar of Defense of the USSR, quietly, but decisively and firmly announces that “we will fight the enemy on his own territory.”

The fascists, armed to the teeth, could not withstand the mighty Red Army and the 180 million people of the USSR who rushed to the defense of their socialist country. The fascists panic and the Red Army soldiers take them prisoners, even with the general staff.

Clouds of large planes commanded by heroes of Soviet aviation, Vodopianov, Gromov and others, instill deadly fear in the fascist generals.

“How many are there?” asks a captured general.

“As many as we need,” quietly replies a Red Army soldier.

“We asked, we begged—do not invade our territory because we will fight. Well, you did not listen, and so you were beaten,” continues this same Red Army soldier to the fascist generals.

The film is also important because in it participate real Red Army soldiers who were on manoeuvres and not actors. The film also stands out for the high quality of its technical production. It is no wonder that on the fourth day, when this film was already being shown in Windsor, hundreds of people came to the Ukrainian Labour Temple wishing to see it. All who saw the film speak of it with great enthusiasm. I think the Toronto organizations should show this film again for those who failed to see it.

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 24 January 1939.

4. A Nice Display of Handwork

In addition to choirs, orchestras and gymnastics, some branches of the ULFTA had special activities for children, organized in the Junior Section, particularly in the larger centres, where there were sufficient numbers of children, suitable instructors and adequate facilities.

Toronto, Ont. On Saturday, 28 January a children's display of fine handwork was held in the Ukrainian Labour Temple. This display was arranged by the Junior Section of the ULFTA. The children invited senior members of our organizations, sympathizers and generally all workers to come and view articles they themselves had made.

Everyone viewed the cartoons, paintings of various political events, portraits of outstanding persons and wood and paper creations. Embroidered articles by the girls especially stood out. One group prepared a map of the Soviet Union on heavy cardboard. The map included the Soviet Republics and their main

cities and was coloured.

In another corner of the hall there was an airport and beside it various types of planes. It was hard to believe that children could make such special and complex models of planes. Further along one would see a finely lighted model of a two-storey building.

The making of such things is one of the main activities of the Junior Section of the ULFTA. We should learn to appreciate their work more and to give them more assistance.

About 300 people visited this display.... Not only the parents, but all members and sympathizers of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Mass Organizations should take an interest in the work of these children.

The Junior Section meets every Sunday at 10 a.m. in the Ukrainian Labour Temple. Some meet in the classroom, others in the lower hall and still others in rooms. They all work on such items as interest them most. For them this is education and recreation.... All adults should direct more attention to the activities of the Junior Section of the ULFTA and help in raising children to be useful and intelligent members of a progressive community.

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 3 March 1939.

5. Talent, Tradition of Ukrainian People Pleases 6,000....

The climax of all the cultural activities of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations in the inter-war period was the mass festival in Toronto on 15 and 16 July 1939. It was undoubtedly the greatest mass cultural event of its kind ever staged in Canada. It consisted of a concert and a picnic programme the following day. The Toronto dailies carried reports of both events.

From as far west as Calgary and as far east as Montreal, from the mining areas of the far North and the industrial centres of the south, Ukrainians who prized their Canadian home and their Ukrainian heritage descended on Toronto on Saturday and staged a mammoth music festival in the Mutual Street Arena Gardens.

Six thousand people packed the old arena to the rafters for the first all Canadian-Ukrainian National Music Festival—the first event of its kind in the Dominion. Fifteen hundred performers participated in the program of music, song and dance and comedy acrobatics. Seven hundred and fifty people made up the orchestra alone and another six hundred comprised the chorus. There was a band and a string orchestra from Winnipeg and another string orchestra from West Toronto. Sixty young men and women did pretty folk dances, and there were any number of individual soloists and entertainers.

The performers all came in their native dress, with the young women wearing flowers in their hair and streamers of satin ribbons down their backs, and looking pretty and picturesque in their gaily-beaded and embroidered costumes.

With the orchestra and band seated on the floor and the chorus tiering above them at one end of the arena, the musical setting was like a beautiful garden with the flowers all in bloom both on the plain and up the hillside beyond.

But it was not the beauty of the picture presented so much as the quality of the program provided, that sent one away from the arena feeling that the Ukrainian people of Canada had talent and tradition, the cultivation and preservation of which was a valuable asset in Canadian life. In the co-ordination of effort, in the ensemble work of the chorus and the orchestra, in the quality and control of both voices and instruments, in the expressiveness and ease of rendition, there was a superiority of achievement that ran throughout the program. . . .

Preceding the evening program at the Arena Gardens, the performers paraded in their native costumes from Stanley Park by way of Strachan Avenue and Queen Street to the Arena.

SOURCE: Globe and Mail, 17 July 1939.

6. Fifteen Thousand Jam Humber Park Attending Ukrainian Picnic

Woodbridge, Ont., July 17—Fifteen thousand people jammed Humber valley park grounds south of here yesterday for the picnic of the first Canadian-Ukrainian National Music Festival. The vast mass of people exceeded all expectations and roads were jammed for miles with parked cars.

After all available fields and barnyards in the immediate district had been filled with cars, drivers started leaving them along the roadsides. Some walked for half an hour from their cars to the park entrance.

From Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary, Winnipeg, Kirkland Lake, Timmins, Sudbury, Montreal and almost all sections of Southern Ontario the crowd came. There were buses, home made caravans, cars, trucks, motorcycles, bicycles and a couple of aeroplanes in the area—all with loads of enthusiastic Ukrainians—many dressed in colorful national costume.

A massed choir of 350 singers from points across Canada gave a concert as they were ranged along the hillside beside the band shell. Toronto and Timmins bands accompanied as the choir rendered folk songs of the motherland. Outstanding was "In the Valley by the River"—a recruiting song of Tsarist days.

Pretty mandolin players gave extra color to orchestras from Winnipeg and other western points. They had travelled thousands of miles in their own caravans to attend.

Climax of the festival was the election of the queen. She was Mrs. Sophie Sawchuck from Sudbury. High above the crowd on an elevated stand she waved to acknowledge the cheers at sunset and was presented with a silver trophy and clock.

Acrobatics by girls and boys of the Toronto Cosmopolitan club, swimming, archery, folk dancing, games, aerial swings and a dozen other amusements kept things moving all afternoon.

There was a mad scramble when an aeroplane "bombed" the ground with leaflets. After the scramble it was found the leaflets carried a message thanking everyone for the success of the festival.

SOURCE: Toronto Star, 17 July 1939.

Chapter 12. Organizational Work and Activities

The Ukrainian pro-communist organizations were highly centralized, with power vested in the hands of an aggressive, dedicated and capable leadership which was able to build a strong network of branches from coast to coast and maintain by constant pressure through various means of contact such as letters, appeals, instructions, frequent personal tours and annual or bi-annual district, provincial and national conventions a degree of activity rarely encountered in voluntary associations. Through various forms of "education" and propaganda they were successful in imbuing the membership with a common ideology, a deep sense of purpose and a readiness to sacrifice in the interests of the cause which they supported. Consequently, the organizations were able to conduct numerous interorganizational activities and campaigns to raise money, to promote their press and indoctrinate their members. However, they also participated in various external campaigns to promote their views, gain favour and support among Canadians, recruit new members and support candidates in elections to legislative organs who shared a common ideology or who were favourably disposed at least to some degree. Although some inner organizational documents are not extant or not available, the following clearly illustrate the mode and method of operation of these organizations.

1. Not Words but Deeds

Comrades from outlying areas often write to *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* about concerts and plays in various localities. . . . At the same time Winnipeg is silent. This creates the impression that in Winnipeg nothing is going on. He who follows the ads in *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* . . . sees that every Saturday, every Sunday and even weekdays in the Ukrainian Labour Temple are taken up by some event: a concert, play, lecture, meeting and so on. Half of what goes on in the Ukrainian Labour Temple is not even advertised in the paper. For example, every Sunday is divided into three parts: in the morning from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. there are lectures on current topics for members of the

Ukrainian branch of the Workers' Party of Canada; during the day, at 2 p.m., if there is no lecture then there are general mass meetings; in the evenings there are generally concerts. The same every Sunday.

And during the week? Every night every room in the Ukrainian Labour Temple, including the hall in the basement and the stage, is occupied. In one room the executive committee of the Ukrainian Labour Temple is deliberating; in another the executive of the local branch...; in a third the Committee To Aid the Starving in the Soviet Republics; in the hall in the basement there is a meeting of the women's branch; on the stage there is either a play rehearsal or a choir practice; the educational committee..., in the meantime, searches for a place to discuss a newly published brochure.... And thus every evening, from day to day, all winter. There are not enough evenings. Sometimes it is necessary to divide an evening into two: from 6 to 8 p.m., practice of the girls' mandolin orchestra of the children's school, and choir practice at 8 p.m., or a choir practice from 7 to 9 p.m. and play rehearsal at 9 p.m. On Wednesdays there are meetings: the branch of the WPC and the women's section and on Thursday a lecture. And so the evenings are divided in two and Sundays in three. One wonders where the men and women comrades get all the energy. They run around, argue and encourage each other. And they continually complain: there is a lack of intellectual forces. And when you look closely at all that painstaking work and think of all those educated "intellectual forces" who occupied *gymnasium* benches and are now walking the streets with turned-up noses, seeking light "intellectual" work and pose as gentlemen, you will be grateful to them for maintaining their distance from the workers' anthill which is called the Ukrainian Labour Temple. In that anthill, through determined labour and personal experience, intellectual forces are being forged which are already performing great deeds, the importance of which they themselves do not value sufficiently....

Energy, determination, consciousness of the need for such work for the good of the labour movement themselves forge intellectual forces, forge them on the experience of daily labour in the factory beside a metal lathe and in the evening in educational and organizational work in the Ukrainian Labour Temple. And these forces are greater and more valuable because they are forged from below of sons of the underprivileged, oppressed class, of children of labour.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 29 March 1922.

2. From the Executive Committee to All Affiliates of the ULFTA

The winter season of the organizational-educational work of our organization is approaching. . . . Generally in Canada, which is predominantly an agricultural country, labour organizations are less active in the summer. But fall is approaching and with it active work.

Our organization should also shake off the summer indifference and get down to work. We outlined the programme for this work . . . in the last circular to all affiliates, branches and societies. Read it again at meetings of all executives . . . or better still, at a general meeting of all the membership of the organizations of your affiliate or branch, discuss it thoroughly, take note of your forces and draw up your local programme of organizational-cultural work for this year's winter season.

The first important task is the increasing of the membership of your branches. For this organize propaganda meetings, utilize the plays, concerts, and the various events.

Secondly, organize educational courses for the literate adult membership and separate ones for the illiterate. Liquidate illiteracy in the ranks of your branches.

Strengthen the children's schools. . . . Concern yourself with the organization of the Ukrainian Labour Youth Federation and put this organization on a firm footing. . . .

Look after and provide every opportunity for the development . . . of the drama groups, choirs and orchestras. In general, introduce a comradesly discipline in all these organizations, revive them and organize the work in such a way that it is not a burden but a relaxation, that the members carry it out not through compulsion but through desire. To achieve this, do not assign all the work to individuals but divide it evenly among all the members according to their abilities.

All branches close to farm localities should establish close ties with the farm branches and assist each other, the stronger helping the weaker and not create a division between "we" and "they" but work as one indivisible whole. . . . M. Shatulsky, Secretary.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 11 October 1924.

3. He Who is Not With Us is Against Us

There are workers and farmers who say: "I do not belong to the organization, do not read the labour paper, but I am a worker and I sympathize with the labour movement and the labour press...."

Is such a worker or farmer following the correct path? Will he help the labour-farmer movement much by his sympathy? After all, what is sympathy? Only goodwill and not conviction, not faith in the ideal of truth. Imagine that a hungry and ill person came to one well-fed who did not know hunger, and the well-fed one, having listened to the hungry one, sympathized with him, was friendly toward him, pitied him in his misfortune, but did not feed him. Did the hungry one benefit much from the sympathy of the well-fed one?...

It is the same with the labour-farmer movement. He who is not with the class conscious workers and farmers is against them.... But that is not the way it should be. Every worker and farmer who wants the liberation of all working people from the bondage of capitalism has no right to think or act in that way....

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 5 November 1925.

4. Toward New Forms of Organizational-Educational Work

Activization of the membership is one of the most important problems facing our organization at present.... It is as old as our organization....

As one of the means of struggle against this shortcoming in our organization the Twelfth Convention of the ULFTA and the conventions of our fraternal organizations resolved to conduct a registration of the attendance at meetings by the members and what they do in the organization during a given time. This is fine as one of the means by which it is possible to induce the membership to active work. But it is not the only means, by the way, not wholly effective....

To activate and give our membership the opportunity to develop self-initiative the most effective is the new, already accepted form of work, the ward system.... And this... is one of the best for the activation of the membership. Why?

1. Because, having divided the locality into wards, we form ward committees into which new members are drawn to lead organizational work. We give these committees general instructions of work and in the wards they carry out these instructions. They come together in their separate meetings, they talk and discuss what should be done and how best to carry out one or another task, and here they acquire organizational experience. What is this if not activation? Not only activation but, in practice, the developing of new

cadres.

2. In the ward system we engage, if not all, then at least a large majority of the membership of our organization. In the work in the Ukrainian Labour Temples we could not do this even if we wished to. There is no room to expand so broadly, there is not even room for those committees that already exist. But in the wards there is room. There, meetings of members can be called in homes and discussions conducted on educational or current subjects, there it is most convenient to discuss the present situation of the workers. The convention resolution clearly states how this should be done. And this should be done not only during the press or other campaigns, it should be done regularly. There is broad scope for activating the membership. When we activate the membership in the wards, it will become more active in the organization generally. It is necessary to bring together not only members of the organizations, but also workers who are not in the labour organizations.

There are localities which stubbornly opposed the ward system of work. One such is Regina. There the comrades argued that Ukrainian workers in Regina are so dispersed that it is not even possible to form wards. However, in the face of these assertions the comrades in Regina have since begun to work according to the ward system in the May press campaign. They now write about the results which they could not have achieved by working according to the old system.

It is now 10 September. It is time to prepare for the work of the winter season. It is time to begin reviving the inner organizational work. How should this be done? It is necessary to work in the new way. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 10 September 1932.

5. Take Advantage of the Month of February for Great Organizational Preparation

To be read in all executives of branches and district committees, discussed and properly acted upon.

In March all our organizations will conduct the ULFTA campaign . . . , mark the fifteenth anniversary of *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* and the tenth anniversary of *Robitnytsia*, the fiftieth anniversary of the death of T. Shevchenko, International Women's Day and the Paris Commune.

The ULFTA March campaign should be conducted with tempos such as no other campaign has been conducted to the present time.

We should raise the March ULFTA campaign this time *above all campaigns* of the last year or two. In the March campaign we should place the ULFTA, our oldest labour-farmer organization, *at the forefront*, utilizing for this all our

forces: organizational, educational and cultural.

Utilize the whole month of February for preparations. Make the wards the centre of this campaign but at the same time increase the work in the halls of the organizations to the highest level.

The CEC of the ULFTA is preparing appropriate directions for this campaign.... Simultaneously the Central Secretariat of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Mass Organizations decided *to form locally joint secretariats of the ULFMO similar to the central one* in order to improve the work in joint campaigns and for better liaison between the centre and the locality. Instructions for this will be sent shortly.

The Central Secretariat... has also decided *to make the districts and district committees more active organizational bodies of the ULFMO* than they have been to the present and to make them responsible for conducting the organizational-educational work in their districts, subordinating the districts to the provincial committees and the centre.

With this in mind, the Secretariat has produced regulations for the districts and the district committees so that they would be aware of their tasks.

Both for the March campaign and for the marking of the anniversary of our press, lectures or notes will be prepared for speakers and sent in good time to all local secretaries.

At present we instruct all the executives and district committees of our organizations as follows:

3. All executives of the ULFMO, the ULFTA and its sections, the WBA and TODOVYRNAZU to hold joint meetings in the week from 4 to 10 February for special discussions of the March campaign and for drawing up a plan for the campaign.

4. In the week from 10 to 17 February to hold a joint membership meeting of all our organizations at which this plan should be presented, discussed and confirmed. All members should know in advance of the ULFTA campaign.

5. District committees of all organized districts of the ULFMO should hold their meetings between 18 and 24 February in order to also discuss the March ULFTA campaign, hear reports from the localities as to what is being done there and what plans are proposed in case it is necessary to make corrections, but mainly to unify and assume a strong district leadership in their realization.

By that time the Central Secretariat will send all district secretaries the necessary materials and directions for leading the campaign in their districts.

At all these meetings of executives, branches and district committees it is also necessary to discuss the matter of the fifteenth anniversary of the *URV* and the tenth anniversary of *Robitnytsia*. For this, materials and slogans will also be sent.

Comrades! Prepare for the ULFTA campaign and the two anniversaries of our press. Mobilize your ranks in advance. Utilize the month of February for

this preparation.

Central Secretariat of the ULFMO

SOURCE: Farmerske Zhyttia, 7 February 1934.

6. Fulfill the Plans of the ULFTA

Hitler “Hetmans” come to Canada all the way from Germany to recruit Ukrainians by deceit and lies for the fascist lair and use them for the fratricidal war. Do not give these criminals access to the toiling masses. Warn them of the fascist emissaries who work to the detriment of the Ukrainian people.

Let the answer of every branch of the ULFTA in December be the same to the Hitler agents: *we will fulfill the plans of the ULFTA, we will increase the number of members, we will obtain funds for further struggle against fascism and war, for peace and freedom.*

SOURCE: Narodna Hazeta, 23 December 1937.

7. How Comrades Work in the ULFTA in Farm Communities

Kilkenny, Man. For some time now there has not been any mention of our ULFTA branch on the pages of our labour-farmer press. The reason was that there was nothing extraordinary which could interest the readers of our press. Now I wish to write about our members and the struggle which we are forced to carry on with the local Petliurite supporters who try with all their might to hinder us in the building of a Farmers’ Temple.

We began building the Farmers’ Temple on 15 May. The work is progressing satisfactorily. The logs for the building were donated by the members of the branch of the ULFTA and four sympathizers who wish to become members but cannot join because of a lack of funds.

Comrade Josef Semeniuk, a member of our branch, is putting up the building. He agreed to erect the walls and roof and install the windows and doors for \$29. Our comrades take turns working on the building without remuneration.

At present our members are indescribably poor. . . . Many are not able to pay their membership dues, but they help on the building as much as they can.

Some members do not attend meetings because businessmen threaten them with deportation if they belong to our organization. . . .

It is very difficult to conduct educational work here. This is because there are few literate people among us. However, I taught the local boys and girls

reading and writing. They gathered at my house and many of them can now read and write well. At present educational work is beginning to progress because we have the forces to put on plays or other entertainment.

Last winter we had a children's school. Instruction was conducted every Sunday for three months. The children then put on a concert with considerable success. . . .

Zaporozhan.

SOURCE: *Farmerske Zhyttia*, 17 June 1931.

8. Results of the Work of the TODOVYRNAZU

It was not clear to many workers in the very beginning of the founding of the Association To Aid the Liberation Movement in Western Ukraine (TODOVYRNAZU) why this organization was founded and what tasks it faced. . . . These comrades did not understand that the tasks of the TODOVYRNAZU are to reach those Ukrainian workers whom the existing Ukrainian mass organizations had not succeeded for various reasons in recruiting into their ranks. . . .

Ukrainian workers began joining the new organization who never in their lives belonged to any organization or who were previously hostile to the liberation movement of the working class. . . .

The fact that till now our mass organizations limited themselves to fending off offensives of various fascist organizations while the members of the TODOVYRNAZU went on a militant offensive against these organizations proves that the existence of the TODOVYRNAZU has justified itself. . . .

The Winnipeg branch . . . immediately began an offensive against the Ukrainian fascist organizations. In order that such an offensive be successful, it was necessary to have accurate information about these fascist organizations. It was very important to make contact with individual members of these organizations in which, after many attempts, the Winnipeg members of the TODOVYRNAZU fully succeeded. We found a significant number of our sympathizers who were members of Ukrainian fascist organizations in Winnipeg. . . . Previously we did not even know where the branches of these fascist organizations were located in Winnipeg, how large was their membership and so on.

With this information in hand we began to work. However, experience had indicated that through contact with members of the Ukrainian fascist organizations in Canada it is not possible to achieve all that we wished to achieve. All the information which we had regarding the state of these fascist organizations in Winnipeg was of immeasurable value for us in our struggle with them. It was necessary to put this struggle on a firm basis and conduct it

in a planned manner. We began to seek methods and finally discovered through practical work that for this we need without fail to form shock brigades.

The very word "shock" speaks for itself. . . . Those workers join the shock brigades who wish to conduct wholly voluntarily a struggle against the fascist organizations, to paralyze them at every turn and thereby strengthen the militant workers' organizations. The qualifications of each member were his readiness and firm resolve to defend the revolutionary organizations before the fascist advance, not only to repulse the attacks of dark reaction but to go on the offensive against it.

In Winnipeg each shock brigade is composed of a group of men and women workers numbering no fewer than five and no more than ten. At the head of each brigade is a leader who is responsible for the work of his brigade. He reports on the work of his brigade at meetings of all the brigade members which are held each week. Meetings of the leaders take place as often as is necessary, sometimes three or four times a week. The shock brigades draw up their plan of work at their weekly meetings. If emergencies arise during the week, the leaders resolve them.

The shock brigades in Winnipeg have performed a great deal of useful work. They covered all the parks and other places where workers gathered in large numbers, visited the markets where market gardeners sell their produce, carried on discussions with them and remarked on their unenviable plight. They literally organized meetings at the markets which the police often broke up. They spoke with Ukrainian fascists and bettered them in discussions so that these fascists did not have any desire or courage to enter into polemics with members of the TODOVYRNAZU shock brigades. . . .

In winter, when it will not be possible to carry on propaganda work in the streets and parks, the shock brigades will have other methods of work. They have already prepared a plan which should be very successful. On the basis of this plan the city will be divided into wards and in every ward members of the shock brigades will continue their work in the interests of the labour movement in Canada. . . .

The shock brigades played a very active role in mass demonstrations. They distributed leaflets and on the day of the demonstration combed the parks and other areas where workers congregated and encouraged them to go to Market Square.

The shock brigade members did not forget the churches. They went inside when necessary, listened to the sermons and then explained to the workers outside the church where they are and where they should be. It often transpired that workers abandoned "praying" and went outside in order to listen to the explanations of the shock brigade. There were times when the priest called the police, who dispersed the gatherings.

This is a short outline of the work of the branch of the TODOVYRNAZU in Winnipeg. It is proper to add that over fifty of the most active shock brigade members of the TODOVYRNAZU branch joined the communist party....

SOURCE: M. Lishchynsky, *Za Bilshovyzatsiiu* [For Bolshevization] no. 5-6 (September-October 1931), 42-8.

9. Plan of Organizational-Educational Work in Montreal

Firstly, every Sunday there will be lectures on the following subjects: 1. The struggle of the Spanish people against fascism; 2. Why the Soviet Union condemned the Trotsky-Zinoviev terrorist group; 3. What good the Popular Front brought the toiling masses of France; 4. The meaning of the United Front (from the speech of Dimitrov); 5. The Canadian Ukrainian National Congress; 6. Problems of the trade-union movement in Canada; 7. Daily world events.

Secondly, to call mass meetings to explain the condition of the toiling masses in Western Ukraine and in Canada; to organize courses in political education; to train a group of correspondents for our press.

Thirdly, the central committee of the sections has been instructed to plan a number of educational evenings in order to unite every financial campaign with educational work in the homes....

Fourthly, to intensify the work for the united front with the nationalist and church organizations, because hitherto we have been conducting it inadequately....

Fifthly, to assist the women's and youth sections to enlarge their branches with new members and expand their organizational-educational work among wider masses of Ukrainian toilers.

Sixthly, to conduct a campaign in October for new members to the WBA in order to make the WBA a mass organization in Montreal.

Besides this, the meeting of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Mass Organizations, at which comrade Kryvenchuk made a report, resolved to set in motion the neglected work of the industrial committee and to carry on active work among metal and textile workers as well as among those who work in restaurants.

The above meeting also decided to conduct a successful campaign in October for the *Daily Clarion*.

It was also decided to put on a bazaar in October for the benefit of the local branch of the ULFTA.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 24 September 1936.

10. Successes and Shortcomings of the Women's Branch of the ULFTA in the Past Year

Sudbury, Ontario. Our branch of the women's section held its annual meeting on 12 January. Twelve members attended.... At this meeting we accepted into our branch four new members recruited in the December campaign.

The chairlady of the branch, comrade K. Didukh, summed up our year's work.... Executive meetings were held twice a month, but when the need arose, the executive met more often. The monthly meetings were held regularly. Several special meetings were also held.

We recruited seven new members in the last year. Five members moved from our locality. The branch now numbers twenty-two members.

Educational work progressed slowly. During the year we held 1 mass meeting, 3 educational evenings, 2 readings and 2 concerts. In addition we put on 1 play and held 1 picnic. We organized a course for the illiterate and partly literate for which eighteen women comrades signed up. At present between ten and twelve women comrades, on the average, attend the course.

The report of the financial secretary, comrade Sawchuk, indicated that we did not work badly in the financial field. During the year we sent \$30 to the Central Committee of the Women's Section in Winnipeg; for the Spanish fighters we donated \$20; we gave \$25 to the ULFTA branch for its expenses; for the press fund for *Robitnytsia* we sent \$19.32. We supported the election campaign and the itinerant organizers. We provided ten pairs of socks for Canadian soldiers in Spain.

Our income totalled \$240.95 and our expenses were \$222.02. For 1938 there remained \$18.93.

Comrade E. Shkura reported for the press committee. Our organization, including the women's branch, raised \$608.33 for our press and \$38.15 for the *Daily Clarion* in the May and November campaigns. During the year sales of *Robitnytsia* amounted to \$20.75.

Comrade N.B. reported for the school committee. Our Ukrainian school has fifty pupils. The children of our members and sympathizers attend. The junior section has forty members.

Comrade M.M. reported for the arts committee. It did not meet regularly and the work progressed slowly. Several plays were staged and a few concerts were given.

The majority of the members worked in the financial campaign quite well. They collected money in election campaigns and distributed election literature. Comrade A. Bodnar received awards several times for selling the most tickets.

We formed a joint committee with women comrades who belong to the Women's Section of the Russian Labour-Farmer Club in order to provide aid to the Spanish people. An entertaining evening, which we jointly sponsored,

brought \$71.29. Of this we sent \$40.00 for Spanish orphans and five parcels worth \$15.00 for Canadian fighters in Spain. In addition the women comrades individually and on their own sent parcels to Canadian fighters.

In the January campaign to bring aid to political prisoners in Western Ukraine our members worked well.

Our important shortcomings: we did not make any significant progress in building a peoples' front, we do not know how to recruit new members and we take too little interest in education.

SOURCE: Narodna Hazeta, 2 March 1938.

11. Report of Deliberations of the Prince Albert District of ULFTA

On 4 and 5 June a district conference of the Prince Albert district of the ULFTA was held here. Present were comrade I. Dubno, a representative of the National Executive Committee of the ULFTA, and comrade Ivan Klybanovsky, a representative of the provincial committee in Saskatoon.

On Sunday, 5 June, a five-month plan of work was adopted. . . .

The district conference calls upon all branches of our organization and fraternal organizations to intensify decisively organizational work and overcome all their present shortcomings in the succeeding months.

The plan of work for the next five months, adopted by the district conference, consists of:

6. To hold three mass picnics in the district at which speakers would explain to the people how to struggle to improve their lives. . . . One such picnic should be held in Prince Albert and one each in the southern and northern parts of the district. . . .

7. The branches should prepare a number of educational folk plays and make exchanges among themselves. A speaker should explain the meaning of theatre arts during the performance.

8. To organize a Ukrainian children's school in Prince Albert, Meath Park and Bonne Madone at least in the summer months.

9. For more success in organizing the Ukrainian toiling people and for a better political understanding of their interests the district conference calls upon its members and sympathizers to disseminate *Narodna Hazeta* and *Farmerske Zhyttia* and recruit new subscribers. Raise the question of the press without fail at every membership meeting.

10. In order that the decisions and resolutions of the district conference be carried out, it is necessary to strengthen our organizations in the district. To this end the district conference decided to recruit twenty-two new members to our mass organizations, organize two new branches of the ULFTA and one

branch of the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association. The quota of new members for the individual localities is as follows: Wakaw and Foxford are to recruit four new members each to the ULFTA, while Bonne Madone and Meath Park are to recruit two new members each. Prince Albert is to recruit two new members to the WBA and three new members to TODOVYRNAZU. Altogether all the localities are to recruit twenty-two members.

11. In order to successfully conduct the campaign for new members the district conference suggests that in every branch an organizational committee be formed which would conduct the campaign jointly with the executives.

It was resolved that comrade Dubno tour the district to strengthen and intensify the work in our branches.

It was decided that the district undertake to support one Spanish orphan. . . .

After the reports by comrades Dubno and Klybanovsky, resolutions were adopted and sent to Prime Minister Mackenzie King. The resolutions demanded the abolition of the "Padlock Law" in Quebec, an embargo on the shipment of war materials to Japan and other fascist countries and the repeal of the embargo on the shipment of needed supplies to the legal government of Spain.

The district conference promised to give all possible moral and material aid to our brothers in Western Ukraine as well as to Canadian fighters in Spain and to the Spanish people in its struggle against fascism.

For the district conference,

D. Oleskiv, Chairman

D. Bondarets, Secretary.

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 10 June 1938.

12. Manitoba Convention of the ULFTA

Yesterday the first provincial convention of the ULFTA began in the large hall of the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg. To the convention came 127 delegates, a large majority of whom represented farm communities of Northern Manitoba. It is gratifying that there are delegates to the convention not only from branches of the ULFTA but also from farm associations which do not belong to the ULFTA.

A large percentage of the delegates are young farmers and farmers' sons, who, although young, have already experienced all the misery of farm life.

The arrival of such a large number of delegates to the convention, mainly from farm communities, is not only testimony to good preparations, but also to the growing consciousness of the Ukrainian people in Manitoba. The destitute life from which there is no apparent escape also forces the toiling masses of the Ukrainian people to think about their fate, to seek a path to improvement

of their condition, to turn to the organization for advice.

Speakers will deal at the convention with questions which affect the Ukrainian population of Manitoba. There will be leaders of the workers of this province and labour representatives in the provincial legislature and city council.

We sincerely greet all the delegates, wish them success in their deliberations and believe that this convention will place a firm foundation under democratic unity of the Ukrainian people and will assist the toilers in their struggle for a better life.

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 15 October 1938.

13. Relationship between the FUL and the ULFTA

In addition to its intra-organizational work, the ULFMO not only co-operated with, assisted and participated in, but was often instrumental in the formation of branches of other organizations, such as the FUL or trade unions.

... Some Ukrainian farmers, members of the ULFTA, hold the incorrect opinion that, being members of the ULFTA, they do not need to be members of the FUL, or, being members of the FUL, they should be "patriots" of that organization, while the ULFTA for them is of secondary importance or of no importance whatsoever.

Comrades, that is not the way to treat the question, because both these organizations have their separate areas of work in the building of the revolutionary movement in Canada. The ULFTA has the task of disseminating class culture and education among the Ukrainian farmers and workers in Canada in their own language, the language we all speak and by which we can best understand each other.

This class education the ULFTA disseminates through the help of Ukrainian revolutionary songs, culture, children's schools, educational courses, circulars, etc.... In a word, the ULFTA is the bridge for the Ukrainian farmers and workers by which they cross into the vortex of the revolutionary struggle of the toilers of Canada.

The Farmers' Unity League is a farmers' economic organization which has taken as its aim the organization of all poor farmers in Canada regardless of nationality for the struggle to improve their economic conditions of life....

The ULFTA, for example, does not direct the economic struggles of the farmers.... The FUL directs this struggle, but this does not mean that the ULFTA is not interested in it.

The ULFTA co-operates with all labour-farmer revolutionary organizations which direct the economic struggle of the toilers of Canada and gives these organizations all possible moral and material assistance. Members of the ULFTA on the farms and in the cities always stand in the front ranks of this struggle, understanding that this is demanded of them by their organization. . . .

Between the branches of the FUL and the ULFTA there should and must be the closest co-operation. The members of these organizations should build both organizations by joint efforts and not be “patriots” of only one of them. . . .

SOURCE: Farmerske Zhyttia, 20 December 1933.

14. Role of the Labour Temples in the Labour Movement

The economic crisis continued in 1938. Thousands of Ukrainian workers were unemployed. . . . They travelled across Canada seeking work. . . . And when they arrived in Fort William or Calgary they stopped in the Ukrainian Labour Temples, where they found refuge, lodging and sometimes even warm food.

But the Ukrainian Labour Temples were refuges not only for the unemployed. In many localities they were the headquarters for striking workers. When, for example, the workers went on strike in the automobile plants of the Ford Motor Company or General Motors in East Windsor, the Ukrainian Labour Temple was their headquarters, from which pickets were dispatched. There was also an open kitchen in which the strikers were fed. Such headquarters and kitchens were installed in the Ukrainian Labour Temples when the lumber workers in Port Arthur district, steel workers in St. Boniface and miners in Drumheller went on strike. . . .

SOURCE: Kravchuk, Na novii zemli, 273.

15. The ULFTA and the Trade Union Movement

The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association conducts its work not only in the labour temples . . . but participates in all forms of the class struggle of the toiling masses of Canada. This is most clearly evident by the attitude of the membership of the ULFTA to the trade-union movement.

There has not been one case where the ULFTA has not called upon its members, who work in various branches of Canadian industry, to join unions. Members of the ULFTA organized many union locals themselves. . . .

This is the case with the trade-union movement in Toronto. Among the 45,000 trade unionists, a large number are Ukrainian workers, most of whom belong to the ULFTA or were drawn into the unions thanks to the ULFTA. The members of the ULFTA (here are also included other Ukrainian labour organizations) sit on the executives of trade unions and even district committees. Locals of the restaurant workers, bakers, window cleaners, textile workers, leather workers, building-trades workers and others owe their existence and growth, to a large degree, to the ULFTA.

The ULFTA was one of the first Canadian organizations to preach the amalgamation of trade unions into industrial unions. . . . Even now the ULFTA opposes those who attempt to split the trade-union movement in Canada to create small union locals which would not be capable, not only of defending the workers from the drive of the proprietary and financial magnates on their living standard, but even of maintaining their existence. . . .

For that reason, in every campaign, trade unionists will support and defend it from attacks by reactionaries.

May the ULFTA live and grow and continue to disseminate the idea of unity and solidarity among Ukrainian workers.

P. Marushchak, Toronto, Ont.

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 10 March 1938.

16. Ukrainians of Western Ontario Participate in Public Life

After the Executive Committee of the Communist International issued a manifesto for a united front against fascism in March 1933, the communists in Canada began to support in elections non-communist candidates with whom they could find some common ground of agreement. Members of the ULFMO often played a decisive role in the election of such candidates.

Ukrainians in Western Ontario not only work actively in their progressive organizations but also participate in public life. In every locality Ukrainians are interested in city and municipal affairs. They know that their life depends on those who are in the city and municipal councils.

It is therefore no wonder that Ukrainians of Western Ontario always support progressive candidates for aldermen, mayors, councillors and reeves in city and municipal elections. They understand very well that only progressive aldermen and councillors can help them in their destitute lives.

In December this year, during the city elections, Ukrainians (the overwhelming majority) in Fort William supported candidates of the Labour Representation League. Together with other progressive people of Fort William and West Fort William Ukrainians elected four labour aldermen and a

progressive mayor to the city council of Fort William. It is true that reaction has a majority on the city council of Fort William. However, workers and progressives have a fairly strong representation on it.

Labour aldermen Anderson and Bathurst even spoke at a large public meeting of Ukrainians in the Civic Auditorium on 15 January. They expressed their full co-operation with the Ukrainians of Fort William in their struggle for a better life in Canada and for their brothers in Western Ukraine.

In Port Arthur the Ukrainians supported progressive candidates for aldermen. As a result of good work, two progressive aldermen, Harrison and Grey, were elected to the city council.... A progressive Ukrainian, M. Ivachevsky, a member of the executive of the local *Prosvita*, was also a candidate in the elections. All organized Ukrainians supported him. He received about 1,200 votes. M. Ivachevsky ran for the first time and was not well known to the electors. Besides, there was too little time for an election campaign, only three weeks....

Organized Ukrainians of other localities should follow the example of Port Arthur (mainly Fort William) and nominate joint Ukrainian candidates in succeeding elections; the prospects for their elections are good.

In Beardmore there is no organized town council yet. This is a small town and public affairs are administered by the school board. When a town council is organized, the Ukrainians of this miners' town should make certain that they are represented on it.

Geraldton is also a new miners' town. In December, last year, the second town council was elected.... The progressive residents elected, for the second time, their representative, L. Sheer, to the town council.

L. Sheer is greatly indebted to Ukrainians who supported him during the elections. In Geraldton there are over 100 individuals who have the right to vote.

Although the reactionaries carried on a furious agitation against L. Sheer, he was re-elected alderman, thanks largely to the Ukrainian electors.

Ukrainians of Western Ontario are beginning to understand more and more the importance of public affairs and are therefore taking an active part in public life.

SOURCE: P. Arsen [Kravchuk], *Narodna Hazeta*, 24 January 1939.

Chapter 13. Demoralization, Desertion and Discipline

The economic conditions, the discrimination, the lack of recreational facilities and the isolation from Canadian society faced by the early Ukrainian immigrants to Canada resulted in widespread drinking, gambling and altercations. Ukrainian pro-communist organizations recognized the consequent demoralization as detrimental to their growth and activity. They carried on a concerted campaign against drinking and gambling and at the same time provided recreation and activities for the leisure hours. Liquor was not allowed in the labour temples and members whose drinking interfered with their organizational activities and duties were disciplined.

1. The Struggle with Demoralization

When the last Eastern Provincial Convention of the ULFTA passed a resolution regarding a struggle with demoralization, it was directed first of all against the embryo inside our organization. We notice ever more often the neglect of members' obligations, failure to carry out the decisions and resolutions of our conventions, the lack of punctuality and discipline and the deviations of individual members that cannot be passed over in silence. We decided to use the severest methods to be rid of this unpleasant and harmful phenomenon. This decision is not without its good results. The organization is again stepping onto solid ground and is beginning to acquire an exemplary character.

But the slogan: "On to the struggle with demoralization" remains. And not only remains but takes on a broader meaning. At present the necessity has arisen to extend it to the whole labour force in general. Organized labour cannot be satisfied with what happens in its organization but must think of the welfare of the working class in general. In the past we always warned the workers of various swindlers, foreign as well as "our own," of their various fraudulent plans which threatened the life of the working class. The new threat, the terrible new enemy of the working class, is called alcohol.

This infection takes on fearful dimensions especially in the smaller towns and hamlets and camps of Northern Ontario. In the larger cities this is not so evident and, on the other hand, the labour organizations do not allow it to develop as much. But the further from such centres, the more this malady has become rooted among the workers. The conditions here for this are especially favourable. The demagogic methods of struggle with drunkenness which have given such a favourable development to "home manufacture" and the difficult economic plight of the workers lead the latter to extreme poverty. The difficult conditions of work, the low wages, the persecution of class-conscious workers and their organizations, the growing provocations and the extended spy system among the workers, toadying to the bosses and their sycophants, in one word, the whole apparatus of modern terror pushes the workers into the embraces of terrible economic and, with it, moral ruin.

In order to obtain and also to keep any job in a factory or mine it is necessary to continually "grease." Without this you can starve but you will not obtain work. It is necessary to obtain that "miraculous fluid" and intoxicate the boss. This need brings into the world a new detestable "specialty"—bootlegging. Individuals without conscience appear who find golden opportunities on the basis of the widespread destitution and impoverishment of the workers. They grow stronger and their brazenness has no limits. . . .

The average worker sees that the "business" is profitable. . . . He also tries his luck. At first for himself, in order to "grease" the boss, and then for the neighbour. Thus he becomes progressively entangled in this deadly net, never to disentangle himself from it. "Home manufacture" increases and with it trade, then common drinking, cards, fights, courts, payment of fines and then a repetition of the same. Family life under such conditions . . . and is it possible to speak of family life? This is not life but hell in the full meaning of that word. The wife is also drawn into the trade. No one stops the children from drinking. They are brought up in the midst of continuous drinking, shouting, swearing, unprintable words, fighting and cursing. . . .

Our organizations must take decisive steps as soon as possible to fight this terrible enemy of the workers. If the central organs of these organizations do not begin some immediate actions, the next convention must do this. The question of the struggle with drinking and demoralization must take first place because the further development of our organizations depends on its correct solution.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 10 January 1926.

2. A Terrible Enemy

In addition to our various farm enemies, there is another terrible enemy of the toilers on the farms whose name is moonshine. This enemy is dreadful and dangerous because it destroys the farmers not only economically but physically and mentally. Moonshine demoralizes not only the elders but also the farm youth, the children and even the fetus in the mother's womb.

Children born to parents who drink moonshine and alcohol in general are mental cripples whom we call degenerates.

Moonshine causes demoralization, quarrelling, fighting and enmity between farm neighbours and within farm families. Having drunk moonshine a man and wife often start quarrelling and fighting in the house. And their very own children watch. In this environment they grow up to be like their parents.

At weddings, christenings and wakes which, according to old traditions, do not take place among Ukrainians on the farms without liquor, the adults consciously give children this terrible poison to drink. A mother pours this poison into the mouth of a breast-feeding infant "in order that it sleep" and laughs and shows others how the helpless infant contorts its face from the poison. . . .

English papers often report that at dances boys often cut each other with knives, at weddings they bash in each other's heads. . . . Certainly this infection exists among city workers. It is present among workers and farmers of various nationalities. But here we are writing for those who read Ukrainian and appeal to workers and farmers: Fight against alcohol as you fight in your life for your daily bread. Fight this infection at every turn. Moonshine is the best partner of your exploiter. It divides your ranks in the interests of the capitalists, it befogs your brain and does not give you or your children the possibility of becoming conscious and intelligent people. It drives you into even greater poverty than you now face. There are many cases where a man loses his farm . . . and then hires out for a small wage because of drink. . . . How many cases there are of an honest, quiet person who succumbs under the influence of alcohol and, at the instigation of evil people, robs his neighbour or his own father.

Various evil people exploit drinkers for their filthy aims. Sometimes they even deliberately get them drunk and then make fun of them. There are thousands of cases where people caused their close neighbours and even their own families and themselves a great deal of harm through drink. And how many examples there are of parents driving their children out or the children putting their parents out of their home in their old age, and again, all because of a life of drink either of one or of all of them together.

Farmers and workers and their organizations should, therefore, conduct a decisive struggle against moonshining, not with the aid of the police, but by means of organization and education. It is necessary to point out to people at

every opportunity what misfortune drinking causes, and there are enough examples in every locality.

Remember, comrade farmers and workers, that drinking and moonshining is our great enemy and the best friend of your exploiter. Therefore, fight against it by various means, remembering that one can often change a drinker into a fine and conscious person.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 25 November 1924.

3. It is Necessary to Protest against Drunkenness

Self-styled leaders of the Ukrainian people in Canada are appealing for protests against the so-called religious "persecution" in the Soviet Union. But, strange to say, they do not say a word about the general spread of drunkenness, immorality and degeneracy among people in Canada.

This demoralization is proceeding at a rapid pace. It is necessary to fight it and all the Ukrainian newspapers should join in this struggle regardless of political or religious views if they really have in mind the people's welfare, which they constantly profess. When the people become infected through alcohol with gangrene and nervous disorders, there will not be anyone among whom to propagate various views. To convey any ideas it is necessary to appeal to the intellects of people, but there will not be an intellect if there is not a healthy body. In the rural areas, mainly where the patriotic, Catholic, or Orthodox rather than the labour-farmer press or where no press is read, terrible things are happening which, gentlemen editors, cannot be covered up by silence.

Your sympathizers and your parishioners are being gnawed by the gangrene of alcoholism and you are responsible because you do not combat it.

We read, for example, a terrible report from Preeceville, Saskatchewan, dated 27 February, that eleven young men, returning home from a party at which alcohol flowed, began to quarrel and fight, in which the Kvasny brothers were so beaten up that Pavlo Kvasny died and his brother, Stefan, is fighting for his life in the hospital. . . . It is horrible to read of such cases and there are many throughout Canada. . . . Should this be? Would this happen if every Ukrainian newspaper sounded the alarm and conducted a shock campaign against alcoholism?

Unfortunately *Farmerske Zhyttia* is alone in its declaration of relentless struggle against alcoholism. The other Ukrainian papers remain silent. . . . On the other hand, they see a "persecution" of religion far away in Soviet Ukraine. But they do not see what is happening at home under their noses and where a great part of the population will end up if this is not remedied. If there is any "persecution" in Soviet Ukraine, it is there as a spontaneous

movement of the population, which sees that religion is only a smoke screen which prevents it from seeing reality. Pointing at the Soviet Union is also a smoke screen to cover up the actual state of degeneration and gangrenization in Canada of sections of the Ukrainian population among their own parishioners.

Such editors, priests and other leaders who do not expose this dangerous situation and do not struggle against it are very disgusting. Venereal disease, which formerly was rarely known among the Ukrainian population in Canada, is spreading.... A bad example is often set by the leaders. The priest drinks; why should the parishioners not drink? The elders drink without any criticism from the priest; why should the youth not drink?....

Catholics, Orthodox... all should advance in a united front against this ruination of the healthy organism by alcohol, against nocturnal dances and drinking and against demoralization and degeneration, which are caused by alcohol, instead of slandering the Soviet Union, where a struggle is being waged against alcoholism and everything that is poisonous for people....

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 5 March 1930.

4. Women Should be First in the Struggle against Alcohol

Mundare, Alberta. Lately there has been an epidemic of so-called "surprise parties." The leaders of this "organization" are the unorganized women who meet in homes. They take up a collection among themselves and buy a present for the woman in whose house there is to be a party.

These surprise parties are sometimes attended by half the people in the area. The women invite their husbands, who go willingly because they know that, without fail, there will be beer, wine and moonshine. Such parties take place every Sunday and last all night until morning.

I have nothing against parties without alcohol. Workers and farmers need to enjoy themselves.... But enjoyment is possible without that cursed moonshine which leads to unpleasant consequences about which women themselves are most aware.

The fact is that women suffer a great deal from husbands who drink. How many instances there have been where the husband comes home drunk, begins to quarrel with his wife and children and the poor wife is forced to flee with the children in the middle of the winter....

That is why I say that women should conduct a struggle with drunkenness and convince their husbands and sons that they should belong to militant labour-farmer organizations and not drown their intelligence and their dignity in moonshine and spend their hard-earned money on it.

This is the duty of every honest and intelligent woman who wants to have peace and a happy family life. Our lives are hard enough in the present times of economic crisis and therefore there is no need to make them more difficult with such parties at which there is no lack of various forms of alcohol. Why not organize parties which would bring benefit not only to every participant but to our whole movement.

My advice to these women is to abandon organizing "surprise parties" and to become members of the Women's Section of the ULFTA. In that organization they will learn what every working woman should do to become a liberated person and not a slave of the capitalist class. And with the money which is now spent on alcohol they could subscribe to *Farmerske Zhyttia* or to *Robotnytsia* and learn a great deal from them.

SOURCE: *Farmerske Zhyttia*, 14 November 1934.

5. Put the Deserters on the Black List

In their campaign to build a strong, centralized and disciplined organization, the leaders were sometimes faced with the problem of members who would not submit their personal ego to organizational discipline, who broke the very strict moral code set by the organization at that time, who were not able to work in harmony with other members or who could not refrain from public discussions of internal organizational matters. Another serious problem arose when the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations adopted "the turn to the path of revolutionary struggle." Some members felt quite comfortable criticizing the authorities within the confines of the labour temples, but they were not prepared for confrontation with the police, losing their jobs (if they were employed) or facing arrest and possible deportation.

Winnipeg, Manitoba. On Tuesday, 8 September, when the workers were celebrating International Youth Day, the police refused to issue a permit for a parade through the streets. During the meeting in Market Square the chairman asked the assembled workers whether they were agreeable to demonstrate in spite of the prohibition by the Winnipeg police. Thousands of those present raised their hands and shouted: "We will go, for us there are no obstacles, no one will stop us."

And when they began to form ranks, some of the members of our mass organizations became frightened at the possibility of coming in contact with a police club and began to desert.

I saw many tear off the red ribbons pinned on their lapels by the youth and step aside as if they were not participating, as if they were neutral.

What does this mean, neutrality for workers who have been members of revolutionary organizations for years?

When we have declared an offensive and are advancing with full force, counting on mass support, you are pulling out so that you will not be harmed? This should not happen again, because if we catch you deserting again, we will drag you out from our militant revolutionary ranks and brand you as deserters, as enemies of the revolutionary front.

Shock Brigade member.

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 12 September 1931.

6. For a Struggle with Cowardice, Panic and Desertion from the Field of Battle

With the increase in police terror and raids on the accommodations of our organizations, cowardice began to spread among a certain section of our members. Some have been overcome by a sense of panic. This is the worst type of opportunism and desertion with which it is necessary to struggle. When we notice this among new members, this is not too much of a problem because it could be expected. But there are cases of members, who, as long as there was peace, as long as they did not sense danger, played the role of leaders. Forcing their way in the organization, they pretended to be "left," accused others of opportunism, but with the first attacks of the bourgeoisie they hid or left the localities, causing the organization great harm. . . . The greatest danger in the organization is from the right. . . . but we should also carry on a decisive struggle against the "left" phrase mongers. They should not only be denied leadership positions, they should be unmasked before the membership in those places where they moved as deserters from the field of class struggle. It is not the left phraseology that is an indicator of a worker's militancy, activity and revolutionary endurance, but his deeds. . . .

SOURCE: Zvit (Trynadtsiatoho Zizdu 11 i 12 lytnia 1932), 34-35.

7. Spy Mania, Baseless Rumors, Gossiping and Talkativeness

There are also cases of other types in our organization, namely those who evoke baseless suspicion and spread spy mania, usually about a member of the organization, by false and unconfirmed rumors. This is very harmful to the organization and it is necessary to conduct a struggle against it. . . .

Another source of such rumors is the talkativeness of certain members of our organizations, who carry out of the organization all the decisions of the

executive or membership meetings, discuss these decisions in homes and oppose and twist them. A system of maligning of leading comrades by disruptive elements has also been introduced. Such gossiping, which is very harmful to our organization, must not prevail in the labour-farmer organizations. Such gossip must be combated...and when there are incorrigible members, it is best to ask them to leave the organization because, through such conduct, they bring more harm than good to the organization with their presence....

SOURCE: Ibid., 35.

8. Requests for Readmission by Expelled Members

There were sometimes expulsions from the branches of the ULFTA for various infractions of organizational discipline. Between the eleventh and twelfth conventions, 1930-1, nineteen members were expelled. Such members often applied to the conventions to be readmitted into the ranks. Each convention set up a Commission of Complaints and Requests to rule on such applications.

REQUEST BY COMRADE FILYK FROM TORONTO, ONT.

Comrade H. Filyk has applied with a request to the Fourteenth Convention of the ULFTA that he be readmitted into the ULFTA. The Fourteenth Convention of the ULFTA has considered the request of comrade H. Filyk, who had applied to our conventions for readmission several times, but his request was not fulfilled owing to his insufficient work for the good of the organization. This time, having received information from the delegates from Toronto that comrade H. Filyk has rectified his mistakes, the Fourteenth Convention has resolved to accept him into the ULFTA.

SOURCE: *Zvit (Chotyrynadtsiatoho Zizdu, 31 lypnia i 1 serpnia 1933)*, 73.

REQUEST BY H. IAKYMOVYCH FROM TORONTO, ONT.

H. Iakymovych has charged the branch in Brooklands, Man., with wrongful expulsion from membership. Having investigated his request and obtained information from the delegates of the local branch, the Fifteenth Convention resolves that the branch was right in expelling him and for that reason rejects his request for admission to membership. At the same time the convention resolves that, if in the future comrade Iakymovych carries on sincere work in the interest of the labour movement, he can be admitted later as a new member of the ULFTA.

SOURCE: *Zvit (Piatnadtsiatoho Zizdu, 18 i 19 bereznia, 1935)*, 55.

Chapter 14. Attitude to Religion

The attitude of the Ukrainian pro-communist leaders to religion during the 1920s and early 1930s was one of outright opposition and hostility. It was sometimes opposed with arguments based on science, logic and rationality, at other times by attacks on the Ukrainian churches and their clergy. The policy was to attack the hierarchy while trying to win over the laity. They were very careful to avoid outright attacks on the Protestant churches and their clergy, among whom there were those who sympathized and some who even worked very closely with the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations and the communist party. After the adoption of the united front policy, when the emphasis was on forming a broad coalition to fight against war and fascism, the attitude to religion became more tolerant.

1. What is Easter?

The celebration of the death and resurrection of God existed among ancient agricultural peoples. The sowing of grain and its germination, which personified the death and resurrection of God, were very important events for the tiller. He mobilized all earthly and heavenly forces before sowing to guarantee its successful conclusion. . . .

The very process of germination of seed was an unsolved mystery for the ancient tiller. In his opinion, this process could not go on without the intervention of the supernatural. All natural phenomena were supernatural for the ancient tiller. He believed that gods participated directly in them. The return of the spring sun was interpreted as the birth of a god. The dying of plants in the winter and their appearance in the spring, and the sowing and germination of seeds was explained by the ancient tiller as the death and resurrection of gods.

Consequently the spring celebration of the death and resurrection emerged as a result of the weakness of the ancient tiller and his dependence on the elemental forces of nature. In his consciousness those forces found a fantastic reflection in the form of supernatural powers.

In modern times Easter takes on a completely different character. The celebration of "Easter," as of all other modern Christian celebrations, must

satisfy the interests of the enemies of the working class and the toiling peasantry. All Easter services and customs are calculated to influence the consciousness of the faithful in the direction required by the exploiters. The bourgeoisie requires that the toilers patiently bear the sufferings imposed on them by the capitalist system. That is why the priests teach the faithful to follow the example of Christ, who “suffered and bade us do likewise.”

Aware of the great significance of the Easter celebration as a means of maintaining their domination, the bourgeoisie gives it particular attention. For this there is a special literature which idealizes and glorifies a picture of a quiet, martyred and complying Christ, strengthens the living tradition of Easter and by it creates the illusion of satisfaction, happiness and universal peace in the minds of the toilers. The purpose of all this is to cover up the bloody policies which the bourgeoisie conducts against the working class, to kill the sense of protest and indignation in those exploited and to replace the idea of the class struggle in their consciousness with the idea of “peaceful class collaboration.”

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 19 April 1930.

2. Render unto Caesar the Things Which be Caesar's and unto God the Things Which be God's or It is Easier for a Camel to Pass through the Eye of a Needle than for a Rich Man to Enter the Kingdom of God

These two, as they say, Christ's commandments have come to mind while reading the news from London that the Roman pope purchased shares valued at 125 million dollars on the London stock market, 50 million lire on the Rome stock market, and ordered his cardinals to collect 500 million lire for speculation on the stock market.

Everyone who reads about the Pope's speculation on the international stock market may ask: “How can one reconcile this with Christ's commandment?”

When the Pope and the little popes of all the Christian religions preach that commandment of Christ, why do they not practice it themselves? Why do they not distribute their wealth to the poor in order not to be a hump-backed camel at the last judgement and to pass smoothly into divine paradise?

But, you see, they do not care about that “heavenly kingdom” in the next world. Instead they speculate on the capitalist stock markets in this world. They do not fear any “last judgement.”

One does not need to go to Rome to be convinced that the church today is a great capitalist enterprise. Not only present-day popes, but all popes, cardinals, patriarchs, metropolitans, mullahs, rabbis, Dalai Llamas—all of them were and are not only servants of capital but also large capitalists. They not only owned

but now own colossal properties, tracts of land, forests, factories, and commercial enterprises.

Besides his state salary, every priest draws income at the birth of every child, weddings, deaths and then, a hundred years after the death of his parishioner, he draws from his descendants for the "peace of his soul."

According to the Bible, Christ said to love even one's enemies. Somehow we do not see the pope, the cardinals, the metropolitans and bishops calling on their faithful to love the Soviet Union, the Soviet government or the communists. On the contrary, we see a frantic anti-Soviet agitation of the priesthood all over the world; we hear not prayers but curses against the USSR and the whole liberation movement of the toilers of every country. . . .

This can be explained by the capitalist nature of clericalism. Karl Marx wrote that the church would sooner disavow nine-tenths of its religious teachings than one tenth of its income. He who wrote in the Bible that "there is no power except from God" did not know, did not even imagine that there could come to power a government of workers and peasants which it would be necessary not only to curse, but against which it would be necessary to unite the sword with the cross because it deprives the priesthood of property, wealth and the right to exploit. . . .

The American government and capitalist firms give the churches and church organizations over 2 million dollars in gifts annually. The American capitalists donate 600,000 dollars annually for missionary work in China. Rockefeller, the "religious" oil man, donated 3 million dollars to a Catholic order, a half million to the Baptists. He did not even forget the Baptists of the Soviet Union and slipped them 300,000 dollars. In New York he built a church of some forty storeys for which he bought seventy bells so that they would ring to heaven about his god-appeasing deeds. For him the priests will create such an eye in the needle that not only a camel but even an elephant will be able to crawl through. . . .

This is not the priests giving Caesar what is Caesar's, but, on the contrary, today's capitalist Caesars are paying the clerics for their faithful service. And the pope of Rome is not the only speculator on the capitalist stock markets. . . .

These disciples of Christ do not experience economic crises or unemployment. However, they adapt quite well the systems of speed-up and rationalization to their enterprises. It is true, sometimes they complain that people are beginning to shun the church, but they know that as long as the capitalist system exists, their income is secure. That is why they are beginning to fight with more determination against the liberation movement of the toilers and to agitate for war against the Soviet Union. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 4 September 1930.

3. Apply the Correct Tactic in Contending with the Narcotic of Religion

A second weak spot in the approach of many of our members to the rank and file of the yellow-blue organizations* is their immediate attempt to raise the question of religion. Thus, for no reason at all, our comrade undertakes to condemn the cross, the Mother of God and all the saints, and so sets the religious worker against himself and our organizations that it is later difficult to approach him. We need to fight with all our resoluteness against religion as one of the mightiest ideological assets of capital, with the help of which it maintains its oppression and exploitation of the toiling masses. But this struggle must be conducted with dexterity and tact, because religious people are very sensitive and one can easily repel them. If a worker or a poor farmer is still completely outside our movement or is a member of a church organization, to draw him toward the revolutionary movement one must begin not with the topic of religion, but by drawing him into the struggle for his immediate daily needs.

When we succeed in this, then in the struggle it is necessary to skillfully show such a religious worker that religion, together with all the priests and churches, helps the capitalists to oppress, destroy and starve him and uphold the whole rapacious capitalist system, and to explain to him scientifically the origin and essence of religion. If we act thus, we will tear away thousands of workers from the religious narcotic and various nationalist and church organizations and recruit them into our revolutionary movement.

SOURCE: TODOVYRNAZU circular, *Rozhornim nastup proty zhovtblakytynkiv* [Let Us Unfold an Offensive Against the Yellow-Blues], n.d.

4. Letter from a Farm Woman

In our locality of Simcoe, Ontario, there are quite a number of Ukrainian farmers, but only a small number of them are interested in the liberation movement. They are under the influence of two sisters: religion and ignorance. In that very spirit they bring up their children. They forbid their children to belong to the Youth Section of the ULFTA and go to the Ukrainian Labour Temple.

The consequences of that upbringing are very sad. Limited by religion and ignorance, the children grow up as though wild. They do not understand the meaning of the working class; they harm other workers and also their own

* The Ukrainian national flag is yellow and blue. The reference is to Ukrainian organizations that recognize the national emblem.

parents. They leave their parents, run away from them, and not with empty hands. And these, because of the lack of understanding, say that it is God's will and make donations to the priests for prayers for their children's reform.

I advise these farmers not to rely on the priest's prayers, which will only fill the pockets and stomachs of the priests, but to undertake the necessary upbringing of the children. Send them to the Youth Section to teach them to look at the world through the eyes of science and not poison them with religious dope, and everything will be fine. They will grow up fine sons of the working class.

A reader

SOURCE: Robitnytsia, 15 March 1931.

5. We Wrote and We Will Continue to Write

Lately we received a letter from a farmer in Alberta in which he asks why we are against the priests who are the servants of God and only carry out the orders of the pope and the church. We hereby announce to the farmer that he has not tried to understand the real role played by the priesthood of all sects in contemporary society. He believes that the priest is the symbol of something holy. . . . However, this is an ordinary person who, through his sins, that is, his wicked deeds, is worse than an ordinary mortal. Because, when in some cases an ordinary Christian is restrained from wicked deeds by the fear of God and Hell, this does not restrain the priest, because he does not believe in the one or the other. That is why there were cases where these servants of God murdered their lovers, others dispatched their relatives from this world in order to acquire their properties, and still others misled innocent young girls in monasteries. They did all this quite comfortably, because they did not fear hell, knowing that there is no such hell as they preach to the poor. If they fear anything, it is the secular authorities, who can inflict punishment if the scandal sees the light of day.

Religion will not eliminate crime. . . . The present system, which the priests of all sects support so sincerely, is a system of mastery of the stronger over the weaker. . . . The capitalist world fears the smallest manifestation of understanding by the toiling masses. That is why it tries to keep them in ignorance. The capitalists are aided in this by numerous agents; among these, the priests play the most important role. If the priests did not defend the interests of the capitalist predators, the millionaires such as Rockefeller and Ford would not donate millions of dollars to various sects. It is not out of love for the church or God that they pour millions, but in order that these churches carry out the orders of the capitalists, that is, keep the wide masses of workers in ignorance by frightening them with hell, entertaining them with heaven and telling them

of the eternal reward in heaven so that it may be easier for the capitalists to exploit to the fullest the farmers and workers and have "heaven" in this world, because they do not believe in a heaven beyond the clouds. . . .

This farmer, who defends the priests in his letter to us, should understand that the grain speculators also donate considerable money for church causes. They do this not because they believe in God and hope for the eternal kingdom beyond the clouds, but simply because the priests are agents of the capitalists and serve the grain speculators just as sincerely as the various Rockefellers and Fords. . . .

SOURCE: Farmerske Zhyttia, 4 December 1929.

Chapter 15. The Ukrainians and the Formation of the Communist Party of Canada

The Communist Party of Canada (CPC) was founded at a convention held in a barn outside Guelph, Ontario, in June 1921. Because the War Measures Act was in effect, the party operated illegally. On 11–12 December 1921 a preliminary conference was held in Toronto to launch a legal party, the Workers' Party of Canada (WPC). The conference was attended by ten delegates from the ULTA, including John Boychuk, who was elected to the nine-man provisional executive. Prior to the first convention of the WPC, branches were formed, among them those made up exclusively of Ukrainians. Immediately after the conclusion of the third annual meeting (convention) of the ULTA on 2–6 February 1922, delegates met to discuss the question of the forthcoming convention of the WPC and elect delegates. The WPC was formally launched at its first convention on 17–20 February 1922. Among those elected to the Central Committee (CC) were Boychuk, Popowich and Navizivsky. The Ukrainian and Finnish language branches each formed separate sections of the WPC on a federated basis with their own national offices. Although the top leadership of the WPC was largely made up of Anglo-Saxons and Jews, the bulk of the membership was composed of Finns and Ukrainians. The latter, who worked in most basic industries, were not only the party's main contact with other workers, but also provided a disproportionate share of the party finances. The ULTA was not affiliated to the WPC as was the Finnish organization, but Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti had a section devoted to party matters, the Ukrainian Labour Temples were used for party meetings, and the ULTA accepted the party ideology and leadership.

1. Report of the Conference of the Workers' Party of Canada

The founding conference of the Workers' Party of Canada was held in Toronto on Sunday, 11 December...

The largest of the organizations represented at the conference were the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association and the Finnish Socialist Organization of Canada which, according to the declaration of its delegates, has 60 branches and 2,000 members...

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 21 December 1921.

2. The WPC in Winnipeg

The work of organizing branches of the Workers' Party of Canada is proceeding most satisfactorily in Winnipeg. Five branches have already been organized to date: English, Ukrainian, Jewish, German and Russian. The English branch has about 70 members, the Ukrainian—over 100, the Jewish—about 30, the German—over 15 and the Russian—over 15. All these national branches will form the Winnipeg local of the Workers' Party of Canada. Representatives of these branches will form the executive committee of the local...

On Monday afternoon, 2 January, a mass meeting was held in the Ukrainian Labour Temple at which comrades Bartholomew and MacDonald spoke in English and comrade Popowich in Ukrainian...

The formation of a mass revolutionary workers' party is the first task of the workers in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers' power...

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 7 January 1922.

3. Report of the Convention of the WPC

After the general annual meeting of the ULTA [the third convention, 2–6 February 1922] there was a conference in the Ukrainian Labour Temple on 6 February with the participation of delegates representing organized Ukrainian workers from the following Canadian localities: Winnipeg, East Kildonan and Transcona, Manitoba; Fort Frances, Fort William, Sudbury, Espanola, Toronto, Hamilton, Thorold, Welland and Timmins, Ontario; Regina, Saskatoon and Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan; Edmonton, Drumheller, Calgary, Canmore, Coalhurst, Hillcrest and Coleman, Alberta; Michel and Corbin, B.C.

The conference was to decide whether Ukrainian workers should participate in the formation of the Workers' Party of Canada and send their delegates to the convention of the party. This question was widely discussed by the comrades in every locality before the conference and all the delegates, with the exception of two, were instructed by their organizations to support participation in the formation of the WPC and send delegates to the convention of that party.

After an extensive and thorough discussion of this matter the conference elected an organizational committee of five comrades—M. Popowich, I. Navizivsky, V.N. Kolisnyk, M. Shatulsky and D. Lobay—and entrusted that committee with the organization of a Ukrainian section of the Workers' Party of Canada and after the convention to act as the Bureau of the Ukrainian Section of the WPC until the conference of the section.

Then the following comrades were elected as delegates to the convention of the WPC: I. Hlady, J. Zradowsky, I. Boychuk, I. Hobatiuk, I. Lilitsak, R. Komar, S. Prokopa, I. Marchak, Gelych and Kachala. In addition, comrades M. Popowich and I. Navizivsky were to participate in the convention, having been elected by the local of the WPC in Winnipeg.

The conference instructed the delegates to support the adoption by the party of a revolutionary platform and programme and an open declaration for the Third (Communist) International and a guarantee in the party constitution of democratic centralism in the party while allowing the sections the possibility of conducting their work without unnecessary hindrance or constraint.

With these instructions the Ukrainian delegates went to the Conference of the Workers' Party of Canada held on 17, 18, 19 and 20 February in the Labour Temple in Toronto. . . .

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 18 March 1922.

4. The Ukrainian Section of the WPC

... Immediately after the conclusion of the convention, on the next day, a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party of Canada was held in which representatives of the Ukrainian branches also participated. They repeated their report from the conference, held in Winnipeg, at that meeting and announced that prior to the convention of the party there were four Ukrainian branches of the party with a general membership of about 400, sufficient numerically according to the party constitution for the formation of a section.

In addition, the Ukrainian delegates held a separate meeting and resolved to immediately commence organizational work in which they hoped to have the support of all class-conscious Ukrainian workers in Canada.

A delegate

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 22 March 1922.

5. Less Shouting and More Work

And, above all our organizations stands the brain and the soul of all our movement, the director of all our activity—the Ukrainian section of the Communist Party of Canada. It has fewer members than, for example, the ULFTA, for it cannot be otherwise, because in it are united the most conscious and politically prepared Ukrainian men and women. Is it possible and desirable that, for example, all members of the ULFTA or the WBA belong to the Ukrainian section of the CPC, since not all have the necessary preparation, the communist world outlook and an understanding of the programme and tactics of the communist party? Not at all. It is desirable that they become real communists, but only the members of the Communist Party can and should achieve this. Still, in these organizations there will always be new members who are not suitable as members of the CPC and therefore the membership of these organizations will always outnumber the membership of the Ukrainian section of the CPC....

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 6 November 1924.

6. ULFTA Financial Contributions to Communist Causes, 1933–5

Branches of the ULFTA collected \$4,027.45 for the funds of the *Worker*, \$758.67 for the *Furrow*, \$2,865.11 for the Canadian Labour Defence League, \$3,671.75 for aid to strikers, \$963.83 to assist in the organization of other nationalities and \$5,423.19 for various organizational funds. Altogether \$12,896.88 was collected. The CEC paid out of its treasury to the above-listed funds the sum of \$1,484.85, which makes a total of \$14,381.73.

SOURCE: Zvit (Piatnadtsiatoho Zizdu 18 i 19 bereznia 1935), 8.

Chapter 16. Communist Party Fractions

To reach wider masses and extend their influence the communists organized front organizations over which the Communist Party exerted control. After the formation of the Communist Party in 1924 the Party worked through the National Ukrainian Agitational-Propaganda (Agit-Prop) Bureau of the Political Bureau and similar committees on each respective level of administration and activity of the Ukrainian mass organizations.

When the Ukrainian mass organizations embarked on the "turn," the Agit-Prop was replaced by fractions, headed by the National Ukrainian Party Fraction Bureau. Fractions were also organized on every organizational and administrative level. Through them the party was able to assume complete control over the mass organizations and to direct all work within them.

1. Conference of the Ukrainian Section of the CPC

All our conventions this year were preceded and concluded by a conference of the Ukrainian section of the Communist Party of Canada. This was the seventh consecutive conference of representatives of the Ukrainian membership of the CPC; its deliberations were held on 21, 22 and 29 January. . . .

Of all the conferences of representatives of the Ukrainian membership of the CPC, this last one was the most impressive, not only in the number of participants (124 from 42 localities), but also in its understanding of its duties. This was a gathering of the most active and most responsible workers in our general labour-farmer movement, who, together with the comrades they represent, built and continue to build our labour-farmer organizations. . . .

The representatives of the National Ukrainian Agitational-Propaganda Committee of the CPC and all the delegates reported on their activities in the past year, assessed their achievements, explained and sincerely condemned their mistakes and neglected duties, and then, on the basis of past experience, made plans of work for the future. . . .

The conference underlined the necessity of close ties between the local Ukrainian agitational-propaganda committees and the National Ukrainian

Agit-Prop Committee. In connection with this, the National Ukrainian Agit-Prop Committee was commissioned to establish and always maintain close contact with all the localities where there are Ukrainian Party members, so that all agitational-propaganda work is conducted in a planned manner and under its control. . . .

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robotnychi Visti, 4 February 1928.

2. What Party Fractions Are and How They Should Operate

A Party fraction is a Party organization formed from those Party members who belong to a mass workers' or farmers' organization. . . . If in any such . . . organization there are even two or three Party members, they must form a Party fraction and appoint . . . one of the comrades as secretary-organizer. If the Party fraction is made up of a larger number of members, then it should elect a Party fraction bureau . . . and the bureau should appoint one of its members as secretary-organizer, who is to record the decisions of the Party fraction, give written reports to the appropriate Party committees, write where necessary in the name of the Party fraction, call meetings of the Party fraction bureau and the Party fraction in accordance with the decisions of the Party fraction bureau and of the Party fraction. Party fractions should meet no less than twice a month and their bureaux, as far as possible, should meet more often, that is, once a week or as circumstances warrant. . . .

Party fractions are necessary in order to carry out the Party line in the mass organizations, to achieve and maintain Party influence within them, to direct all their work and to lead them onto the path of revolutionary class struggle.

Can Party members carry this out successfully without Party fractions? No, they cannot. Each party member can have an understanding of the general Party line regarding a particular question, of its practical implementation on any matter and of the practical treatment of one question or another, but at a meeting of a mass organization he can take an entirely different, improperly considered and erroneous position from that of other Party comrades. Among Party members themselves, at such a mass meeting, a controversy can arise if they do not have one opinion and a common proposition. For that reason it is necessary that every important question which is to be discussed in a mass organization first be jointly discussed by Party members so that they understand it well from the Party point of view and decide jointly what position all Party members should take regarding the given question and how to conduct explanatory work at the meeting of the mass organization in order to convince the membership of that organization that it should take the same stand regarding this question as the Party proposes and advises. This can only be

done when the Party members in such a mass organization are organized into a Party fraction and regularly hold Party fraction meetings for the consideration of such questions and all work in the mass organizations. Our own experience reveals this best. Where there are Party fractions that work well in our mass organizations, there all the work of these mass organizations proceeds correctly and well. Where there are no well-organized Party fractions and where they have neglected their work, there also the mass organizations do not conduct good work, often bog down in petty quarrels and squabbles, forgetting about the class struggle and all their most important tasks. In such localities, Party members, instead of leading the mass organizations into the vortex of the class struggle, lead them into the mire of petty bourgeois quarrels and personal vendettas (Edmonton, Rouyn).

In addition to the general Party fraction which is made up of all Party members that belong to our mass organizations, Party fractions are to be organized in every executive of the mass organizations. The Party fraction in the executive of a branch of one or another of our mass organizations is made up of those Party comrades who are members of that executive. The Party fraction of the executive is to promote the Party line in the executive of the branch of that organization, make proposals that were decided upon by the general Party fraction, etc. It is responsible for its work before the general Party fraction. Party members in Provincial Committees of the ULFTA form a Party fraction of the Provincial Committee, which is responsible for its work to the District Bureau of the Party. Party members who are in the central executives of our mass organizations form a National Party Fraction which appoints a National Party Fraction Bureau that is responsible for its work to the Politburo of the Party.

Every local Party fraction must conduct its work under the rigid direction and control of the local Party Executive Committee. It should provide the latter with plans of its work for approval and reports of its work. The provincial committee Party fractions are similarly responsible to the district committees of the Party and the National Party Fraction Bureau is responsible to the Politburo of the Party. The local Party fraction bureau must be approved by the local Party committee, the provincial committee Party fraction by the district Party committee and the National Party Fraction Bureau by the Politburo of the Party. Each of these Party committees has the right to delegate its representative to the Party fraction bureau subordinate to it and to recall from it any of its members. In the case of disagreement in the Party fraction the case is finally decided by the appropriate Party committee. In the case of any misunderstanding or controversy between the Party fraction and the appropriate Party committee, the matter is resolved by the higher Party committee.... Party committees are responsible for the work carried on by Party fractions subordinate to them, for their negligence and incorrect work.

On the basis of the general line of the Party and the decisions of the Politburo and its departments, the National Party Fraction Bureau prepares a plan of work of the Party fraction in the mass organizations, which is ratified by the Politburo, and sends it to all local and provincial committee Party fractions and simultaneously to the district committees of the Party. . . . Local and provincial committee Party fractions must, on the basis of plans and direction of the National Party Fraction Bureau, formulate plans of their local and provincial activities and present them for review and approval by Party committees to which they are subordinate. Party fractions must also carry out together with all the members of the mass organizations all the instructions that are sent out by the central executives of our mass organizations. . . .

SOURCE: M. Popovych, *Za Bilshovyzatsiiu*, no. 3, 1931, 16-22.

3. National Party Fraction Bureau to Local Party Fractions of the Ukrainian Mass Organizations

In accordance with the decision of the Politburo, the membership of the National Party Fraction Bureau has been increased to nine with the addition of comrades Popowich and Lenartowych. Comrade Popowich is to work in Winnipeg as secretary of the National Party Fraction Bureau, editor-in-chief of *Farmerske Zhyttia* and editor of the Party journal, *Za Bilshovyzatsiiu*. He is to remain in Winnipeg until further instructions from the Politburo.

All comrades who have worked until now on the newspapers and in the main offices of the mass organizations are to continue in their posts. But comrade Saviak is to leave each weekend for meetings in Manitoba farm localities to organize branches of the Farmers' Unity League and other mass organizations. Other secretaries of the central committees of the mass organizations are to provide reports and evaluations of the work of the mass organizations to the press. Comrade Lenartovych is to be progressively relieved of work on the journals and engaged in work in *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*. . . .

Local Party fractions must carry out all decisions and directions of the National Party Fraction Bureau as well as the decisions of the Central Executive Committee of the ULFTA and the Central Committee of the WBA which are sent directly to the branches. . . . Members of the Party fractions must remember once and for all that the decisions of the central committees of the mass organizations are made on the instructions and approval of the National Party Fraction Bureau and are binding for all Party members. . . . The central committees of the mass organizations are responsible to the National Party Fraction Bureau for all their decisions and instructions and the National Party Fraction Bureau is responsible for all its work to the Political Bureau of

the Party, to which it sends all its decisions for approval and to which it reports on its work. . . .

SOURCE: Vsekraieve Partfraktsiine Biuro Ukrainskykh Masovykh Orhanizatsii [National Party Fraction Bureau, Ukrainian Mass Organizations], Bulletin no. 1, Winnipeg, 30 March 1931, 1–2. Henceforth cited as *Vsekraieve Biuro* with number, date of the bulletin and page numbers.

4. National Party Fraction Bureau of the NLFMO to Local Party Fractions of the Ukrainian Mass Organizations

Dear Comrades!

In this second issue of the bulletin of our bureau we are explaining to our local Party fractions in our mass organizations new questions and obligations of our Party in the carrying out of which our individual comrades and Party fractions must take part, simultaneously drawing in the membership of our mass organizations. The bulletin must be read without fail at the earliest meetings of every Party fraction. . . .

All Party comrades who belong to the mass organizations in a given locality must organize a Party fraction, elect a bureau of a number proportionate to the number of members in the fraction, elect a secretary-organizer and establish contact with our bureau and the local Executive Committee of the Party. Party members in executives of mass organizations form executive fractions which are responsible for their work before the local Party fraction. Party members in Provincial Committees of the ULFTA form Party fractions in those committees and are responsible for their work to the District Executive Committee of the Party and to our bureau. . . .

Every local Party fraction in our mass organizations, every Party fraction in the Provincial Committees of the ULFTA, every Party organizer . . . must send each month to the National Party Fraction Bureau concise but all-inclusive reports on their work. In addition, every local Party fraction must, first of all, make such reports to the local Executive Committee of the Party and to the provincial fraction, and every Party fraction of the Provincial Committee and every Party organizer must make them to the district bureau of the Party. These reports are an especially important part of the duties of the Party fractions and Party organizers and they must be made regularly and punctually at the end of each month. They are an indispensable and important source of information for the Party bodies on the state of Party work in the mass organizations.

Already in our first bulletin we placed emphasis on the fact that all our work must be planned and carried out in an orderly manner. Otherwise we will not be able to carry out all our tasks on time, we will not be able to work in

unison, as one well-organized, militant army, we will not be able to achieve what we should. The class struggle is war. And in order to overcome the opponent in a war, everything must be planned, considered and carried out on time. . . .

Comrades! It must be remembered once and for all that the tasks outlined by the Party, that is by its leading body and by our bureau, and its plans for a given month must not be put off to the following month, because in that succeeding month, there will be other new tasks to carry out. When a Party fraction wastes time in a given month then it will not carry them out, and if it attempts to carry them out the following month then it will neglect new tasks assigned for this succeeding month. Therefore, it is necessary to improve the work, to plan it well so as to march in step with the whole Party.

Here we list further work and assignments which, together with the whole Party, our Party fractions are to carry out. . . . June:

1. Summary of the completion of the plan of work in April and May and a study of the achievements, shortcomings and neglected assignments.
2. Summary of the May campaign to aid the Ukrainian revolutionary labour-farmer press.
3. Continuation of the Party recruiting campaign to the end of June.
4. Discussion at gatherings of the branches of the mass organizations and in the press of the pre-convention theses of the central executives of the mass organizations and the problems connected with these conventions and preparations for the conventions.
5. Discussion of articles in the first number of the Party journal, *Za Bilshovyzatsiiu*, especially those dealing with Party work in the mass organizations.
6. Dissemination of the second (June) number of the journal *Za Bilshovyzatsiiu*.
7. Moral and material assistance to the Young Communist League in the holding of its convention in June.
8. Assistance to the "militant fund" of our Party.
9. Campaign to assist the initiation of the publication of the paper, *Workers' Unity*, the organ of the Workers' Unity League.
10. Assistance to the Farmers' Unity League in the sending of a farmers' delegation to the Soviet Union.
11. Preparations for the campaign for the *Furrow*, which has been postponed to July.
12. Preparations for the campaign in aid of the Students' Institute in Edmonton.
13. Participation in preparations for the formation of district Party schools.
14. Participation in district Party conferences.
15. Initial preparations for 1 August, the international Red Day against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union.

16. Utilization of the summer season for open-air mass propaganda meetings and propaganda talks at picnics, etc.
17. Continued study of the decisions of the Party plenum.
18. Continued political education.
19. Monthly report of the Party fraction on its activity.

In preparation for the conventions, one of the most important matters will be the selection of delegates. In accordance with Party instructions, it is necessary to select the most active and sincere non-Party participants in the revolutionary labour movement... who can properly represent the local organizations and learn from the conventions. If there are such, they should be proposed as delegates along with a minimum number of Party members....

The Party centre is working at present under difficult financial circumstances. Expenses have increased with the increase in Party activity, but funds are lacking. The comrades on Party work are often forced to endure hunger. Consequently, it is necessary to aid the Party centre. It has been decided that all local mass organizations put on, in the last week of June, an event for the "Militant fund" of the Party centre to give it immediate support. Later it will be necessary to regulate this aid and render it continually in a planned fashion....

SOURCE: Vsekraieve Biuro, Bulletin no. 2, 10 June 1931, 1-4, 6-7.

5. To Secretaries of Party Fractions and CPC Members at Large*

Secretaries of ALL PARTY FRACTIONS IN THE UKRAINIAN MASS ORGANIZATIONS are asked to provide the secretary of the National Party Fraction bureau immediately with: 1. exact address, 2. number of members in the Party fraction. All Ukrainian comrades who are members at large of the Communist Party of Canada must also immediately provide their exact addresses.

Ukrainian Party members in the following localities: Dominion, New Waterford, Nova Scotia; Lachine, Turcotte, Three Rivers, Quebec; Ansonville, Ottawa, Oshawa, Thorold, Hamilton, Leamington, London, Ontario; St. Boniface, Manitoba; Vegreville, Canmore, Mundare, Alberta, must immediately advise whether they have organized fractions. If so, it is imperative to provide the addresses of secretaries and explain why these Party fractions do not maintain any contact with the National Party Fraction Bureau.

* A member who resides in a locality where there are no other party members. Consequently, he does not belong to a party unit or branch but pays his dues directly to the district office.

Answers should be sent immediately to: M. Popowich, Ukrainian Labour Temple, Corner Pritchard & McGregor Sts., Winnipeg, Manitoba.

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 4 June 1931.

6. An Historic Deliberation

The conference of the Ukrainian membership of the Communist Party of Canada which took place in Winnipeg on 17 and 18 July was really the largest in history not only in the number of its representatives from all of Canada, but also because of the importance of the questions discussed there and the liveliness of the discussion.

Prominent leaders of the working-class movement in Canada, comrades Sam Carr, Jim Litterick, M. Nastas (U.S.A.), and M. Popowich spoke.

A broad discussion developed, in which over seventy men and women participated, on the extensive report of comrade J. Boychuk, secretary of the Central Bureau of the Ukrainian section of the Party, in which he covered various aspects of the life of the Ukrainian people in Canada and their organizations....

Sam Carr declared that: "Great tasks of training new cadres, increase and activation of the membership, organization of the toiling masses against fascism, reaction and war, and the rendering of aid in the struggle of the Spanish people stand before the whole Party as well as before its Ukrainian section at the present important period....

We should be sensitive to those changes in the economic and political life that have taken place in recent times in Canada and in the entire world. We see a great increase in the preparations for a new world war. This in turn increases prosperity (for the capitalist) in heavy industry, which produces for war....

The question of organizing trade unions under the leadership of the CIO demands extremely great attention from the communists....

We support the campaign of the CIO for the organization of the unorganized industries.... Our main task is to organize the toiling masses for a struggle for their demands, for united front action which would simultaneously follow the path of struggle against reaction and war....

In Alberta the party of Aberhart has shown that it cannot give people what it had promised.... We know that in their attempt to achieve at least some alleviation for the people of Alberta the Social Crediters were faced with great opposition from the capitalist machine. Therefore, in taking up the demands of the popular mass of Alberta, we should build around them a popular front, because only through a popular unity can these demands be won.

Our struggle for unity strives for the formation of a Farmer-Labour party. . . .

On the international front our main struggle is in defence of the people of Spain. . . .

Ukrainian Party members have in addition the great task of struggling for the freedom of the Western Ukrainian people, to provide them with aid in this struggle, and around the slogans and demands of the Ukrainian people of Canada, to organize unity of the Ukrainian people and assist them to build their progressive organizations.

Working in all these areas, providing leadership to the toiling masses, we should remember one of our most important tasks: the building of a mighty mass Communist Party of Canada. . . . ”

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 21 July 1937.

Chapter 17. "The Turn to the Path of Revolutionary Struggle"

After the WPC was renamed the CPC, the latter experienced a series of internal factional struggles and organizational changes in which the Ukrainian communist leaders were involved. In 1925, at its fifth congress, the Communist International (CI) launched a campaign to bolshevize the communist parties. This entailed the liquidation of the language branches and sections and the reorganization of the Party into cells or nuclei based on place of work or area of residence. There was considerable reluctance on the part of the Finns and the Ukrainians to liquidate the language sections.

In 1928 the VIII Plenum of the Communist International decreed the intensification and extension of the class struggle. Jack MacDonald, secretary of the central committee (CC) of the party, opposed the decision of the CI by supporting the theory of "American exceptionalism" propounded by Jay Lovestone, secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, according to which the economy of the U.S.A. was not subject to economic crises. Since Canada was closely tied to the American economy, it too was immune to capitalist crises, according to MacDonald. The Ukrainians were opposed to playing a leading role in the escalation of the class struggle, fearing arrest and deportation. Consequently, most supported MacDonald. After he resigned and the Buck faction became dominant, an open confrontation developed between the Ukrainian and other party leaders over the issue.

The case was taken to the CI which, in 1930, sent its representative to Canada, a Ukrainian who travelled under the name of Mykhailenko and stayed about six months. At the end of 1930, John Navizivsky went to Moscow for three months. On his return he was ready to follow the CI line. The CI worked out a compromise whereby no one was to be disciplined in the Ukrainian section but the Ukrainian leaders were to co-operate with the Party leadership.

*In the meantime, the world economic crisis, ushered in by the Wall Street stock market crash in 1929, resulted in widespread unemployment. Early in 1931 the Central Executive Committee of the ULFTA issued a call to its members to support the new line and began publication of the journal *Za Bilshovyzatsiiu* [For Bolshevization], which carried on agitation for a turn in party work. It was edited by Popowich and*

produced at the ULFTA print shop in Winnipeg. A series of articles also appeared in the Worker and in the Ukrainian press on the issue, preparing the ground for the "turn" at the Twelfth Convention of the ULFTA, held on 15-20 July 1931.

After the turn the Ukrainian mass organizations faithfully followed each twist and turn in the party line and expanded their participation in all party activities and campaigns, providing a major part of all party funds and increasing party influence among the unemployed, the farmers and the industrial workers.

1. Reorganization of the CPC and the Language Branches

The reorganization of the Communist Party on the basis of shop groups is at present in full swing in all European countries. If we examine each such country... we will be convinced that the reorganization of the party... opens up a new era in the history of the communist movement of the working class. We can see that only through the successful reorganization is it possible to realize the slogan, "to the masses...."

Our territorial branches were only innocent propaganda groups which did not have and could not have any great influence on the industrial or political movement of the working class....

When an industry becomes the area of class struggle it must also become the field of our party activity. We must envelop it with a whole network of communist cells and begin real valuable party work there....

Bureau of the Ukrainian Section, CPC

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 5 September 1925.

2. Role of Ukrainians in the Party

The structure and composition of the party organization is bad. More than 90 per cent of the party organization is composed of Finnish, Ukrainian and Jewish immigrants. The first two control large and powerful immigrant fraternal organizations, conducting work in their respective languages. The work of these comrades has been marked continually by a conservatism and legalism that has had its reflection in the Party as a whole. In addition to this, the fractional activity carried on among the Ukrainian and Finnish workers amounts to little; their organizations stress dramatic and social activity to the exclusion of all forms of political agitation and struggle.... The Central Committee, the agit-prop committees and almost all organizational forms are still dominated to a great extent by the two large language groups in the party....

SOURCE: Leslie Morris, "Main Tasks of the VI Congress of the Canadian Party," *International Press Correspondence*, vol. 9, no. 23 (17 May 1929), 513.

3. The Right Danger in Ukrainian Mass Organizations

There are in Canada approximately 350,000 Ukrainians comprising by far the largest single foreign language section of the Canadian working class.... Virtually all of them are of peasant origin, and previous to the war period of 1914-1918 they were employed almost exclusively... in railroad construction, agricultural work, in the mines and the rough unskilled labour of the steel industry.

During the past 15 years, however, the role of the foreign born workers in Canadian industry has been changed to a marked degree.... Today foreign born workers predominate in many of the larger industries....

And among the foreign born workers Ukrainians occupy an extremely important and strategic position. Firstly, they are the most active and the most highly organized of any language group of foreign born workers. The Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, a mass non-party organization in close association with the Communist Party, embraces more than 5,000 of the most active elements of the Ukrainian workers and extends all over the country. Secondly, the Ukrainians have a strong and very effective press, and thirdly, because they come mainly from the oppressed provinces of Poland and Roumania, and the Carpathian district of Czecho-Slovakia, they have (collectively) contact with the workers of nearly all nationalities of Central Europe.

Ukrainian workers, therefore, hold a key position in the general picture of the foreign born workers in Canada, and are a decisive factor in the task of reaching these foreign born workers with revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

Development of Right Tendencies

In the eleven years of its existence the ULFTA has become a powerful institution. With the growth of its influence among the foreign born workers, and particularly its authority among the Ukrainian masses, the class hatred of the bourgeoisie, directed against the Communist Party and all its supporting organizations, naturally from time to time found expression in vicious attacks upon the ULFTA....

The obvious duty of the leadership of the ULFTA in reply to these attacks was to mobilize the masses of foreign born workers for self defence, and to launch a political counter-offensive. But instead of following this obviously correct policy, the leadership (all party members) adopted a policy of

systematic retreats.

Starting with press articles denying the connection of the ULFTA with the Communist Party and emphasizing its purely cultural and educational nature, a series of retreats brought them to the point where the national anthem (Canadian) was rendered at occasional entertainments of the ULFTA and even to the point where on a day of capitalist celebration (the 60th Anniversary of the Confederation of the Canadian Provinces) the national headquarters of the ULFTA in Winnipeg were decorated in Red, White and Blue, the national colors of Canada.

In the initial condemnation of the systematic deviations the Polcom of the Party was, with one exception (the Secretary of the National Ukrainian Fraction Bureau), a unit. With development of the general struggle against the right, however, the leadership of the ULFTA rapidly integrated with the right-wing* majority of the party and became one of its most important bases. Factional documents and slanders against the Party's minority were circulated among the Ukrainian workers including even non-Party members of the ULFTA. A veritable reign of terror was initiated among Ukrainian members of the Young Communist League, and the most unscrupulous methods were utilized to prevent the Party minority† from reaching the Ukrainian rank and file. As a result of these factional measures the Ukrainian members of the Party became consolidated against the Minority, and for the Majority against the line of the Sixth Congress of the Comintern. . . .

The Struggle Against the Right Danger Among the Ukrainian Masses

The previous Minority has now the leadership of the Party and the fight to liquidate all vestiges of right opportunism is in full swing. By mobilizing the masses to fight for the streets and the legality of our Party, by aggressively taking leadership of spontaneous strikes and by initiating strikes and organization movements, the present leadership is forcing the Rights into the open, and winning the rank and file. But in this process we are handicapped among the Ukrainian Party comrades and the Ukrainian workers in general. . . .

During the election of the Political Bureau of the new Central Committee, the Minority objected to the nomination of Comrade Popowich on the grounds of his open right wing position, and that we held him chiefly responsible for the unscrupulous factional activities of the Right Wing among the Ukrainian leadership. As a result of our categorical opposition, the Rights withdrew the name of Popowich. We were then faced with the impossibility of getting another Ukrainian comrade in his place. For several months we were unable even to have important Party documents and circulars translated into Ukrainian. And having no Party press in the Ukrainian language independent of the press of

* The right wing was led by Jack MacDonald.

† The minority, which eventually won control of the party, was led by Tim Buck.

the ULFTA, we were unable to carry on an effective inner Party campaign, such as would completely liquidate all confusion.

One of the imperative tasks confronting the new leadership of the Canadian Communist Party is that of revamping and energizing the Party work among the Ukrainian masses. Of the more than 5,000 workers organized around the ULFTA only 400 are members of the Communist Party of Canada, and such has been the policy of the leading Ukrainian comrades that this 400 looks to the Central Committee of the ULFTA for leadership, more than to the Political Bureau of the Party. Although the rank and file are excellent revolutionary material, the policy of the leading Ukrainian Comrades has been to maintain Party membership at a small minority. Hitherto the Party leadership has accepted this point of view. In addition there is a strong tendency to consider the role of the Party as consisting primarily (in some places solely) of directing and controlling the ULFTA. In fact, the ULFTA frequently receives first consideration.

This must be changed. Aggressive organizational work and inner Party educational work must be initiated among the Ukrainian rank and file and their membership must be built up more in keeping with their numerical strength and influence in the general radical movement.

But the basic task of the Party in its work among the Ukrainian masses is a two sided task. We must raise the political level of our own Party members and thereby develop a critical political approach by them to their peculiar "Ukrainian" problem and tasks, and to their leadership. Side by side with this must be developed the sharpest self-criticism in the higher organs of the Ukrainian mass organizations and the drawing of new youthful elements into the leadership.

Neither side of this important task will be easy. The ULFTA and its auxiliary organizations already represent large property interests built up by the sacrifices of the Ukrainian working masses and spreading from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. Fear of governmental persecution, confiscation of property, fear of illegality, and particularly a certain "superiority" that has developed in certain circles of the membership, all provide a base for the Right Wing and a fertile source of new Right Wing tendencies. This will increase the difficulty of the fight. But against this we have the fact that among the Ukrainian workers in Canada, the USSR and Soviet Ukraine are today truly "Stars of Hope," and their Socialist Fatherland. The best and most active among them are determined defenders of the Soviet Union against all capitalist attacks and are unshakable adherents of the Comintern. . . .

SOURCE: An information document written by Stewart Smith* in the late summer or early fall of 1929 and approved by the Politburo, but never published, as a guide for the district committees of the Party. Provincial Archives of Ontario, Attorney General's Papers, Records of the Communist Party of Canada, Box 9, Envelope 13, 9C, 1294 (henceforth PAO Records).

4. Statement of the Political Committee on the Result of the Meeting of the Party Fraction of the ULFTA on 13 February 1930

The party fraction of the ULFTA convention at its meeting on 13 February [1930] defeated a motion to accept the statement of the Political Bureau on Party policy in the ULFTA by a vote of 80 to 6. Following this, a resolution, submitted by the Fraction Bureau against the statement of the Political Committee was adopted by a reversal of the previous vote.

The discussion in the fraction on the statement of the Political Committee, both at this meeting and the previous meeting of 9 February, expressed in the most violent form, the opposition of the leading Ukrainian comrades to the line of the Political Committee. This discussion and the subsequent decisions of the fraction revealed the following important facts:

- a) That the Ukrainian membership of the Party constituted a firmly-knit federation within the Communist Party of Canada. That this federation sets its loyalty and its discipline higher than the discipline of the Party.
- b) That the Ukrainian federation within the Party categorically rejects the policy of the Party, while screening its opposition with empty phrases. That the Ukrainian Federation has not followed the policy of the Party and today is embarking upon a policy of struggle against the Party policy in defence of the more flagrant opportunist line of the Ukrainian leadership.
- c) That the Ukrainian Federation within the Party has become a centre of slander against the Party, striving to demoralize the Party ranks and discredit the leading Party committees and functionaries.

The Political Committee views these matters in the light of the fact that the majority of the Ukrainian members of the Party are revolutionary workers,

* Stewart Smith, 1907- . Born in Portage la Prairie, the son of A.E. Smith, moderator of the Methodist Church of Manitoba. In 1926 he was sent to the International Lenin School in Moscow for two years and worked as translator at the Sixth Congress of the Communist International. In 1932, after Tim Buck (1891-1973) and other leaders of the CPC were convicted and sentenced under Section 98 of the Criminal Code, he held the post of general secretary until Buck's release in 1934. He broke with the party in 1956 after the Soviet invasion of Hungary. One of the ablest leaders the Party in Canada produced.

who can be won for the Leninist revolutionary line of the Party against the opportunist tendencies of the Ukrainian leadership.

This makes essential a whole series of measures upon the part of the Party leadership in order to develop the struggle against opportunism among the Ukrainian party members... this important problem must therefore be one of the important questions of the forthcoming plenum of the CEC.

Before the plenum, it is necessary for the DEC's to commence at once to utilize the materials issued by the agit-prop Department on the Party organization and structure, for an intensive enlightenment campaign among the Ukrainian Party members, particularly, as well as all other members of the Party.

The Political Committee reaffirms its stand on the statement issued to the Ukrainian fraction... and calls upon all Party committees and organs to endorse this stand and carry out in the firmest manner, the policy outlined therein, taking the severest measures against all opportunists and vacillators and winning the membership for the policy of the Party.

SOURCE: PAO Records, Reel 6, 9C, 1307.

5. For a Leninist Line in the Language Mass Organizations

Our party has been based until now almost entirely upon language mass organizations of the type of the ULFTA and Finnish Organizations. Our base, as the letters of the Comintern state sharply and definitely, must be decisively removed from these organizations and placed definitely upon the basic masses of the working class in the factories. These organizations cannot and can never be the principal base of our Party. They can serve as extensions of influence of our Party among definite sections of the working class, but can never be regarded as the main basis. The factory, the point of production, remains the sole basis upon which the Party can and must build itself. . . .

The fraction of our Party at the convention rejected the letter of the Political Committee. . . . It was in the discussion, however, that the attitude of the Ukrainian comrades was more clearly expressed. The following opinions were clearly and sharply given:

The Anglo-Saxon and native-born workers were looked upon as "reactionary," and a policy of "waiting for the leadership of the Anglo-Saxon and native workers" expressed. This means that for the time being, the Ukrainian comrades must remain quietly active inside the sphere of the ULFTA (in which the class struggle is never found) until some miraculous moment when the native workers will become radicalized. . . .

When the Comintern states that our Party must recruit native sections of the workers and that we are still an "immigrant Party," what is the conclusion we

must draw? That we must transform the basis of our activity to the factories and the unions and the streets through the medium of OUR PRESENT MEMBERSHIP. We are an "immigrant Party" largely because the masses of our members confine their activity to the "cultural" and "educational" spheres of the mass language organizations. We will never win the support of the native workers without a turn in the present activity of the majority of our present membership. . . . There is work to be done by the foreign-born members of our Party among that section of the working class we want to reach, and any arguments regarding the need for "leadership" from "reactionary" Anglo-Saxon workers are so many excuses for the present sectarianism that constitutes the chief Right error of our Ukrainian leading comrades.

All the efforts of the Ukrainian mass organizations to "protect" the living standards of their membership and to offer outlets and "escapes" from capitalist exploitation by Utopian "commune" schemes show clearly the deeply-rooted nature of this sectarian policy. Instead of pandering to the desire for economic security of the Ukrainian workers and poor farmers, our policy must be one of giving expression to this economic insecurity by the organization of unions, the initiating of strikes, the mobilizing of the Ukrainian workers and poor farmers against the Canadian bosses. This turn must be made. The activity of the ULFTA will not correspond to the growing economic needs of the masses of Ukrainian workers and poor farmers; they will not be satisfied with drama when their wages are being cut and they taste more and more the bitter fruits of capitalist rationalization and unemployment. They are not exempt from the effects of the capitalist crisis, and no Utopian schemes will save them, but on the contrary, will encourage whatever illusions they may still possess. . . .

In spite of the formal liquidation in most cases of the "federal structure" of our Party, the ideology and practice still prevails. At no time was this more glaringly evident than at the fraction meetings. The mass of our Ukrainian comrades find their chief base in the ULFTA; they come as delegates to the convention of the ULFTA; the fraction of the ULFTA is the scene of bitter discussion of all aspects of Party life; these comrades appear as critics of the Party, standing apart from the Party as a whole; all the mistakes of the Party are condemned, not with an air of joint responsibility, but from a sectarian, federalist, separatist viewpoint. What further proof is needed to show the necessity for a sharp turn in the nature of the work of our 700 Ukrainian comrades? . . .

The Ukrainian membership is sound. But the insignificant vote accorded to the Polcom line and the Comintern line at the fraction meeting shows how little this line is at present understood by the Ukrainian comrades. There is need at present for a sharp discussion in the Party upon this question and the exposure of all elements who will not in deed carry out the line of the CI. Resolutions were adopted at the ULFTA Convention that give a call to the

Ukrainian workers to increase their activity and take part in the class struggle upon all fronts. To contrast these resolutions, which are correct resolutions, with the speeches of leading comrades at the fraction meeting is to wonder how far these resolutions will be led into practice by these very comrades. The coming class battles will prove their sincerity and readiness to fight; at the immediate present all members of the Party, led into practice by these very comrades, should realize the deeply-rooted nature of Right sectarianism in our ranks, and rally behind the Political Committee in its efforts to remedy this.

SOURCE: Leslie Morris, *The Worker*, 15 and 22 March 1930.

6. Federalism, Opportunism and the “Ukrainian Question”

The solution of the “Ukrainian Question” must receive special attention at the coming Plenum. It is important, first of all, from the point of view of the unification of our Party, its consolidation on the basis of the correct line and the activation of the entire membership. The present situation when the vast bulk of our Ukrainian members represent a “language section” in the Party, inactive save in the cultural work in the language mass organizations for the most part, is one of the greatest hindrances towards removing the Party from the opportunist passivity in which it still finds itself and developing it into a mass Party of the working class.

Secondly, the situation in the Ukrainian mass organizations themselves, brought about by the wrong policies pursued therein by our leading Ukrainian comrades, is one to cause grave concern. While masses of Ukrainian workers and poor farmers are being drawn into the struggle, the Ukrainian mass organizations are not only not meeting the situation and keeping pace with developments, but are deviating more and more away from the line of revolutionary struggle. A direct influence of this is the weakening of influence and even a decrease in membership of these organizations, bringing to a generally critical inner situation within them.

The Development of Opportunism

The revolutionary traditions in the Ukrainian mass organizations are strong. The ULFTA began its existence as a legal cover for the then underground Socialist groups and the first hall was built to enable publication of the revolutionary paper. Its further development, however, has been along the path of cultural activities as an aim in themselves, the segregation of the Ukrainian workers, amassing of property, etc. This created the conditions for the development of passivity in the class struggle, legalism and what can be termed immigrantist ideology. The fruits of this general policy, encouraged by the former opportunist leadership of the Party, are already to be seen very clearly.

We have innumerable instances where the Party locals composed of Ukrainian comrades have completely overlooked the class struggle in their locality, coming in only at the tail of events or remaining apart from these struggles, which sometimes amounted to sabotage, while Ukrainian workers outside our organizations were playing a leading role.... This explains why the number of Ukrainian members of the Party has remained static and even decreased during all these years, while on the other hand we recently witnessed an influx directly into the Party of workers who were never in the ULFTA, and sometimes even hostile to it in the past.

Legalism has been manifesting itself in the work of our Ukrainian comrades throughout the country. It manifested itself in fawning to the bourgeois government at the 1928 ULFTA Convention in Winnipeg, in attempts to hide the working class character of our organizations (preamble to Co-operative constitution, tree planting campaign in Alberta, singing of “Oh Canada” by the mandolin orchestra, participation in “League of Nations” banquet, side by side with Ukrainian fascists, by our West Toronto comrades, etc.). It is most crassly expressed by the refusal of ULFTA halls for the Party and other working class organizations, primarily in Toronto where the police terror is most severe. This policy has led to complete capitulation before the bourgeoisie and an objective alliance against the revolutionary movement.

The policy of isolation has fostered the growth of all kinds of “Immigrantist” ideology, mainly the drive for “respectability” in the eyes of the bourgeoisie. One of the crassest examples of this is the Edmonton “brouse” [sic]* which was established by our comrades “in order that we may have our own teachers,” so to say.

In accord with such practice we have the development of corresponding “theories....” The prevalent ideology spread among the Ukrainian workers is that they cannot take a leading role in the class struggles in Canada, but must passively “wait for the English speaking workers to take the lead....” By such propaganda rank and file Ukrainian workers are misled and kept away from struggles.

What is important is to see all the various examples that could be brought from the campaign for “collective farming” in capitalist Canada to the refusal of halls to the Party, from the renegacy of Stokaluk to the rejections of the Polcom statement by the Party fraction at the last ULFTA Convention, not as “accidents” as some comrades would have it, but as a result of the general opportunist line followed by our Ukrainian comrades.

* The reference is to the students’ residence or *bursa* that was acquired by the ULFTA in Edmonton.

Federalism Become Factionalism

Federalism is itself opportunism since it means the splitting up and consequently weakening of the Party. When the CPC was formed this hangover from Social-Democracy was brought into it in the form of the language federations. Federalism was very much responsible for the development of opportunism in the Ukrainian section, since it isolated and forbade the joint overcoming of all wrong tendencies by the Party as a whole. What is more, Federalism not only covered up and made possible the growth of opportunist tendencies, but has itself been developing into anti-Party factionalism, so far as leading Ukrainian comrades are concerned.

It has been the policy of the Ukrainian comrades to shield and defend (from the Party!) every single mistake and deviation committed in the mass organizations or by individual Ukrainian comrades. One cannot remember one instance where the Ukrainian comrades would openly acknowledge their mistakes before the Party and the working class and honestly attempt to correct them. This absence of self-criticism and insistence upon mistakes only served to deepen them. This has been glaringly exposed in the treatment of the Stokaluk case. As late as February 1930, when the reactionary character of Stokaluk's activity in the western coalfields was pointed out by the Party, the Party fraction at the ULFTA Convention chose to defend him as "the most capable Trade Union organizer among the miners that the Party ever had. . . ." When Stokaluk eventually became a renegade, the leading Ukrainian comrades took up his defence to the CI Commission, refused to even print the statement on his expulsion from the Party, let alone wage a campaign against him and brought him to the Winnipeg school, in spite of the fact that he was thoroughly discredited among the Ukrainian miners out west and the Alberta locals of the ULFTA demanded his expulsion from the school.

However, from simple defence of errors, in the last few years the leading Ukrainian comrades have gone over to the offensive—it has become their special task to slander and discredit the Party leadership and all those who fought against their opportunist policies. Thus we have the tremendous anti-Party campaign in 1928, during the 6th CI Congress, when several comrades were touring the districts organizing opposition to the Party leadership. This campaign, moreover, has been carried on by vile personal slander (such as charging Comrade Buck with supporting fascists), pure falsifications, theft of letters and all other Lovestone methods of "political" struggle.

From the slanderous "Minority Statement" to the Sixth Congress we come to the 1930 declaration of the Party fraction at the ULFTA Convention, where the Party is already threatened in the following terms: "We will struggle against all that is ruining the Party, even though it comes from the leadership itself" and "the Party membership will no longer tolerate that chaos which exists at present in the Party. . . ."

All this has been carried on more or less openly, but secretly from the Party and the Ukrainian rank-and-file membership; a small group of leading Ukrainian comrades, who never failed to label as factionalists all those who fought the Right Wing in our Party, has been maintaining its own underground faction. It had not been known until recently that at the last Party Convention there was held a special Ukrainian caucus, at which the question of the advisability of splitting from the Party was taken up. There was an extreme Right section in this caucus, headed by Stokaluk, which demanded an immediate break with the Party. The fact that such a caucus could be held and such an idea as a break from the Party could seriously be considered, that this could be kept secret from the Party and the CI by the comrades who were there and Stokaluk could later be defended by those very people, after he had become a renegade, shows how far the "tops" of the Ukrainian section have developed on the road to anti-Party factionalism. . . .

The Comintern has sent us a special letter, outlining in detail the tasks of the Ukrainian Communists in Canada and the Party as a whole in order to overcome this situation. This letter lays down the correct line, which must become known and thoroughly explained to the membership by a broad enlightenment campaign, which would at the same time be utilized to expose those elements that are set in their opportunist position and are not willing to accept and carry out in practice the Comintern line.

A prerequisite for this, however, is that those elements that have been keeping their underground, anti-Party group, and playing a double-dealing game with the Party, liquidate their factional grouping and disarm themselves before the Party. These comrades must learn the elementary Bolshevik principle of being honest with the Party and once and for all leave that dangerous path of bourgeois politicianism, which has led every opposition in the Comintern to the camp of counter-revolution. The Party membership and especially the Ukrainian members must decisively demand that an end be put to this destructive policy on which a section of the leading Ukrainian Party comrades has embarked. Only by unreservedly laying all their arms down before the Party will those comrades who have participated in the underground faction show their willingness to go forward shoulder to shoulder with the whole Party. And only by their sincere endeavours to carry out in life the Comintern line, to which Comrade Navis, for example, has already pledged himself, will they win the confidence of the Party.

The Comintern letter emphatically demands that Federalism, which has been one of the greatest hindrances to the Bolshevization and building up of a mass Party in Canada, must liquidate. There cannot be a special Party for the Ukrainians inside the Canadian Communist Party. Every Ukrainian member must give the lion's share of his work for the general Party work, in the enterprises, the building up of the WUL, the street demonstrations, etc. The work in the Ukrainian mass organizations must be subordinated to and

co-ordinated with this central task and under the direct leadership of and control by the responsible Party organs.

A decisive turn must be made in the work in the mass organizations. From an orientation to purely cultural and benevolent work as an aim in itself, our comrades must make these organizations powerful weapons in the class struggle by turning their faces to the mobilization of the masses of Ukrainian workers and poor farmers in Canada for the economic and political struggles against Capitalism and the preparation of war on the USSR. . . .

SOURCE: John Wevursky, *The Worker*, 10 January 1931.

7. Resolution of the CI on the Question of Communist Work in the Ukrainian Workers' Organizations in Canada

Both in nationality and in language, the Canadian Proletariat is heterogeneous. . . . Amongst the non-English immigrants an important role in industry . . . is played by the Ukrainians and Finns, whose peculiarity is that they hold on to their own previous modes of life. They lead their own social life, do not speak English and in general, many of them submit only very slowly to assimilation.

The Communist Party of Canada makes its object to draw the immigrant workers into the general Canadian Labour movement and the class struggle. The fact that most of the members of the Party are Finns and Ukrainians, that the Ukrainian mass labour organization, the Ukrainian Labour Farmer-Temple Association, is under Communist leadership, that the CPC has considerable influence among the miners of Alberta, most of whom are Ukrainians, and the Lumber workers, most of whom are Finns, shows that there are favourable conditions for drawing the broad masses of immigrants into the class struggle.

The great task of the CPC is to draw into the ranks of the Party, the British and American immigrants, and the native-born Canadian workers (including French Canadians). In this respect, the composition of the Party is still very unsatisfactory. The Party must work hard not only to increase its membership, but to improve its composition. . . .

The general attitude of the CPC in relation to the immigrants and their mass cultural organizations, especially in relation to the Ukrainians, is correct. At the same time the conflicts between the leading Ukrainian comrades and the majority of the CC of the Party . . . shows that in the daily work of the Party among the Immigrants, greater clarity is necessary.

The necessary prerequisites for a correct approach to the question are:

- 1) An understanding of the peculiarity of the position of these revolutionary-minded Ukrainian workers closely bound up with the proletariat and the peasantry of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic; the mass organizations of

the revolutionary Ukrainian workers are important weapons in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary Ukrainian immigrants of all denominations—beginning with the Petliurists, the agents of Pilsudski, and ending with the renegades of the Communist movement in Western Ukraine.

2) But the mass cultural organizations of the Ukrainian workers cannot be regarded merely from the point of view of the socio-political struggle among the Ukrainians alone.... The task of the Ukrainian Communists in Canada is to fight for the participation of the Ukrainian workers in the class struggle together with the Canadian proletariat, irrespective of linguistic differences. The Ukrainian workers who already belong to the CPC and who have done good work among the Ukrainian masses, must take part in the general fight of the Party.

The Young generation which knows English should by no means keep within the limits of Ukrainian work. The Ukrainian Communists who do not know English should be urged to learn the language as a means of taking part in the general life of the Party. The non-Party Ukrainian workers should be trained in the spirit of class solidarity with all other Canadian workers. In addition to being attracted to the Party, they should be drawn into the revolutionary trade union movement. The leading Ukrainian comrades have thus a two-fold task....

SOURCE: PAO Records, Box 8, Envelope 4, 8C 0158-0159.

8. Ukrainian Party Fraction in Timmins Welcomes Comintern Resolution

At a well-attended meeting of the Ukrainian Party fraction in Timmins, the following motion was moved by Thachuk and seconded by comrade Karcha. "That this resolution of the ECCI on our work in the mass organizations, be welcomed and endorsed...."

It was then further moved by Thachuk and seconded by comrade Fred Moroz that:

The statement presented by the Pol-Bureau of the CP to the Party fraction at the National Convention of the ULFTA at Winnipeg during February 1930, be now endorsed by this (Timmins) fraction. And further, that the National Party Fraction Bureau ULFTA be requested to issue an explanatory statement to the Ukrainian Party membership, and at the same time publicly repudiate this action of the Party fraction at the February convention.

After careful discussion, this resolution was also carried by the meeting unanimously.

With Communist Greetings

M. Boychuk Chairman
N. Thachuk Secretary
Timmins 22 January 1931

SOURCE: PAO Records, Reel 6, 9C, 1335.

9. The Central Executive Committee of the ULFTA

Comrades!

...When we were building our organizations...we did not regard this as an end in itself... We considered our cultural-educational organization only as a school, as the first step, as a means of mobilizing and educating the worker and poor farmer masses along the path of class struggle. But we must, at last, understand that the class struggle of the workers is carried on not where they study but where they work, not isolated from the workers and poor farmers of other nationalities but in the closest unity and organization with them....

Therefore, we must make our first and main task in the present situation the building of mass revolutionary trade unions under the leadership of the Workers' Unity League among the workers and the Farmers' Unity League among the farmers....

At present we are placing before the executives of all the branches of our organizations and before all members of the ULFTA and its sections the question of the activation of the entire membership, involving it in the general class struggle of the workers under the leadership of the Communist Party of Canada, in the active building of revolutionary trade unions, in organizing the unorganized and the unemployed and in strengthening and expanding the ULFTA and its sections....

To work, comrades! Away with indifference, negligence, gossiping and deviations. Strengthen all the labour and farmer mass organizations which follow the leadership of the Communist Party, activate the membership of the ULFTA and its sections!

The CEC, ULFTA
T. Pylypas, Chairman
M. Shatulsky, Secretary

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 27 January 1931.

10. A Criticism of District 7 and of Our Ukrainian Work

...The work in the Ukrainian mass organizations insofar as educational activity and drawing new cadres of immigrant workers to these organizations is concerned, has improved. But, on the other hand, there is a noticeable decline in the activity of old members, many of them even dropping out. Some are trying to emancipate themselves...by buying acres of land or farms around Winnipeg; or buying and building new houses and settling down; or going into "co-operative" (private) business, and drawing out life insurance policies. This is particularly noticeable amongst some party and ex-party members and reflects the petty-bourgeois ideas that form a basis for the right danger. There will be no tears shed for those old timers that are dropping out of membership and general activity, but what is more important is that provision should be made for the thousands of immigrants, unskilled and almost permanently jobless workers to have access to these organizations; and also that when they are in, they should not be overburdened with high dues and assessments, payment of dues on time on pain of expulsion (WBA); paying of \$50 a week with board and room to a teacher (Popowich), in the WBA, and ULFTA school in Parkdale while Party and YCL functionaries are living on "coffee ands...."

The Workers' Benevolent Association should not be built on the slogan "Join the WBA and become an owner of these old folks' home buildings" [a sign at the opening of the Old Folks' Home in the summer of 1930].

This kind of agitation is petty bourgeois and it should have no room in the revolutionary working-class movement....

The Ukrainian mass organizations must actively participate in building the WUL. "Actively" means that if there are ways in which assistance to speed up organization can be rendered, it should be done. In Winnipeg, for instance, the Party comrades in charge of the work in the mass organizations have failed to carry out a decision to carry through an industrial registration in the mass organizations, which, if carried out, would have helped considerably in organizing the unorganized industries in Winnipeg.... The Party wants action....

D. Holmes [Khomyshyn],* Org. Secretary District 7 (CPC)

SOURCE: *The Worker*, 7 January 1931.

*Danylo Khomyshyn was deported with Ivan Sembay later in the year: Khomyshyn to "fascist" Poland where he eventually became a colonel in the Polish army, Sembay to the "socialist" USSR where he perished in the purges.

11. For Party Unity and a United Revolutionary Front

The pre-plenum discussion has so far revealed in general a sincere desire on the part of the comrades to seriously examine and criticize our errors in the past, in order that our Party may get rid of them in the future. The draft statement of the Polburo in this respect has set a good example. All this was made possible through the invaluable guidance and assistance of the Comintern.

There is, however, one dangerous tendency evident in this discussion which, if not checked, may develop into an entirely un-Bolshevik method of dealing with Party problems and particularly with Party mistakes. It is evident that some of the comrades try to separate themselves from the wrong policies and errors of the Party in the past by putting the entire blame on one or two individual Party leaders. They do not wish to deal concretely with the concrete situations as they existed. They speak as though they were new members who joined the Party very recently. Another conclusion could be drawn that in the past our Party was all the time led astray by one or two opportunistic leaders and the rest of the members were helpless in their struggles against these omnipotent opportunists. . . .

One of the great weaknesses of our Party is the deeply-rooted federalism which expressed itself as yet even in the organizational form of our Party and more so in the organizational functioning, in membership ideology and in everyday practical work of the Party.

For this weakness of the Party the Ukrainian and Finnish comrades are in a large measure responsible. Being one of the Ukrainian members of the Party I take my share of this responsibility. In the process of building our mass organizations we helped to build the Communist Party but did not succeed in making ourselves an inseparable part of its body, organizationally and ideologically. The everyday detailed practical work of the Party, the work in different committees, we were leaving to other comrades, excusing ourselves with the language difficulties and with being overtaxed with the work in our mass organizations. We even developed our own psychology, not of Canadian communists but of language-group communists, which very often found its expression even in an ideological form. Naturally enough there existed certain reasons for this but it does not change the facts.

When it became necessary under the pressure of the Comintern to make a sharp turn, the un-Bolshevik approach on our own part and on the part of the Party leadership, our lack of Bolshevik understanding of the nature and significance of the turn, led us to a situation in the inner party relations filled with a danger of a destructive factional struggle. We (the Ukrainian Party fraction) then reached at our ULFTA convention in Winnipeg the culminating point of our right deviation by rejecting at the meeting of the convention Party fraction the statement of the Polburo and issuing our own counter-statement, thus breaking the elementary principles of Party discipline. Instead of setting

an example to the rest of the Party membership of how the disciplined Bolsheviks act in the Party, we have shown them how to weaken the Party discipline.

I have condemned and repudiated this action of the ULFTA national convention fraction of the Party at the meeting at the ULFTA provincial convention fraction of the Party, recently held in Toronto, and in my article in the Ukrainian Party Bulletin.... I hereby repeat this condemnation and repudiation and hope that all Ukrainian comrades will realize our mistake and repudiate same. This does not mean that the Party membership is not being allowed to discuss and criticize the statements of the higher bodies of the Party as some of the comrades are trying to interpret it.

These are only the most glaring of the many mistakes committed by us.... There is no necessity of inventing any additional baseless accusations as comrade J. Wevursky is doing in his article in the "Worker" no. 423 ("underground faction," "special Ukrainian caucus," "falsifications," "theft of letters" etc.). Neither can we help the Party to unite its forces by exaggerating and twisting the facts or by such factional tone and approach as are evident in the said article of comrade Wevursky....

In the hands of the Party but under the direct leadership of the Ukrainian and Finnish Party members we have very important means that can and must be used for mobilizing the Ukrainian and Finnish workers for the economic struggles, for building the revolutionary trade unions and their centre—the Workers' Unity League. The Ukrainian and Finnish comrades must carefully examine their work within these organizations and make a decisive turn along the line laid in the resolution of the Comintern. All activities within these mass organizations must be directed toward serving the Party in its mass revolutionary work....

There are many localities where the branches of our mass organizations could have been utilized for assisting our trade union work, but this line of activities was considered out of place in our Ukrainian and Finnish cultural, educational and co-operative organizations. Many of our Party comrades looked upon our cultural organizations as organizations that cannot have anything to do with the trade-union movement and very little to do with politics. The co-operatives are being looked upon by our comrades as upon stores filled with goods. Even they are blinded with commodity fetishism. They cannot see the workers that compose the membership of the co-operative organizations from behind the commodities in the co-operative stores. They do not think of using the money derived from the co-operative dealings (workers' money) for the support of the revolutionary movement of the working class. They enlarge their stocks and enjoy selling the commodities for capitalists, kidding the workers with the "dividends." It never occurred to our comrades who are holding official positions in and control many of these co-operatives that these organizations, composed mainly of the members of our Party and

mass organizations, could be of great assistance in the work of our Party and that by their regular contributions out of the profits of their stores they may help to put our Party and its press on a sound financial basis.

We seldom discuss strikes, demonstrations, unemployed organizations, the Canadian Labour Defence League, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the Women's Labour League, the Young Communist League, our own Party, etc. in our mass organizations. We must do it in the future. Otherwise, these mass organizations will be missing their aim. Only by drawing them closer to the mass revolutionary work shall we draw them into the general stream of the revolutionary movement of the Canadian working class and develop them into real recruiting grounds for our Party.

This does not mean that the cultural and educational activities of our mass organizations must be curtailed or weakened. To the contrary, these activities must be strengthened qualitatively and quantitatively. Our mass organizations must be built and thousands of new members must be drawn into them. Similar mass organizations must be built among the immigrant workers of other nationalities as well. But all the work in these organizations must be subordinated to the plans and leadership of the Party and co-ordinated with the Party's general mass revolutionary movement of the Canadian working class under the leadership of the Communist Party of Canada.

M. Popowich

SOURCE: The Worker, 7 February 1931.

12. The Plenum and its Significance for the Workers and Poor Farmers

The plenum of the CPC which will be shortly held, will be one of the most important ones ever held by the CPC. The decisions and resolutions of the Plenum will be recorded in the history of the working class movement in Canada. . . .

Concerning the Finnish and Ukrainian matters I do not want to say that they should be discussed. They ought not only to be discussed but corresponding decisions be made how to conduct real class work in these mass organizations.

Nobody will deny that in the mass organizations like ULFTA, WBA are some elements that deviate from the class line. Nobody would deny that even some old Ukrainian Party members became indifferent to the general revolutionary working class movement, locked themselves up within the four walls of the Labour Temple work. This must be decisively condemned.

But comrade Wevursky somehow does not touch very much on these points but clings to the years old mistakes, ascribing to Ukrainians even things which they did not commit and he knows very well about it or, in any event, ought

to know about. For instance, he writes about the singing by the mandolin orchestra three years ago (1927) of "O Canada." Does not he know that this singing was condemned not once but at least ten times? On 1928 when I was secretary of the Ukrainian Central Agit-prop, and was at the same time member of the CC and Polcom of the Party, this matter was explained and condemned and, it is important to note, was not repeated anywhere, which means there was an end to it. But for comrade Wevursky this constitutes an argument even in 1931! A second similar matter is the matter of the tree planting in Alberta. This one could be called simply an attack as some of the present Polcom members know very well how it was with this tree planting. In 1928 Polcom was notified that Ukrainian Party comrades were doing this, but when the matter upon the insistence of the Ukrainian Central Agit-prop was investigated it was found that the planting was done not by the Ukrainian comrades, but by the then Party member and now the worst renegade, Kid Burns. He himself did it and he himself informed the Polcom and the Ukrainian comrades were condemned! The Polcom knows about this but Comrade Wevursky does not know or does not want to know in order to use it against Ukrainian comrades.

He states further that the ULFTA does not allow its hall for the Party meetings. The only case of this was in Toronto, which is only one place. It is difficult to understand how the whole organization would be blamed for it. . . .

It is not true that in 1928 Ukrainian comrades travelled as organizers and organized opposition to the Party leadership. I myself was at that time in the Polcom and acted as secretary of the Central Ukrainian Agit-prop and did not know anything about it until now from the "revelations" of comrade Wevursky. Why he wrote this is incomprehensible. I do not think such "criticism" corrects any mistakes.

Comrade Wevursky alleges that among the Ukrainian Party comrades exist so called illegal groups. In regard to this it could be said that if they existed, it was comrade Wevursky himself who led such "politics" when he was in Winnipeg, meeting few of them outside of the Ukrainian Labour Temple in a private house and making there plans how to "expose" the Ukrainian leadership. For this he was reprimanded even by comrade Morris who told him that it was necessary to fight within. So we now see who organized illegal groups. It was comrade Wevursky, who now wants to tear off the blemish from his own face and attach it to someone else whom he does not like personally. In the Party there should not be personally likeable and unlikeable comrades but everyone should be considered from the point of view of Party principle and for violating of this principle, everyone who merits it should be condemned.

In comrade Wevursky's article a statement is made that the membership of the ULFTA and WBA diminishes. Is this correct? No, one hundred times no. Let us take for the last month of December only. Hundreds of new members

joined these organizations. A few new branches were formed. At a single meeting of CEC, ULFTA, 89 new members were accepted. Is this with comrade Wevursky a diminution? In each and every organization some members will fall off, but this does not mean that the membership diminishes. By no means. In the last year over 700 new members joined the ULFTA alone.

In order to show that the work in the mass organizations is not as dark as comrade Wevursky paints it, I would mention that each Sunday now there are two concerts arranged in the Ukrainian Labour Temple because all workers could not be accommodated at one time. At these concerts are always speakers who talk on the questions that are most necessary for the workers to know now. At the time when one number of workers attend the concerts, in the other hall other workers listen to a comrade who speaks on present day topics affecting the working masses. Twice a week lectures are held at which also things are so arranged that a revolutionary background is formed. This work must be recognized because it is truly revolutionary work. . . .

SOURCE: T. Kobzey, *The Worker*, 7 February 1931.

13. Resolution on Language Mass Organizations

One of the most important problems confronting the Party Plenum is the activities and the role of the language mass organizations. . . .

As an inseparable part of its struggle to win the majority of the working class, the Communist Party strives to win the masses of foreign-born workers for the revolutionary struggle of the Canadian proletariat as a whole. . . .

On the basis of the *Political Resolution of the ECCI* to our Party and the special resolution addressed to the Ukrainian members . . . the following general tasks of the language mass organizations can be laid down:

. . . The cultural activities of the mass language organizations must be of a clear proletarian character. To finally eradicate the bourgeois forms of entertainment, proletarian plays, lectures on atheism, current events, classes in the English language, culture, etc., must be further developed. All influence of bourgeois culture, of petty bourgeois theories and practice based upon the so-called art for art's sake, and which maintain an attitude of "neutrality" to the class struggle, should be firmly combatted. . . .

One of the central tasks of the revolutionary language mass organizations is to serve as a recruiting ground for the Communist Party. The best elements among the foreign-born workers, directly from the shops, mills and mines, must be drawn into the Party, as a means of entrenching the Party in the basic enterprises. Only by steadily building the Party core inside the language mass organizations can we ensure their development along revolutionary lines.

The turn in these organizations (mass language) can be carried through only by building Communist fractions, correcting their line and intensifying their Communist work. The Communist fraction should aim to guide and lead the organizations in the fulfillment of the turn. . . .

SOURCE: Resolutions of the Enlarged Plenum of the Communist Party of Canada, February, 1931, 46-7, 50-1.

14. Our Work in the ULFMO

We must clearly outline our position, the position of organized Ukrainian workers and farmers and firstly of Ukrainian Communists, who are working in the labour-farmer mass organizations. . . .

Let us begin with the ULFTA as one of the oldest and leading mass organizations in Canada. The ULFTA was formed from elements that remained after the USDP was smashed. Its formation began in the period of raging reaction and the persecution of the radical workers' movement in Canada. Various attempts were made at that time to prevent the class-conscious elements of the Ukrainian working class, which was already organized, from being dispersed. Drama education was chosen as the field of activity because everything else was forbidden. Out of these dramatic-educational groups grew today's large labour-farmer organization, the ULFTA, with its buildings and sections and wide fields of activity.

As it developed, organized new branches, constructed new buildings, extended its activities to the farms, organized its sections, introduced children's schools, orchestras and dramatic-choral groups, it simultaneously began to transform itself into a wholly cultural organization closed within itself.

When the Communist Party of Canada was organized, hundreds of leading workers from the ULFTA joined, again establishing contacts with the labour movement in the country. But at its formation the Communist Party inherited the old Social-Democratic federal form of organization. Separate sections were formed—Ukrainian and Finnish—with their own central executives, connected with the Party centre on federalist lines and almost independent in their activity.

Such an organizational form was not at all conducive to the consolidation of the revolutionary elements of the country. The Party itself took an erroneous stand not only regarding the need for consolidation and centralization of the revolutionary forces, but its thesis that Canada was a British colony and the Canadian bourgeoisie a dependent colonial bourgeoisie were basically incorrect. . . .

Although at that time the leadership of the Party sometimes placed strange demands on the mass organizations through their members who worked in

them as, for example, the prohibition to organize the Youth Section of the ULFTA, the prohibition to publish an organ of this section, the stand against the co-operatives, etc., it never provided directions to its members as to how to work in the mass organizations. . . .

Ukrainian Social-Democrats in the post-war period of revolutionary fervour were significantly more revolutionary than those same Ukrainians, as Communists, during the second period of "good times," of temporary and relative stabilization of capitalism. . . . We, Ukrainian Communists, and our mass organizations in which we worked, even gave significant material assistance to the *Worker*, the organ of the CPC, collected funds for strikes, demonstrated on May Day, which was called "carrying out our duties," but we were not in that movement with our whole class soul, we did not place the economic and political class struggle as our aim, did not take the leadership in it. We developed wide organizational activity, we utilized choirs, music and drama extensively, but here too the spirit of culture dominated and not art as one means of developing class consciousness. We knew that more than one drama was of no use, was harmful for the workers because of its content, but we staged it because we needed money for the building, for the press, for the school, and how we staged them—every Saturday!

We sent our orchestra on tours across the whole of Canada . . . but here too, instead of making these tours strong means of class propaganda among the youth and adults, we attempted to show Canadian citizens "what cultured people we were. . . ."

The leadership of the Party was not very interested in this, we gave them financial support—what else? At our conventions or at our anniversaries representatives of social reformist organizations, aldermen and even members of provincial "farmer governments" appeared. We justified their addresses thus: "We will allow them to speak out and then we will send a representative of the CPC and he will unmask them." After all, in those days we had the Canadian Labour Party and according to the programme of the CPC a "united front" was in effect at that time.

It is true that after the theses of the Comintern we carried through a reorganization of the Party: language branches were liquidated and mixed shop and street groups were set up. But this reorganization was carried through so mechanically that not only was the federalist form and national exclusiveness not destroyed, but even the work of communists in the mass organizations, which was carried on at that time, was disorganized. The language branches were disbanded and Party fractions were not set up. Section bureaux were dissolved and in their place language agit-props were set up, which continued to carry out the same work or, in most cases, did not have clearly outlined duties.

The trade-union movement was not at all the centre of our attention. It was mainly limited to activity among the miners of Western Canada and Nova

Scotia. It ended with the complete loss of Nova Scotia for the Party; the situation was not much better in the West.

For us, Ukrainian Communists, workers in the ULFTA and the WBA, nearly all our work was confined within the framework of these Ukrainian mass organizations. We stood outside the economic struggle and made no effort to draw our mass organizations into that struggle. Of course, we told the members of these mass organizations to become members of trade unions, but we did not take any concrete steps to draw them into these organizations, to make them organizers of trade unions where they worked.

In this manner we isolated ourselves from the struggle of the working class of this country and in this condition we were caught in the third period, the period of the great crisis of the capitalist economy which has developed out of the general crisis of capitalism.

In Canada this crisis caught the Communist Party as well as those organizations which followed its leadership, among them our mass organizations, completely unprepared to take the leadership of the struggle of the workers and oppose the offensive of capitalism. We found ourselves at the tail end of this struggle. But this is not all. When the Communist Party, on the instructions of the Comintern, began to correct its line, began to make a turn and requested this turn in the work of the Communists in the mass organizations it met with opposition from its members who worked in these organizations. Legalism, federalism, national exclusiveness, which became so firmly rooted during "good times," made itself felt. As remnants of the old policy, the new party leadership opposed the Comintern on the question of Canada as an imperialist country and Communists who worked in the language mass organizations (Finns, Ukrainians) opposed the Party leadership when it requested the liquidation of federalism and a turn in all the work onto the path of general class struggle. The consequence was a split between the Party and the Party leadership in the Finnish organization and the rejection of the statement of the Politburo by the Ukrainian Party fraction at the Eleventh Convention of the ULFTA. . . .

We must take only a class political approach to all the work in our mass organizations. Lectures, mass meetings, all the decisions of branch meetings, all cultural-educational work (drama performances, concerts, educational courses) should have a wholly class character. We, as Communists, should attend to all this because we are responsible for all this work.

The most important task now before our Party is the assumption of leadership of the economic struggle of the workers in this country. Trade unions in factories, mines, railroads, forests are the base of our Party activity. The members of our mass organizations work in these industries. Therefore, we should make sure that they become a bridge for the Party to these industries. Ukrainian Communists should not only conduct educational but also concrete work in organizing industrial trade unions, in forming opposition

groups in reformist unions, in organizing the unemployed, in forming Workers' Unity League councils. . . .

And too often we forget that our mass organizations *should serve as a base for recruiting from them the more leading and class conscious members into the Communist Party*. This matter is most neglected by us and it is necessary to correct it decisively. *The better men and women members of our organizations should become members of the Party*. . . .

The membership of the women's section and youth section should also be drawn onto the path of class economic and political struggle. . . . The youth section, as a mass organization of Ukrainian working and farming youth, should not only exist, but develop and grow and be a recruiting base for the YCL as well as serve as a bridge for the YCL in reaching the wide masses of Ukrainian working and farming youth. He who forgets and opposes this works against the line and the directions of the Communist Party and the Communist International. . . .

SOURCE: M. Shatulsky, *Za Bilshovyzatsiiu*, no. 2 (June 1931), 17–29.

15. We are Making the Turn to the Path of General Revolutionary Class Struggle

Long Live the Firm Unity of Our Organized Militant Ranks. Away With Right and Left Opportunism.

Under these slogans which indicate a decisive turn in the work of our mass organizations, the Twelfth Convention of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association is taking place in Winnipeg with the participation of about 200 delegates who represent organized Ukrainian workers and poor farmers across the whole wide expanse of Canada. These slogans, written in large letters on red fabric, appear on the stage and on the walls on each side of the stage in the hall of the Ukrainian Labour Temple where the convention is being held. . . .

Immediately after the opening of the convention. . . 150 Young Pioneers marched in rows into the hall. . . with slogans of greetings and red kerchiefs around their necks. They mounted the stage, formed rows, sang the International and other revolutionary songs and delivered slogans of greeting. . . .

The appearance of the children moved the delegates and those present in the hall. In reply to the children's greetings, comrade M. Shatulsky declared that we, the elders, have laid the foundation for the ULFTA and these children will lay the foundation for and will conduct the proletarian government of this country.

After the greetings the children delivered a few more revolutionary slogans and, singing revolutionary songs, marched off the stage in even rows to the loud applause of the delegates.

The children's demonstration, the sustained discipline which they demonstrated, made such a strong impression that many in the hall could not restrain their tears. The ages of the children were from seven to twelve.

To the thunderous applause of the whole assembly comrades Stalin, Petrovsky, Chubar, Skrypnyk, Thaelman, Buck and the political prisoners in Lutsik prison were elected to the honorary presidium. . . .

After the reading of the greetings comrade Sam Carr greeted the convention in the name of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Canada. He expressed the wish that the deliberations be of a wholly revolutionary character and that the turn to this path be made by the executives that will be elected.

“The day is not far off when, under the leadership of the CPC and the WUL, we will take power into our own hands. . . . All our labour organizations are accepting the call to world revolution and are uniting under the leadership of the Communist Party in order to destroy this capitalist system. . . . ”

The greetings of comrade Carr were met by the delegates with thunderous applause. . . .

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty, 18 July 1931.

16. The Economic and Political Class Struggle and the Participation in it of the Language Mass Organizations

The Twelfth Convention of the ULFTA recognizes that the present intensified economic and political struggle of the working class demands from every workers' and poor farmers' revolutionary organization an exact review and clear designation of its attitude to it.

On the basis of the general post-war crisis of capitalism, an unprecedented economic crisis has developed in the entire capitalist world with an intensified agrarian crisis lasting a number of years in such countries as Canada and the United States. . . .

The foreign-born workers make up a significant section of the Canadian working class. They work in important branches of industry. Canadian capitalists exploit them more than other workers. Therefore, their participation in the general class struggle is very important; therefore, it is important that all their revolutionary working-class organizations serve as a means of drawing their members into the general revolutionary struggle of the working class of Canada, that this struggle is always the centre of attention in their general activities.

This applies especially to Ukrainian workers and poor farmers and our mass labour-farmer organizations. Ukrainians make up the third largest group in Canada. Ukrainian workers are employed in many important branches of industry such as coal, metal, railroad, paper, lumber, etc. The Ukrainian labour-farmer organizations are dispersed even in localities where there are no other revolutionary organizations of workers and poor farmers. They should everywhere be the means of organizing, first of all Ukrainian workers, and then others, into revolutionary trade unions, farmers into the Farmers' Unity League and the most class-conscious revolutionary workers and poor farmers into the Communist Party of Canada. . . .

In the past, cultural-educational activity did not only serve as a means of drawing the Ukrainian working masses into the class struggle, but became an end in itself. . . . Under the leadership of the Communist International and the Communist Party our organization has begun to correct this and to make the turn onto the path of general revolutionary struggle of the working class of Canada. In this turn, our organization has some significant successes: active assistance in the organization of an opposition in the reactionary UMWA in Nova Scotia and the renewal of the publication of the *Nova Scotia Miner*; involvement of our members in the strike of the needle-trades workers and assistance in the building of their revolutionary industrial union; assistance in the building of the industrial union of lumber and agricultural workers in Ontario and Manitoba; active assistance in the organization of revolutionary unions of metal and food workers in Winnipeg; active participation in the referendum campaign for the affiliation of the MWUC to the Workers' Unity League; involvement of the members on a larger scale than ever before in the campaign for state unemployment insurance and in demonstrations; the organization of the Farmers' Unity League; the formation of the mass organization, the TODOVYRNAZU, and this on the basis of general revolutionary class struggle; an ever clearer stand regarding our duties in the general class struggle as the centre of our attention in our activities; a great improvement regarding this in relation to the press, etc. . . .

The greatest dangers which hinder the turn and with which it is necessary to struggle mercilessly are the right and left opportunist elements. Dislodged from the bases of their harmful activities, these elements have begun to bustle and are attempting to oppose the turn by various covert means, generally not opposing it openly and even using it as a slogan for their harmful work. . . .

Educational activity must be entirely of a class character in order to give the membership of the mass organizations a political education. The cultural-artistic activity must also be of a class nature, directed to weld the feelings of the labouring masses and educate them for the class struggle. The benevolent activities should also serve to support our forces in the struggle against capitalism and not for anything else. . . .

Only when all the members of our mass organizations clearly realize the position of these organizations in the general class struggle and, having overcome all attempts from within and without to weaken our forces, enter the front of the general revolutionary economic and political struggle of the working class of Canada in solid ranks under the leadership of the Communist Party of Canada, will we be able to say that the turn is completed and that our organizations are really fulfilling their class obligations.

Resolution adopted at the Twelfth Convention of the ULFTA* and Confirmed by the Seventh Convention of the WBA†

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 28 July 1931.

17. We are Sounding the Alarm!

Do Not Allow the Communist Party To Be Driven Underground. Repulse the Attack of the Capitalist Class! For the Firm Unity of the Forces of the Workers Around the Communist Party. Strengthen the Revolutionary Movement of the Workers!

At a time of the most intensive development of class battles of the Canadian proletariat, the ruling class has forcibly removed from their posts on the revolutionary front the most important leaders of the working class, has arrested members of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Canada....

This raid...is clear testimony that the Bennett government is striving to forcibly smash the revolutionary movement of the workers of Canada, that it wishes to let the staunchest fighters of the working class rot in prison, to stifle all dissatisfaction of the toiling masses in order to be able to continue to starve the millions of unemployed and torture them with slave labour.

The government of Canada's ruling class is on the path of forcibly introducing a fascist dictatorship. It cannot do so without securing its rear, without first repressing the revolutionary movement, striking at its leadership. The capitalist class and its government needs a free hand. The crisis is deepening more and more, the working population is becoming poorer and poorer, the day of the imperialist war against the Soviet Union is drawing nearer. With the deepening of the economic crisis a greater burden falls on the toiling masses, unemployment is on the increase and, simultaneously, discontent is growing. The proletariat is becoming more revolutionary, more militant and is fighting against the class of exploiters and starvers. It is the same as regards the impending imperialist war. The longer it is put off the more it appears lost for the capitalist class because the forces of the

* The Twelfth ULFTA Convention was held on 12-20 July 1930.

† The Seventh WBA Convention was held on 21-3 July 1931.

revolutionary proletariat are growing mightily and the rear becomes less and less promising. That is why the Canadian capitalist class, wishing to gain time, intensifies its attack on the revolutionary front of the proletariat, attempting to destroy it.

The Bennett government, as the executive organ of the ruling class, has undertaken this task and wishes, by violent means of struggling against the working class and its revolutionary movement, to pave the way for a fascist dictatorship. The thousands of toilers, who, in their daily battles against the classes of exploiters and oppressors for work and bread, have united around the Communist Party of Canada as its most devoted leader, have become a threat and a hindrance to Bennett's establishment of slave camps for the unemployed and their continued starvation. The class battles in the streets conducted by the Canadian revolutionary proletariat against the police government and the armed fascist bands are clear testimony of their readiness to defend the Soviet Union during an armed attack upon it by the imperialist incendiaries. It is this very power of the revolutionary proletariat that Bennett is striving to break and destroy at all costs.

Directing its attacks first of all against the leader of the revolutionary movement, against the Communist Party and its leaders, the Bennett government plans in the future the very kind of attacks on the entire labour movement, on the labour-farmer mass organizations, on the work of liberation and struggle against unemployment and starvation... It is necessary to oppose resolutely this attempt of the Bennett government to outlaw the liberation struggle of the working class for work and bread...

Comrades! Workers of Canada!

Make the struggle of the defence of the Communist Party of Canada and its leaders a mass struggle for all the toilers. Organize mass protest meetings everywhere and demand freedom for the arrested members of the Political Committee of the Communist Party...

CEC, ULFTA,

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, WBA,

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL *TODOVYRNAZU*.

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty, 25 August 1931.

18. The Achievements of the ULFMO after the "Turn"

Firstly, we were introducing a turn in order that the concept of self-sufficiency of our organizations be replaced by the concept that our organizations are a means of organizing workers and farmers in the struggle with exploitation. Without the overcoming of such a concept among our members and leaders it was not possible to think of a turn. Therefore, for a few

months before the twelfth convention we began a campaign in our press for the reeducation of our membership in that direction.

Secondly, having prepared the membership ideologically, we began to carry out the decisions ourselves: we began to participate more actively in the class struggle.

1. At the very beginning we initiated the organizing of *TODOVYRNAZU*, our third mass organization. We brought into it about 60 per cent of workers who, at that time, had not been in our organizations. . . .
2. We began to actively assist in the organizations of workers of other nationalities: Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Germans and others, strengthening the organized movement of the working class in this manner.
3. We began to take an active part in strikes, rendered them moral and material aid, assisted in building revolutionary trade unions, that is, fought against the lowering of wages and difficult working conditions.
4. We took an active part in the unemployed movement, in the fight for relief, for unemployment insurance, against evictions from dwellings, by this means organizing the unemployed.
5. On the farms the members of our organizations also stood in the forefront of the struggle of the farmers against evictions from their farms, against robbery by the elevator companies, building the Farmers' Unity League in the process.
6. We took an active part in the fight against terror, against Section 98, against convictions, deportations, for the release of political prisoners, building the CLDL in the process.
7. Our organizations gave the labour movement cadres of militant leaders who grew up beyond the confines of our organizations, who became leaders in strike struggles and in the general movement. A large percentage of convicted workers are Ukrainian workers and farmers.
8. Our organizations moved to the front line of the workers' and farmers' movement in Canada. For this reason they became the object of raids, confiscations of books, court trials, vile attacks by the bourgeois and social-fascist press.
9. We increased significantly the authority and influence of our organizations not only among the Ukrainian toiling masses but among the workers of Canada in general. . . .

SOURCE: Narady Ukrainskykh Robitnycho-Farmerskykh Masovykh Orhanizatsii iaki vidbulysia v Ukrainskim Robitnychim Domi u Vinnipehu, Man. v ponedilok, 11-ho bereznia 1935 roku [Deliberations of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Mass Organizations Held in the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg, Man. on Monday, 11 March 1935], 20-1. (Henceforth cited as Narady.)

19. How We Worked in the Campaign for the Clarion

The campaign for the English progressive paper, *The Clarion*, which was conducted in October, was concluded in some localities with success. Our reporters write us about this. But because of the surfeit of other urgent material we cannot publish their reports in full on the pages of *Narodna Hazeta*.

We publish only short reports about the work of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Mass Organizations in this very important campaign.

Edmonton, Alta. "Our organizations were to raise \$125 press fund and obtain thirteen new subscribers to the *Clarion Weekly*. In the campaign we raised \$164 and obtained twelve new subscribers. . . .

Vancouver, B.C. The comrades from the district committee report that they collected \$204 and obtained twenty-seven new subscribers. . . . The comrades believe that the quota in the November campaign will be greatly overfulfilled.

Toronto, Ont. Comrade M. Chornopysky writes that ward five . . . achieved its quota. It raised \$44. . . .

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 26 November 1937.

Chapter 18. The USSR—"The Star of Hope"

The leaders and the masses of the members of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations had been born into poverty and want; the establishment of a socialist system modelled on that of the USSR appeared as the only hope for the improvement of their lot. The sudden crash of the stock market on Wall Street and the resultant increased unemployment, privation and misery seemed to confirm their thesis that capitalism was doomed. As the crisis continued to deepen and tension between the powers to grow, the attraction to the Soviet utopia increased, eventually developing into an absolute and unquestioning faith in the Soviet system, the Soviet leadership and the Soviet state on the part of an ever growing number of disillusioned Ukrainians.

1. Moral Strength of Communism

Communism is becoming a great moral force in the world. Its influence is growing from day to day. Not only the working masses, but better people from the upper groups and classes are becoming interested in it. Torrents of filth, with which the servants of the bourgeoisie shower communism, do not help. On the contrary, the fact that the lackeys of capital attack communism with such fury is evidence that it is a bright guide for all people and all countries, that it possesses fine characteristics, that it is all woven out of idealism. That is why these prophets are becoming fervent supporters of communism.

In Russia, besides Maxim Gorky... such an outstanding person as the late professor Timiriazev had joined the Communist Party. He was a world-renowned scientist in whom flowed the blood of the higher English and Russian aristocracy. In advanced age he became such a fervent communist that the Moscow workers even elected him their representative to the soviet....

The same has happened to another, still living, great old man and an outstanding sceptic of the twentieth century, the famous French writer, Anatole France. This great pillar of world literature, who was always close to socialism, greeted the Third Communist International at the very beginning of

its formation... In communism he saw the essence of his life and swore allegiance to it under the banner of labour revolt.

And France is not alone in France. He has a very dignified partner, an even greater and more profound word craftsman. He is Romain Rolland, whose novel *Jean Christophe* stands on the same level as *War and Peace*, the immortal work of Tolstoy, as regards its artistic and psychological value...

Recently another has joined our camp: the English writer, Bernard Shaw. He is the wittiest critic of the bourgeois system... Bernard Shaw recently declared himself... a convinced and enthusiastic communist when he learned that in Russia compulsory labour has been introduced for all strata of the population.

This is not all. In that very England Israel Tsangvil, who occupies such an honoured place in world literature with his works on Jewish life, delivered an exciting speech at a mass meeting in support of Soviet Russia... The instinct of a true artist overcame in him the bourgeois public figure when he felt the strange power of communism, when he saw before him its light.

Even the English humorist, Jerome K. Jerome, who had painted communism as a soulless doctrine, has now capitulated before communism. A few weeks ago he published an article in the English press where, with his distinctive irony, he shows that all hopes of the powerful of this world to destroy communism are futile...

What is needed is not to make fun of communism, says Jerome K. Jerome, but to learn from it. Those who must learn are the ones who hate the communists with their Red Army and forced labour.

Such are the wonders communism performs. It acquires for itself not only the material world but also the spiritual. It is strong not only in its daily struggle with the old, but also strong in its new inner wealth, which it evokes even in the souls of those who are not directly interested in its realization.

It cannot be otherwise. Communism represents the brightest, the highest and most enchanting manifestation of the human spirit and this serves as the best guarantee of its final victory.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 18 October 1920.

2. Leader of the World Proletariat has Died

The great leader of the world proletariat has died, the creator of the worker-peasant state has passed onto his eternal rest.

Volodymyr Ilich Ulianov-Lenin died on Monday, 21 January 1924.

Do you hear? Volodymyr Ilich has died. Is this really true? Is it really true that the father has orphaned millions of children? Yes. Severe reality. Harsh, relentless reality.

Volodymyr Ilich has died!

Let us bow low our heads because He is no longer. He has gone far away. Only the Great Immortal Spirit of His Genius salutes the labourers and the poor of the whole world. This news sadly vibrates throughout the world. Sadly, very sadly the heads of the workers and poor farmers bow. The great Union of Soviet Republics is enveloped in a deep dark sadness and millions of free heads have bowed low to the earth.

O Land! Free Land! You were not free, you were enslaved and gave birth to a Great Teacher, Immortal Trail Blazer. But now you are free, unshackled and you are taking him to yourself. Why such ingratitude?

Oh Land! Free Land! Return Him!...

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 26 January 1924.

3. Imperialists are Preparing a War

No sooner had the military manoeuvres of fascist Italy in the south ended than military exercises of the sea and air fleets of England began in the north. Hardly had the rumble of the cannons been silenced in London than the military arms of the occupation forces of England, France, Belgium and Italy could be heard in the Rhine province in the west. At the other end, east of Silesia, the German army of Hindenburg replies. A little more to the east at the very entrance gate to the land of the Soviet Union, in Poland and Vilna, Pilsudski is mobilizing an army of wild Polish divisions... and from there they are rattling the curved sabres in the direction of the... Soviet Union.

From Vilnius in the north... Pilsudski travels with his Polish and French general staffs to Romania for an inspection of the Romanian-Soviet border. They inspect the fortifications and the Romanian army as to its battle readiness for a military attack against the Soviet Union.

And so from the Far East... to the farthest reaches of the West the imperialists have manned military trenches in a large semi-circle around the Soviet Union, always ready to attack the workers' fatherland, the Soviet Union. The imperialists of the world have encircled the borders of the worker-peasant state with bayonets and cannon muzzles...

To suppress the revolutionary wave which at present is moving from the east to the west, the south and the north, to stop the liberation of the workers from the clutches of exploitation and oppression at home, the imperialist states of the world have blocked off the borders of the Soviet Union with bayonets and cannon muzzles.

But the wave of revolution does not recognize borders. In its march it passes over fixed bayonets and the maws of the cannon. The imperialists of the world know this; they are preparing an attack against the Soviet Union in order to

destroy the fatherland of the workers and to eliminate, at least for a time, the source of the liberation movement of all the oppressed and the starving. The imperialists are preparing to defeat the workers and peasants in their own fatherland, on the territories of the Soviet republics.

And now they are feverishly conducting military exercises and manoeuvres directed against the workers and peasants of the whole world. The imperialist military staffs are inspecting the fighting efficiency of their armies, are staking out the terrain for military operations, are strengthening their alliances and pacts. The day of an organized, united military attack of the imperialist predators against the worker-peasant state is coming closer with every moment. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 16 October 1928.

4. About Masters and Slaves and Forced Labour

The masters say that there is "forced labour" in the Soviet Union. Mr. Bennett, in announcing an embargo on Soviet goods to Canada, also spoke of "forced labour." And this should interest especially the 300,000 of those Canadian citizens who cannot *force* the Bennett government or the Canadian capitalists to give them work. . . .

The masters claim that in the Soviet Union trees are cut by "forced labour" and by prisoners at that. How is this possible? It would require more guards for those prisoners than there were prisoners. It is not surprising to read in the Soviet press the question by Soviet woodcutters to Canadians: "*Is it possible for prisoners to work in Canadian forests?*" Of course not! Because, if you sent prisoners to work in the forests, that is the last you would see of them. . . .

Lies, that is all, disgusting lies of lords against the workers of the Soviet land and the Soviet government.

Education in Soviet schools begins thus: "*We are not lords, we are not slaves. Where there are lords, there are slaves.*"

This is not merely the acquisition of literacy, not only learning the alphabet but also the content. . . .

In the Soviet Union compulsory education has already been introduced. Yes, *compulsory*. And that compulsory education is what the lords fear most. Although in Canada . . . there is also compulsory education, however, not all go to school here, because there is no money to pay the teachers (in Manitoba), because many farmers have become so poor that they do not have clothes in which to send their children to school.

Secondly, in capitalist schools they do not begin teaching about lords and slaves; in the senior classes they do not assign questions as to how many

millions of dollars the CPR earned in 1930 and how many millions the farmers have fallen into debt, how many new palaces the capitalists have built and how many farmers and workers have been evicted from their farms and homes for indebtedness, taxes, mortgages. No, in capitalist schools there are no such lessons. Here they educate Boy Scouts and obedient slaves. Because here there are masters and they need slaves. . . .

Since they are masters, then in their country also exist slaves. You will see them at every turn if you look with the eyes of a class-conscious worker.

Is this a *free citizen of a democratic country who stands in the cold near the city woodyard from midnight to obtain an opportunity to cut wood for a beggarly meal ticket, for the right to spend the night in the immigration building?* Why should Bennett or Webb look for forced labour in the northern forests of the Soviet Union when it can be found in the Winnipeg woodyard? . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 21 March 1931.

5. Reply to Anti-Soviet Measures of Imperialists

Romain Rolland, a famous French writer, wrote an article in *Nouvelle Revue Mondiale* in defence of the USSR:

The most powerful states of the West do not increase their arms and their armies simply to be armed. These starving stomachs naturally want prey.

Where is this prey? The prey in mind is the USSR.

If all the plans organized till now against the Soviet Union were not successful, it can be explained by the fact that, fortunately for the Soviet Union, the great international thieves, the Anglo-German-French captains of piracy, have not been able to date to agree on the division of the bear's hide. But when they come to an agreement and achieve a European military bloc, can one believe that this bloc will remain inactive in the face of the Soviet system, which is the bloc's negation in the social sphere and which threatens the bloc's existence by its successes?

As for me, I lay out my cards. If the USSR is threatened, I will always stand on its side. I believe and I know that the USSR is realizing the most heroic attempt, the firmest hope of the future. . . . If it disappears, I will no longer interest myself in the future of Europe. In the social sphere I will then regard it as condemned for ages.

And I say to Europe: 'Adopt all the new free forms of life. You are suffocating in your shell of the past. Cast it off, breathe free and do not hinder us in breathing deeply. We need a home, we need a larger fatherland than Europe.'

The fatherland is not yesterday. My fatherland is tomorrow. And the morning bell of this 'tomorrow' has already tolled.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 10 March 1931.

6. Report of the Labour-Farmer Delegation to the USSR

Travel to the USSR in the inter-war period was very restricted. By special arrangement a delegation from the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations in Canada visited the Soviet Union in April and May 1931 and reported on its return.

...The report began at 9:30 a.m. in the Ukrainian Labour Temple and ended at 7 p.m. on the grounds of the WBA in East Kildonan with large numbers of people present.

The Ukrainian Labour Temple reports were delivered by comrades I. Pastukh, D. Moisiuk and I. Kapusta. They spoke of the great socialist construction in the Soviet Union, mainly in Ukraine, where the delegation travelled most. They spoke of the large collectivized fields, of the colossal industrial construction in the cities.... These new fields belong to the community, to whole villages. Today teams of tractors plough them in long rows, four furrows each.

The cities are in scaffolding. Gigantic factories, workers' settlements, new cities are growing and in them palaces of culture, parks, rest homes, schools, scientific institutes and theatres.

There is no unemployment or crisis. There is no starvation, no poverty. Everyone is working, building a socialist country. There is no exploitation by a parasite not only of hundreds of thousands but even of ten individuals.

Where did the delegation go, how did it go, what was it shown, what did it see? It went where it chose to go, saw what it wanted to see. It visited all the large cities of Ukraine....

It spoke with commissars and directors of factories, but mostly with workers and peasants.... It visited scientific institutions and industrial giants. It was in deep mine shafts, buildings of culture, rest homes, children's colonies, museums, schools of the Red Army and hospitals. It spoke not only with the managers but with the workers.

New factories, as well as those that have been built and those being built, are not low, dark and soot-coated buildings of capitalist countries; they are tall and bright, providing fresh air and light for the workers. Each factory is a complete town with everything for the convenience of the workers: a bath house, restaurant, school, day-care centre for children and a movie theatre. The average wage is 100 roubles per month with a six to seven-hour day and

every fifth a rest day. . . .

People who are ill or injured, veterans of labour, do not worry about tomorrow because in the Soviet Union there is social security. . . .

The children are at school. Education is compulsory not only for children but also for adults. In Ukraine half the population is now studying in lower, middle and higher schools, in schools for the illiterate and in factory schools. They not only study reading and writing but also trades. A socialist country and large new industries require hundreds of thousands of new engineers, mechanics and skilled workers; the collectives require tractorists and agronomists. The slogan—Master Technology, Become not Only Builders but Directors of Industry—is being realized at a fast pace.

The school in Ukraine is Ukrainian, the language is Ukrainian, the press and books are Ukrainian, the culture is Ukrainian, but, while national in form, it is international in content.

"Forced labour!" Wherever the delegation asked or spoke of it to workers and peasants they laughed and were surprised that there are still people in the world who believe such lies. . . .

In addition to the three who spoke in the Ukrainian Labour Temple, nine spoke to a mass of 3,000 at the WBA picnic grounds. . . .

They spoke not only of the Soviet Union but also of capitalist countries, especially Galicia and Bukovyna, which the delegation visited, although not officially. In Bukovyna there is not one Ukrainian school. . . . The peasants and workers are ruined economically and oppressed politically. There are neither Ukrainian worker-peasant newspapers nor books. Everything is downtrodden and oppressed by the hell of the Romanian fascist police. And the Ukrainian bourgeoisie has gone to serve the Romanian fascists and helps it to oppress and exploit the Ukrainian workers and peasants. It is the same in Poland and under Polish occupation. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 21 July 1931.

7. Stalin Constitution: Most Democratic in the World

In November 1936 on the decision of the adoption of the new constitution, Stalin was hailed by all supporters of the USSR including the Ukrainian pro-communists in Canada.

The adoption of the Stalin constitution, which is the most democratic in the world, by the All-Union Congress of Soviets, which convened in Moscow on 25 November 1936, sounded like a mighty echo throughout the whole world.

Nearly two and a half thousand delegates, who came to Moscow for the great All-Union Congress of Soviets from the boundless expanses of the great

Union of the peoples of Russia, Ukraine, Belorussia, Georgia, Uzbekistan, Tataria, etc., voted on the Union Constitution, adopting it unanimously. Before it was placed for consideration at the All-Union Congress of Soviets, the Union Constitution was discussed as a project at large meetings by the toilers of the Soviet Union.

The consideration of the project of the Stalin Constitution was nation-wide and this very fact indicates that the constitution of the USSR is a great act of Soviet democracy.

There is no constitution in the world which can equal the Soviet one. The most democratic constitutions ever known in human society pale before it. This is not strange. The great proletarian revolution, which solved the basic question of state structure, namely the question of government and ownership, gave birth to the Soviet constitution. Having destroyed the old state structure and introduced an era of proletarian democracy, this revolution introduced a new electoral law on the basis of the Soviet system. This new electoral law "is significant because the electors are the toilers and the exploited masses; the bourgeoisie is excluded. . . ." (Lenin)

The electoral law for the toilers and the deprivation of the exploiters of this right, as the constitution of 1918 provided, was dictated both by the internal situation as well as the conditions of struggle within the country. The new constitution introduces general, equal, direct elections with a secret ballot.

All the citizens of the USSR, eighteen years of age, regardless of sex, racial and national characteristics, faith, educational qualifications, occupation, social origin, property qualifications or past activities, "with the exception of the insane and individuals sentenced by court . . ." enjoy electoral rights.

The new constitution is clear evidence of the might of the Soviet Union, the inviolable might of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party at the head of which is the great leader of the toilers of the whole world—comrade Stalin.

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty, 27 November 1936.

8. Tomorrow Peoples of USSR Will Elect the Manager of their Country

Tomorrow millions and millions of citizens of the Soviet Union will go to vote—direct, equal, secret, a truly democratic election—to elect the finest sons of its people to the leading legislative organs of the country, to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and to the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR.

Great preparations were conducted for these elections during the last forty days. But not at all on the capitalist speculative order. An intensified mass study of the new Stalin constitution and the regulations regarding election laws

was conducted; mass nomination meetings were held at which candidates were nominated; finally, the formal registration of candidates and tomorrow the elections.

Fascist scribblers and the fascist press applied all their energies to defame, to slander both the Stalin Constitution and the elections. . . .

Whether they wished it or not they were forced to recognize the great national upheaval, the mobilization of the masses in defence of their new socialist fatherland. . . . Because, in fact, tomorrow's elections in the Soviet Union will rock the whole country. All its people of both sexes, eighteen years and over, will express tomorrow before the whole world their unshakable will; they will give an answer unheard of in history to those who look upon the territories of the Soviet country as their future colonies.

Various capitalist scribblers whine: "In the USSR there is no party freedom; they only nominate communists and leading ones at that. What kind of elections are these?"

So what? Perhaps these gentlemen think that after an unparalleled twenty-year effort in building a socialist economy the Soviet people will now say to the fascist and capitalist gentlemen and their agents: "Come to us with your parties and we will hold an election!"

SOURCE: Narodna Hazeta, 11 December 1937.

9. New Cities Emerging in Soviet Far North

The far northern territory of the Soviet Union, bordering on the Arctic Ocean, covers about 10,000,000 square kilometres. For centuries this large territory was not settled. But in recent years radical changes have been taking place in the far north.

The forest and fishing industries have developed significantly. Mining is also making great progress. In Amdermia, on the banks of the Kars Sea, there are large mines. Oil, coal and certain metals are mined in the far north.

There is a great influx of people. Hitherto about 100 large new cities and industrial settlements have been built in the distant regions of the tundra and the taiga.

Prior to the revolution, for example, there were only 500 residents on the Kola Peninsula; now there are over 300,000. The main centre of the Kola Peninsula, Murmansk, has been transformed from a settlement of small mud huts into a modern city in which live 150,000 inhabitants. The wide streets of Murmansk are lighted with electricity from the power plant which was recently constructed in Tulomsk. . . .

South of Murmansk in the mountainous Khibin tundra, on the banks of Polar lakes, is the town of Kirovsk, a new industrial centre whose mines

supply useful minerals. Kirovsk now has a population of 40,000.

The great city of Monchegorsk grew in the tundra on the banks of the Moncha River where two small huts stood in the past. The city of Kondalaksha, on the shores of the White Sea, grew from a small fishing town into a great city in which live 30,000 residents. The electric power station in Nitsa, recently built in this town, supplies electricity to the Kondalaksha district.

On the banks of the Pechora River large deposits of coal, non-ferrous metals and oil have been discovered. In recent years Chibui, a new oil-producing centre with a population of 40,000, has been built here. Yenisei timber is transported across the Karsk Sea to the northern ocean ports.

Where today the Soviet port of Igarka is located, on the Yenisei River, twelve years ago there were several fishermen's huts and a total population of forty. Recently oil was found on the Taimyz Peninsula, not far from Igarka, and a new town is being built there.

In the far-off Kolyma taiga, in the eastern part of the far north, there are large deposits of gold, coal, non-ferrous metals. The large cities of Magadan and Nogaev have been built there.

SOURCE: Narodna Hazeta, 10 July 1939.

Chapter 19. In Support of Ukraine

Attachment to their native land was always strong among Ukrainian immigrants in Canada. For Ukrainian pro-communists it was even more so. Ukraine was not only their native land, but Soviet Ukraine was part of what they believed to be a voluntary federation of free nations building a new just society. The regime in this Ukraine was praised, extolled and defended from all criticism and attacks. Some Ukrainians even migrated from Canada to participate in the building of the new society. There was also Western Ukraine, several provinces divided up between Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia, struggling for "liberation." For those in Western Ukraine who favoured union with the USSR, there was moral and financial support and joy when it was "liberated" by Soviet troops.

1. What has the October Revolution given Ukrainian Toiling Masses?

...What has the social revolution given the Ukrainian toiling masses? First of all, national and social freedom and their own worker-peasant state, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

National freedom: full recognition of Ukrainian culture and language. The free development of the Ukrainian working people, Ukrainian schools of all types from children's crèches to public schools and universities.

Social freedom: the abolition of the hegemony of ownership capital, large and small landlord holdings, the confiscation of monastery and large church estates, the denial of all rights to non-labouring elements, the introduction of a firm dictatorship of the workers, the transfer of factories for the use of the workers....

On the basis of self-determination the Ukrainian toiling masses have created an independent Soviet republic which has voluntarily entered into a federation with the Russian... and other republics.

Who gave all these rights? Who created socialist Ukraine? *The Ukrainian working people themselves through their elected delegates to the soviets....*

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robotnychi Visty*, 7 November 1923.

2. From the Prairies of Canada to the Steppes of Ukraine

The cannons finally fell silent on Soviet lands. There followed years of famine, devastation and poverty. And across the American land, among class-conscious workers of all nations rolled out a new slogan: "We will aid our free brothers of our Soviet land. . . ."

At first they collected voluntary contributions for the starving. . . . Then they began to think of migration to the Soviet Union.

In 1920 there was founded in New York the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, which later extended its work into Canada. In the city of Winnipeg, in the early autumn of 1920, a branch of this society already had 500 members. A "shock brigade" was formed from this group which was to be the first to depart for the Soviet Union. They all took separate courses where they studied various trades such as carpentry, construction, mechanics and tractor and automobile driving. . . . In addition to this they took an active part with other Ukrainian men and women workers in the collection of donations for medicine for the Red Army and the starving. The idea was to go to the USSR and assist the Soviet workers "to reconstruct and build the worker-peasant state. . . ." But in 1920 Canada did not permit this group to go, giving as the reason for the refusal the war between the USSR and Poland.

Towards the fall of 1921 in Winnipeg (Canada) a number of Ukrainian workers, 99 per cent of them immigrants from Western Ukraine (Galicia and Bukovyna), began anew to organize a group which was to leave for the USSR as soon as possible "to assist on the economic front. . . ." As an agricultural communist group, they purchased in America a great number of machines for a model farming enterprise. Those wishing to go had to put in a share of no less than \$500. . . .

And in Montreal. . . another group was being organized, made up of "Russki," that is Ukrainian immigrants from the provinces of Kiev, Podillia and Volyn. This group was called "The Militant Detachment For Struggle With Ruin in the Soviet Republics. . . ." The Montrealers decided to migrate to the USSR not to farm, but to assist Soviet workers in the reconstruction of the national economy and to purchase two or three tractors and bring them as gifts for the poor peasants. The members of the group were to disperse in the USSR for employment. The share of each member was set at \$200. . . .

The Winnipeg group, which was made up predominantly of people acquainted with village economy, understood that the mechanical group in Montreal would be an asset in a future farm enterprise.

They came to an agreement. Altogether \$31,000 had been collected, of which the Winnipeg group gave \$12,000. With the money they purchased three tractors, a seed drill, a threshing machine, two trucks, dishes, clothing, seventy pairs of shoes, about 100 overalls, shovels, chains, binder twine, tents, provisions for six months, seeds for sowing and a variety of other implements

necessary in farming.

Those who did not have enough money to pay their full share brought the tools of their trade (carpenters, locksmiths, blacksmiths and others). And in the first half of March 1922 the Winnipeg and Montreal groups left the shores of America already under one name: The First Labour Agricultural Communist Group From Canada. On the red banner of this group, besides the above name, there was embroidered a hammer and sickle, and around the edges: Proletarians of All Countries Unite! Below were two tightly-clasped hands and above them: Long Live the III International!

The Canadian communards left from New York by boat on which there was also a New York commune made up of Russians and Ukrainians (at present in the Tambov region) and an organized group of automobile mechanics which took with them machines, accessories, leather belting, etc.

The Canadian commune numbered 40 men, 4 women and 6 children. The faces of all radiated with joy, the eyes shone with hope. It was difficult to struggle in the chains of capital. They lost decades working for capitalists. Now they were going to a worker-peasant state where there was no exploitation of human labour, where there was no cursed ownership. For years they had worked in Canada as servants for wealthy farmers, in the mines; they cut down forests, built roads, drove tractors and automobiles. Poverty taught them literacy, the operation of machines, various trades and awakened class consciousness....

First of all, the communards were convinced that their coming to the USSR was of great significance and that in Moscow they would be met without fail by representatives of the Soviet Government....

And in the USSR there were already two delegates of the commune who had left a month earlier to select a location for the commune....

The communards only arrived in Moscow on 8 April 1922... to learn that the delegates of the commune had already left for Myhaievo in the Odessa region in Ukraine, where the settlement of the commune was to be located. All that was left for the communards was to travel to the Odessa region, but in the spring of 1922 it was not easy to achieve this. Their railway cars remained on distant supply tracks of one of the Moscow stations. Hundreds of demands of the communards that they be dispatched to Ukraine produced no results. And a real famine began among the communards. It was almost impossible to purchase anything for money. Their own provisions were in sealed cars.

In the spring of 1923 another group of communards arrived from Canada composed of 40 men, 28 women and 36 children, bringing with them agricultural implements worth \$15,000 and some cash. Thus was born in the steppes of the Odessa region the First Canadian Agricultural Commune.

SOURCE: Myroslav Irchan, *Vybrani tvory* (Selected Works), vol. 2 (Kiev: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Khudozhnoi Literatury, 1958), 374-9.

3. Immigration to the Soviet Republics

Many class-conscious workers are occupied with the idea of immigrating to the Soviet republics. The attraction of the proletarian fatherland is especially strong in Russian, Ukrainian and other workers who come from the former Russian Empire. There is nothing strange in that, because everyone would like to go where he expects to live a free life, although not as good materially.

But not all those wishing to immigrate to the Soviet republics fully understand what they are thinking of doing. And it is very important whether a person has given full consideration to a question before taking any action. It is necessary to give careful thought especially to such an important matter as migration to the Soviet republics.

The matter of immigrating... to Soviet Ukraine has hardly been raised in our paper.... But it is necessary to discuss this question because many Ukrainian workers in Canada are preparing to migrate to Soviet Ukraine, thinking that in this way they will contribute significantly to the rebuilding of the economy, ruined by the imperialist war and, even more so, by the civil war.

Normally, the most class-conscious workers immigrate. By this they weaken the working-class movement in this country.... For the class-conscious worker it should not make any difference where he lives. He should fight for the liberation of the working class from the shackles of capitalism, that is, for the overthrow of the capitalist system and its replacement by a socialist one....

If we continue to immigrate one by one, then why are we building several labour temples each year, why are we making such great plans in our work?... Should all those temples that we have acquired through such hard labour be left in the hands of members of the black hundreds? The black hundreds are praying to God night and day that the class-conscious elements among Ukrainian workers perish. Then they would have a free hand in everything....

But we must be against migration to Soviet Ukraine not only for these reasons. We should also take into account what benefit the arrival of workers from Canada or the United States brings Ukraine. The migration of workers to factories or mines is excluded.... Only agricultural groups are permitted. But such a group can only be in part beneficial to Ukraine when it has absolutely all the necessary machinery and all other indispensable means and when it is composed of such people as will live and work harmoniously together. This does not always happen. When a group is not supplied with everything necessary, it will not bring any benefit. When at least one or two persons are in it who were almost never in any working-class organization and were accepted into the group only because they had money, then such a group also has no future.... Generally, when a person migrates to Ukraine who is not stable in

his convictions, who, in a word, is not a revolutionary, he can become bitterly disappointed in his expectations and then become one of the greatest enemies of the Soviet regime. Up until now people who only had money were often recruited into these departing groups. Thus, as regards the interests of Soviet Ukraine, the emigration of Ukrainian workers from Canada is not always desirable.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 10 February 1923.

4. The ULFTA and the Soviet Union

...The revolutionary upheaval of the toiling masses in tsarist Russia had a great influence on the Ukrainian toiling masses in Canada and at the same time influenced the rapid development of the ULFTA...

The war and later revolution and capitalist blockade resulted in the lack of all medical means for the Red Army soldiers at the front and for the workers and peasants. Workers in capitalist countries began to organize committees, collect money and send medicines for the proletarians who first raised the banner of social revolution.

On 6 October 1920 there was an appeal in *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty* from the Committee for Medical Aid to the Soviet Union, which was organized in Winnipeg of various nationalities, but our organization played the main role. Members of our organization across Canada responded to this appeal, organized committees and on 1 December 1920 there was already \$42,270.75 collected for the purchase of medications...

In addition to the joint committee, a Committee to Aid the Starving in Ukraine was formed. From one house-to-house collection alone in Winnipeg, in which 350 men and women comrades participated, \$1,668.76 was collected.

In reply to the first appeal of the Central Committee to Aid the Starving in Ukraine, committees were formed wherever our branches existed and, in spite of the campaign to aid the Volga region, our organizations collected \$10,806.81 to aid Ukraine...

On 13 September 1922 there was an article of thanks for the Canadian workers in *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty* from the chairman of the Central Committee to Aid the Starving in Ukraine, comrade Petrovsky*...

In the same year a commune was organized in Winnipeg of members of our organization and on 15 April 1923 the commune reported through *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty* that it settled in Myhaievo on the lands of landlord Keller.

* Hryhorii Petrovsky (1878–1958), an old Bolshevik who headed the Bolshevik faction in the tsarist Duma and was president of the Ukrainian SSR 1919–38. He was removed to Moscow in 1938 to become assistant director of the Museum of the Revolution. His elder son, an army commander, was executed in the purges.

That commune is now a model one in Soviet Ukraine.

Today the members of the ULFTA are combating various lies of the Yellow-Blues and the Canadian bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union. They assure the workers and peasants, the masters of the Soviet Union, that they are conscious of the fact that it is the fatherland of the world proletariat and are ready to defend the Soviet Union, as they defended the proletarian revolution against the imperialist predators from its beginnings!

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 21 March 1933.

5. Contacts with Cultural-Educational Institutions in Ukraine

In all our cultural-educational work we are and will be in the future dependent on the development of culture and education on Ukrainian territories in Europe and especially in Soviet Ukraine, which we proudly acknowledge as our fatherland. Our cultural-educational source, without which our cultural-educational life in Canada is unthinkable, is there. From there we receive books, journals, newspapers, works of music, from there—from Soviet Ukraine—we received the famous film, *Taras Shevchenko*, and soon will receive other cultural acquisitions without which we would wither and die culturally.

Therefore it is very important for us to have ties with cultural-educational institutions and especially in Soviet Ukraine. We established them through our delegates and now they are becoming closer and firmer. Let the numerous greetings that our convention received from cultural-educational institutions and their representatives in Soviet Ukraine attest to this. Both I and comrade Navizivsky were assured in Soviet Ukraine that they will willingly relinquish places for study in technical schools for our talented children if we wish to send them there for study.... For our cultural-educational movement in Canada it would be exceptionally beneficial and desirable that excursions of writers, artists, scholars from Soviet Ukraine visit us.... From our side it would be most desirable to send our excursions to Soviet Ukraine....

M. Popowich reporting to the Tenth ULFTA Convention.

SOURCE: *Zvit (Desiatioho Zizdu 4, 5 i 6 liutoho 1929)*, 55.

6. Pass the Speech of Liubchenko* from Hand to Hand

... Why has the paper twelve pages this week? Because we are publishing in the special edition the outstanding speech of comrade P.P. Liubchenko, the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Soviet Ukraine. Liubchenko delivered this speech at the Eighth Extraordinary All-Union Congress of Soviets during the discussion on the draft of the new Soviet constitution.

We recommend that all our readers and generally all Ukrainian farmers in Canada read Liubchenko's speech carefully. Having read it, you will become better acquainted with the road Soviet Ukraine has travelled, how the enemies of the Ukrainian people acted and continue to act in order to oppress Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Ukraine's achievements during the nineteen years of its existence.

Having read the speech you will be armed with facts when any fascist agent in Canada begins to defame Soviet Ukraine and to propagate unheard-of lies about it and to dismiss the gigantic achievements of the toiling people of Soviet Ukraine which they accomplished by their stubborn, honest labour for the development of their socialist fatherland. Therefore, read this issue of *Farmerske Zhyttia* and pass it on from hand to hand. Let every Ukrainian farmer in Canada know how the new happy life is blossoming in Soviet Ukraine.

SOURCE: *Farmerske Zhyttia*, 23 December 1936.

7. We and Ukraine

... The first convention of the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association... was held 16–20 January 1920. It was a period of uncertainty. Members of the banned Social-Democratic Party were still interned in concentration camps for their socialist ideas. So it is understandable that this first convention had little discussion on social matters and the attitude toward the Soviet Union. ...

In 1921 a drought along the Volga River and in Ukraine created a famine and starvation of serious proportions. Committees to aid the hungry were formed in various countries. The ULTA became an active participant in this humanitarian campaign. Everywhere, where branches or local organizations existed, committees for the collection of funds for the starving communities were formed. And this activity of the committees was widely discussed at the Third Convention of the ULTA on 2–6 February 1922. ...

* When Liubchenko, faced with arrest, committed suicide less than a year later, he was denounced by the Ukrainian communists in Canada. See Chapter XVIII, document 6.

The convention also discussed the question of the return of Ukrainian workers from Canada to Soviet Ukraine. After the discussion the following resolution was passed:

Taking into account the present difficult economic conditions in the Soviet Republics and the unpreparedness of Ukrainian workers to these conditions, the General Annual Meeting of the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association proposes to the members of the ULTA and to Ukrainian workers in general to refrain from immigrating to the Soviet Republics. . . .

At the Fourth Convention of the ULTA, 15-18 January 1923, the programme included, among others, the following: The question of assistance for the liberation struggle in Eastern Galicia. The question of technical help for Soviet Ukraine.

Greeting the delegates, Matthew Popowich, from the Central Executive Committee, ULTA, reported: Besides the organizational-educational activity, the Association was very active in giving assistance to the famine area of Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine. . . .

For the first time a convention of the ULFTA devoted a great deal of attention to the relationship and contacts between the progressive community in Canada with the people of Soviet Ukraine and Western Ukraine. . . .

Much time and discussion was devoted to the question of giving technical help to Soviet Ukraine and to the departure of Ukrainian workers to Soviet Ukraine. The convention noted that the return of Ukrainian workers to Ukraine must be properly organized because harmful elements, who were not members of the ULTA, were joining the groups and these would bring no benefit to Soviet Ukraine. To organize the groups and technical aid properly, the convention decided that the ULTA organize committees of technical aid to Soviet Ukraine.

The convention also sent the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (Kharkiv) a greeting: . . .

The Fourth Convention of the . . . Ukrainian Labour Temple Association . . . sends you and the entire labour population of Soviet Ukraine our most heartfelt greeting. Recognizing the importance of technical aid in the reconstruction of the economy of Soviet Ukraine the convention decided to establish in Winnipeg, a Central Committee for Technical Help to Soviet Ukraine, and similar local committees in all the branches and affiliates of the ULTA. These will concern themselves with the question of technical aid to the Soviet Union, the careful organization of groups of specialist workers, including only those desirable to Soviet Ukraine, the preparation of such groups, the organization of special courses for them, the equipping of these groups with the necessary machinery and tools and the sending of both to Soviet Ukraine, having your assurance that you . . . will welcome such groups and our efforts in this direction. . . .

Although we do not have access to documentary materials, we can quite definitely state that all these moves and greetings had a positive reaction in Soviet Ukraine. This was verified at the Fifth Convention of the ULTA which was held 6-9 February 1924, when a greeting to the chairman of the District Executive Committee of Kiev, H.F. Hrynkiw, was read:

Having heard the report of the meeting of the Organizational Bureau for the building of a monument to T.H. Shevchenko in Kiev and in Kaniv, which you chaired, and about your decision to ask for assistance with this project from the Ukrainian workers in Galicia and Canada, the Fifth Convention of the ULTA in Canada, meeting 6-9 February... warmly greets the decision of your Bureau and expresses its full readiness to lend immediate financial support to the above projects....

The first Ukrainian community leaders who visited Soviet Ukraine from Canada were Matthew Popowich and Matthew Shatulsky. They established direct contact between the ULTA and the cultural-educational institutions in Ukraine....

In those early years one of the most important activities in the ULFTA [the Fifth Convention made the decision to change the name] was the dramatic circle. They needed scripts and plays. That is why the Sixth National Convention of the ULFTA, held 26-28 January 1925, adopted the resolution which charged the Central Executive Committee of the ULFTA with establishing close ties with dramatic and musical societies in Soviet Ukraine to receive from them the latest dramatic and musical works.

On the initiative of Matthew Shatulsky these ties were established between the CEC of the ULFTA and the M. Leontovych Society by printing notes and musical scores in Canada. Choirs and orchestras in Canada also made use of this material in preparing concert programmes in various cities across the country....

The Sixth National Convention also adopted the following resolution:

The Convention decides to take patronage over the Uman Agricultural Institute in Ukraine and give it every assistance in forming ties with Canadian agricultural and scientific-research institutes and farm organizations; to send them contemporary Canadian literature dealing with agriculture, and in every way assist the institute in its difficult and valuable work of improving the farm economy of Soviet Ukraine to the benefit of its people....

The Tenth National Convention received many telegrams and letters from Soviet Ukraine—from the People's Commissar of Education, Mykola Skrypnyk; the secretary of the Central Executive Committee, Opanas Butsenko*; from the Ukrainian Institute of Marxism-Leninism; from the

*Opanas Butsenko (1889-?), member of the first CC of the Communist Party of Ukraine, secretary of the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, 1923. Relieved in 1929 and transferred to the

Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries; from the State Publishing House of Ukraine; from the Union of Ukrainian Writers "Pluh" [The Plough] and from individual writers Ivan Kulyk,* Luciana Piontek,† Mykola Liubchenko (Kost Kotko)** and Ivan Tkachuk.††

Although the "cult of the individual" made itself felt in the 1930s, the ULFTA and the Ukrainian worker-farmer press continued their ties with the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, though they were limited, in the main, to the exchange of literature and newspapers. . . .

SOURCE: An Address by Peter Krawchuk to the Thirteenth National Convention AUUC, 12–15 April 1968, Toronto, Ont. Mimeographed, 3–10.

8. Political Prisoners Await our Aid

The Supreme Executive Council of TODOVYRNAZU has already sent the first issue of its bulletin to all branches and groups. The bulletin also contains plans of the January campaign of TODOVYRNAZU. This year's campaign is combined with a mass protest action against the governments of Poland and Romania demanding the cessation of pacification on Western Ukrainian territory, the abrogation of martial law in Bukovyna and Bessarabia, the opening of Ukrainian schools and the release of all political prisoners.

The Supreme Executive Council of TODOVYRNAZU has printed 7,000 such protest cards. It will be necessary to visit workers and farmers with these cards, to explain the situation in Western Ukraine and to convince them to sign the protest card and mail it to the president of Poland. Ukrainians of Bukovyna and Bessarabia will sign other cards of protest to the government of Romania.

A booklet about the situation in Western Ukraine is already printed. It contains interesting information about Ukrainian lands occupied by Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia. This booklet will help a great deal in the work of TODOVYRNAZU. . . .

January is not far away—only a few days. It is time to make the necessary preparations, to draw up a plan, organize the work, and divide it among the members so that on the first of January the workers of TODOVYRNAZU will

RSFSR, where he was later arrested to perish in the gulag.

* Ivan Kulyk (1897–1941), poet and party and state functionary. Lived in U.S.A. from 1914 to 1917. Returned to Ukraine and participated in the civil war as a Bolshevik. Soviet consul to Canada 1923–7. Accused of nationalism and perished in the purges.

† Luciana Piontek (1899–1937), poetess, wife of Ivan Kulyk. Perished in the purges.

** Mykola Liubchenko (1896–1934), Ukrainian writer, perished in the purges.

†† Ivan Tkachuk (1894–1948), writer and newspaperman. Born in Western Ukraine, served in the Austrian army in the First World War, taken prisoner by the Russians, identified with the Bolsheviks. One of the very few intellectuals in the USSR from Western Ukraine who survived the purges.

be at their posts. . . .

The sooner we get to work in the January campaign, the sooner we will overfulfill the plan.

The Supreme Executive Council of TODOVYRNAZU devotes a great deal of attention to this campaign in January. The struggle of our people in Western Ukraine against the occupation governments, especially in Poland and Romania, is increasing. This struggle will demand from us more aid and mass actions. If there are more new members in the ranks of TODOVYRNAZU, we will be able to provide greater aid in the struggle of our people against their savage enemies. The more money we collect in January, the more we will help political prisoners and strengthen the struggle of the toiling masses in the Western Ukrainian lands. . . .

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 20 December 1937.

9. On the Reborn Land

Although, owing to the current war, contacts of Ukrainian people in Canada with people of their old fatherland, the former Western Ukraine, are difficult, nevertheless, voices come through to us from that reborn land which, until recently, was under the mastery of the Polish landlords.

The reborn land—this unofficial title speaks of the fact that after nearly 600 years of economic and political, social and national bondage, the Ukrainian people of that part of Ukraine began to live a free life, to breathe fresh, wholesome air.

It cannot be said that life in the Western Ukrainian regions has become fully secure. Such questions as full economic security and satisfaction, complete elimination of all that accumulated over centuries, is not accomplished in a few weeks or months. But every intelligent person both in the old country and on this side of the ocean sees that now on those Western Ukrainian lands, which were under Poland, the very bases of enslavement of one person by another have been overthrown, that land, factories, and the means of production are socialized, that what served as a basis for huge profit and a lavishly dissolute life for individuals and brought terrible exploitation, poverty, starvation and cold for the masses, has been destroyed.

The peasants are now dividing the lands of the Polish settlers and the monasteries among themselves in those Western Ukrainian areas. *Until recently the Ukrainian peasants did not have the right to buy even a bit of that land.* They were evicted from those lands, from their own homes, and driven out into the wide world. They were deprived of their ancestral lands. Now the Ukrainian peasants have deprived their former oppressors.

The peasants went further: they also took the moveable wealth of the former landlords—grain, horses, all machinery and divided it among those who, till now, were landless, not having, as they say, even a cat, not to mention a horse or a cow.

The landlords' servants now have houses. All former landlords' houses have today become the property of those who formerly lived in them as the landlords' "storekeepers," in reality as the landlords' slaves.

The landowners had their palaces and bright rooms for their supervisors and stewards. Today the peasants have transferred Ukrainian schools to those palaces, installed hospitals, sanatoriums and educational institutions there. They do not ruin or destroy anything. All the former wealth of the rich has now become the people's wealth.

The peasants are threshing the landlords' grain with threshing machines that formerly belonged to the landlords but now belong to the people. Those who work at the threshing receive grain in payment. Those who have no bread will receive assistance in grain. In the spring it is necessary to sow all the land. The poor peasant, who received five or six morgs* of land, has no seed. He will receive some of the grain which is now being threshed and stored in the communal (formerly the landlords') granaries.

This basic reconstruction of the social order and way of life is going on quickly but not chaotically. Administrative experts, people trained by the new socialist system, are helping to direct this reconstruction. . . .

SOURCE: Narodna Hazeta, 11 January 1940.

10. For a Prosperous, Happy and Joyous Life

The Soviet government, having established itself in former Western Ukraine and today's western region of Soviet Ukraine, has directed all its attention to raising the general economic and cultural level of the recently greatly depressed Ukrainian people.

Firstly, it applied itself to the problem of economic security, especially for the poorest sections. This was the most difficult problem; it demanded much work and attention. The peasants were given land, bread, cattle, and seed. The workers were given employment. To abolish unemployment is the first main task. . . . Hundreds of experts in various branches of the economy were dispatched to the western regions of Ukraine to begin the development of the natural resources of the country: the mining of coal, oil, ozocerite, salt; the development of turf pits; the putting into operation and building of factories in order to provide the population with all the necessary products and

* A morg is equal to 0.56 hectares.

commodities. . . .

But simultaneously the Soviet government is setting up hospitals, polyclinics, dispensaries, maternity homes, sanatoria and children's crèches. Former landlords' palaces are becoming hospitals, schools, dispensers of health and culture.

Next comes the question of education: higher, secondary and elementary. Over 8,000 Ukrainian schools have been opened in the western regions of Ukraine to the middle of December. Prior to the arrival of the Soviet government there were altogether 123 Ukrainian schools. Lviv University has become a Ukrainian Soviet University. It has opened wide its doors to the sons of the Ukrainian people, in the first place to the sons and daughters of peasants and workers, who, from now on, will not worry that they do not have the means to study because the state will provide them with stipends.

SOURCE: Narodna Hazeta, 31 January 1940.

Chapter 20. Ukrainization

The tsarist government did not recognize Ukrainians as a separate people or allow education or publications in the Ukrainian language. The Bolshevik Party, on the other hand, championed the national rights of the non-Russians. After their assumption of power in 1917 the non-Russian members of the party, especially the Ukrainians, began pressing for the recognition of the non-Russian languages and cultures. In 1920, by decree, Ukrainian became the official state language of Ukraine, to be adopted by all public institutions. This was followed by almost a decade of progressive Ukrainization of all spheres of Ukrainian life. The Ukrainian communist leaders in Canada, not realizing that this policy was a manoeuvre to be reversed at the appropriate moment, pointed to Ukrainization as the correct solution of the national question in Ukraine. In their polemics with the Ukrainian nationalists, who charged that Ukraine was dominated by Russians whose aim was to destroy the Ukrainians and their culture, the Ukrainian communist leaders pointed to the great achievements in Ukrainization and sometimes cited Ukrainian nationalist inconsistencies on the question of the Ukrainian language and culture, and the policies of denationalization of Ukrainians in Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia.

1. The National Policy in Ukraine

After the Twelfth Congress of the Russian Communist Party and the meeting of the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and their passing of a resolution on the national question, a turn is being made in the national-cultural work in Ukraine.

Not only is the population given the opportunity of conducting its cultural-educational work in the Ukrainian language, but the Ukrainian language has become obligatory for government and party functionaries. In various state institutions work is to be conducted in the Ukrainian language. In party groups obligatory courses of study of the Ukrainian language, history, literature and so on are being introduced. Some state and party institutions are carrying through Ukrainianization of their apparatuses on their own initiative and by their own method without waiting for a general plan.

In connection with the new direction in nationality policy, numerous Soviet officials who are competent in the Ukrainian language are being recalled from beyond the borders of Ukraine. Party workers of Ukraine are appointed to higher government posts. Thus Hryenko,* the former minister of education... has been appointed chairman of the executive committee of the Kiev *gubernia* to replace Yan Gamarnik,† who has been transferred to Vladivostok. Poloz,** the accredited representative of Ukraine in Moscow, is being transferred to Kharkiv and appointed chairman of the state planning commission.

Ukrainization is being introduced first in the lower organs of the Soviet government, which have direct relations with the villages.

Even in Odessa *gubernia*, which is regarded as the most backward regarding Ukrainization, the preparation of village teachers for the next school year is developing massively....

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 15 August 1923.

2. The Ukrainian Colony in Moscow

There is a large Ukrainian colony in Moscow. The organizational centre... is the Shevchenko Ukrainian Proletarian Club located on Tversky, the main street of Moscow. In November 1924 this club had 870 members....

The majority of the members are students.... They number 690. Then there are 70 Soviet officials, 26 Red Army men, 10 factory workers and others. The small number of workers is explained by the fact that there are few Ukrainian workers in Moscow.

Members of the Ukrainian mission in Moscow and especially the former head of the mission, comrade Poloz, and the present head, comrade A. Prykhodko,†† play an active role in the club. When members of the Council of People's Commissars come to Moscow from Kharkiv they also visit the club. The Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine, comrade V. Chubar,*** the People's Commissar of Education, comrade Shumsky, and the

* Hryhorii Hryenko (1890–1938) held many posts in the party and the government, including commissar of finance of the USSR (1930–7). He was arrested in 1937 and executed in 1938.

† Yan Gamarnik (1894–1937), Soviet party and military leader; from 1930 vice-commissar of defence of the USSR; committed suicide in 1937 when faced with arrest.

** Mykhailo Poloz (1890–1938) held various posts in the Soviet government, including commissar of finance of the Ukrainian SSR. He was arrested in 1933, imprisoned on the Solovetsky Islands and executed in 1938.

†† Antin Prykhodko (1892–1937?) occupied various posts in the government of the Ukrainian SSR, including deputy commissar of education and justice. He perished in the purges of the 1930s.

*** Vlas Chubar (1891–1939), noted Ukrainian party and government leader, held many high posts, including chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine (Prime Minister) and

People's Commissar of Agriculture, comrade Klymenko,* visited and spent a whole evening with the members of the club on 25 and 26 October.

The club has a large library of 3,500 volumes of which over 2,000 are Ukrainian. The basic group of members of the club take a course in Ukrainian studies. In addition there is a drama club of 35 and a choir of 50. When they come to Moscow, Ukrainian singers and musicians, as well as Ukrainian students of the Moscow Conservatory, participate in concerts.

The drama group of ten performs in military barracks for Red Army men and in industrial quarters of the city for the workers....

On the whole there are now in Moscow three basic Ukrainian public organizations which operate on the basis of constitutions ratified by the proper organs of the Soviet government:

1. The Shevchenko Ukrainian Proletarian Club (The central organization).†
2. The Benevolent Society of Proletarian Students of Ukraine.
3. *SIM*, The Union of Ukrainian Proletarian and Peasant Writers in the RSFSR.

The last has in its ranks thirty-three Ukrainian writers who reside on the territory of the RSFSR and has branches in the Kuban and Novo-Aninsk and its centre in Moscow.

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty, 23 December 1924.

3. Ukrainization in Full Swing

The Kharkiv District Executive Committee has charged its inspectorates and branches to continue its correspondence in Ukrainian. Letters sent to the District Executive Committee in Russian will be returned without being considered.

At the conference of the central committees of the trade unions it was decided to take a census of all workers to ascertain the language spoken and the national composition of the trade unions. Simultaneously it was decided to organize a commission to promote the national policy.

The plenum of the district executive committee in Odessa resolved that the mastery of the Ukrainian language is a party obligation. Ignoring the Ukrainian

Commissar of Finance of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR. He was arrested in 1938 and perished in 1939.

* Ivan Klymenko (1891-1938), Ukrainian government and party leader, who occupied the post of People's Commissar of Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR, perished in the purges of 1938.

†The club was disbanded in 1935 and its president confined in the gulag. He was released from the camps after the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU to live in Kazakhstan. I met him in Kaniv at the celebrations in 1964 marking the 150th anniversary of Shevchenko's birth, but do not recall his name.

language will be regarded as a violation of party discipline and directives of the party. Plans are also being made to gradually Ukrainize the local press. It was decided to send party members to the town council who know the Ukrainian language. The Central Commission for Ukrainization recommended to the Southern Iron Ore Trust to dismiss within seven days those four technical officials who were engaged after it was decreed to hire only those who know the Ukrainian language.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 24 April 1926.

4. Teachers Flee Galicia for Soviet Ukraine

Not only workers and peasants but teachers, writers and public figures who can no longer tolerate the national and social oppression of the Polish "autonomy" are fleeing from Galicia, from the hell of the Polish nobility

Already the nationalist elements most prejudiced against the Bolsheviks and the Soviet government are refusing to believe the falsehoods about the Bolsheviks and are going to Ukraine. Evidence of this is the declaration of a group of Ukrainian teachers who fled from Galicia and arrived in Kiev. . . .

In an interview with a reporter of *Proletarska Pravda* these teachers stated that the condition of Ukrainian schools in Galicia has worsened so much recently that there is no possibility to conduct any pedagogical work in the Ukrainian language. The Polish authorities see in every Ukrainian teacher "a persistent Bolshevik agitator. . . ."

"One now notices a spontaneous attraction among Ukrainian teachers in Galicia to Soviet Ukraine. Soviet papers, which are obtained by chance, and which write of the free academic life and the great creative activity of the pedagogues on the territory of the Soviet Union and Ukraine, contribute to this. Not only teachers but also students have become interested lately in the free life and the solution of the national question in Soviet Ukraine."

Thus spoke emigrant teachers from Galicia. It cannot be otherwise. There is no barrier which can keep news of what is happening in Ukraine out of Galicia. . . .

Such is the invincible course of history. That which Ukrainian patriots in Canada hate and abuse is growing, developing and becoming stronger in Ukraine and is attracting more and more even the doubting Thomases from the nationalist camp. And that which the Ukrainian patriots exalted and praised is rotting in the coffee houses of the immigrants while, from that bog, they are raising their sinking "Trident". . . .

Such is the invincible course of historical development; he who opposes it will not even leave a damp spot after he is gone.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 29 May 1926.

5. The Ukrainian Cultural Centre in Moscow

The central Ukrainian Club is located on Tversky Street. . . . In the evenings this is a corner of Ukraine. . . . This club, founded near the end of 1927, unites 2,500 Ukrainians who live in Moscow. . . .

The small entrance hall with its two large mirrors, the width of the height of a person, welcomes the visitors.

The great hall is flooded with electric light. In the corner there is a small pedestal on which sits a bust of Taras Shevchenko, as if greeting his guests. . . . In the hall there is a small stage. . . .

A Ukrainian theatrical studio is being organized at the club. It will be a three-year course. The studio will train Ukrainian personnel for drama and opera. It is expected that movie actors will also be trained. The studio currently numbers fifty. . . .

With the assistance of comrade Hrynko and other responsible comrades the question of organizing a Ukrainian theatre in Moscow has been placed on a solid footing. Responsible directors and artistic forces have been summoned from Ukraine. One can expect that Moscow will have a Ukrainian theatre in the fall.

Reprinted from the Soviet press.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 7 June 1928.

6. Second Anniversary of the Ukrainization of Komunist

Today, 16 June, the toilers of Soviet Ukraine are marking the second anniversary of the Ukrainization of the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, *Komunist*. Until 16 June 1926 the central organ of the CC of the CPU was published in Russian, but since then in Ukrainian. Its content is the same, the ultimate goal for which it fights is the same, but the language through which this content is explained and the road to the ultimate goal indicated is Ukrainian.

"What is so great, so outstanding in the Ukrainization of *Komunist*?" some may ask. What is the difference whether we march to communism through the Ukrainian language or the Russian or some other? After all, the goal is one and the same.

Yes, but what path are we selecting to reach this goal? The closest, the easiest, the most correct. And this closest and most correct path will be achieved only when the toiling population of every nation takes it

independently.

Prior to the October Revolution the Ukrainian toiling population did not officially exist on this earth. In tsarist Russia there was "Little Russia," in Austria there was Galicia and Bukovyna. There was no Ukraine and no Ukrainian language, although over 30 million souls, who were settled on large areas of land in compact masses, spoke it. Only the October Revolution returned to the Ukrainian labouring masses their name, their language, their culture and their political and national status.

For hundreds of years tsarism Russified Ukraine. For hundreds of years the nation was Russified in the schools, in the army and in all state and agricultural institutions. And only the October Revolution... returned to the toiling people all their freedoms...

While renewing the Soviet economy and building new industry, the Soviet government decisively carried out the nationality policy under the leadership of the Communist Party. The implementation of the nationality policy in Ukraine in accordance with Leninism demanded careful attention. The great-power policy of Russification, promoted for centuries, had conquered the Ukrainian cities. The party was forced to penetrate the front, penetrate it in the face of the reptile hissing, fighting off enemy attacks, correcting deviations and maintaining the correct Leninist line.

The press is the most powerful instrument in the national as well as in the economic and political struggles. That is why the Soviet government of Ukraine began immediately to publish its organ in the Ukrainian language. After it, other papers, mostly rural, began appearing in the provinces in Ukrainian.

When the national question was posed in all its aspects, when the question of Ukrainianization became urgent, the Communist Party stood in the forefront, as elsewhere. It made its central organ, one of the largest papers in Ukraine, the most powerful means of carrying through its policy... The Ukrainized organ of the Leninist party compelled all party members, from the old Bolshevik to the YCLer, to study the Ukrainian language and absorb the Ukrainian culture, transforming it into a most powerful means of struggle for communism...

The communist press stands in the leadership of the Leninist nationality policy, in the leadership of cultural development. In the forefront of this is *Komunist*.

"Because," says Comrade Zatonsky,* the editor of *Komunist*, "our destiny is to promote a social revolution in Ukraine in the concrete and unique conditions of this country. Our task is to study, to illuminate and to direct the processes which are developing here on Ukrainian soil..."

* Volodymyr Zatonsky (1888-1938), Ukrainian military, government and party leader, People's Commissar of Education of the Ukrainian SSR. He participated in the quelling of the Kronstadt revolt in 1921, was later arrested and perished in the purges.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 16 June 1928.

7. How Petliura's Otamans are Promoting Ukrainization

The Petliurite V. Slobozhansky published an article in the Petliurite organ, *Tryzub*, on 25 September 1932, in which he writes of the “national consciousness” of the Petliurite leaders....

An officer of the Ukrainian army. His wife a Muscovite. The family language—Muscovite. The children are raised in the Muscovite spirit.

A Ukrainian patriot. Is sincerely interested in the fate of Ukraine. His wife—Czech. The family language—Czech.

A well-known Ukrainian military leader. His wife speaks in the Muscovite language. To the child she speaks French.

An officer of the Ukrainian army.... His wife—Polish. The child is brought up in the Polish language and, obviously, in the Polish spirit.

An officer of the Ukrainian army. His wife speaks Ukrainian and the children Muscovite. Obviously, when there are no strangers in the house the family language is Muscovite.

A well-known Ukrainian leader. His wife—Ukrainian. All the children speak Muscovite because the mother speaks to them in the language of our northern “brothers.”...

A colonel of the Ukrainian army. His wife speaks Ukrainian. Lately I paid him a visit. A boy of seven or eight opened the door. I asked for his father.

“Papa is not here, mother will return soon....” (In Russian)

I asked why he replied in Muscovite.

“I am Russian and I do not wish to speak Ukrainian....”

“What kind of Russian are you when your father and mother are Ukrainian?”

“No, that is not true. Mama is Russian and I am Russian....”

An officer of the Ukrainian army. His wife—Polish. The family language—Polish.

A colonel of the Ukrainian army. His wife is from Galicia and never knew the Muscovite language. When she married a colonel of the Ukrainian army and a Ukrainian leader, she forgot how to speak Ukrainian. When I asked why that happened, I heard (in Russian): “Ask my husband.

He speaks to me in Russian. So, I forgot how to speak in Ukrainian. . . . ”

Only the Ukrainian workers and peasants respect their nation, only they do not sell it to the highest bidder, only under a labour-peasant government do the toilers solve the national question correctly. An example of this today is the great Soviet Ukraine, which has raised high its national culture:

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 23 December 1924.

8. Ten Thousand Selected for Training in Higher Schools

Three weeks ago the government of Soviet Ukraine and the CC of the CP of Ukraine published a decree that in 1934 10,000 of the better men and women collective farmers will be selected for higher agricultural schools and technicums in Ukraine. . . .

And now a few words about those Ukrainian lands which ended up under the governments of capitalist-fascist aggressors. Let us take the largest part of these Western Ukrainian lands which are under the rule of the Polish fascist intruder.

In 1922 there were 3,500 Ukrainian schools on these lands: in 1931–2 there were 123. And how many now? We do not know. This is in Galicia. *In Volhynia there is not even one Ukrainian school.* In Eastern Galicia in the 1931–2 school year only 3.5 per cent of the Ukrainian children studied in Ukrainian schools. . . .

Let us take Bukovyna. How do they care for the Ukrainian schools there? We learn from *Novyi Chas** (and not from a Bolshevik source) that the Romanian government issued instructions regarding the absolute prohibition of the teaching of the Ukrainian language in all schools in Bukovyna even as a subject. . . .

And in Carpathian Ukraine? The toiling population of Carpathian Ukraine is simultaneously starved and Czechized. . . .

And the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, those who propagate the “native schools” and other fascist degenerates have prostrated themselves like a loathsome slug before the Polish, Romanian and Czech bourgeoisie; they bow with their heads to the floor before them and give thanks for being rescued from the Bolsheviks and choke from joy when they are treated to black coffee.

And it is precisely the great socialist construction, the great knowledge that the toilers of the USSR are acquiring in the building and management of their new economy, that throws into a frenzy the Ukrainian bourgeoisie not only in

* *Novyi Chas*, the largest Ukrainian daily in Western Ukraine, published in Lviv in the inter-war period.

Western Ukraine but also on this side of the ocean. Because it sees how the daily growth of the socialist economy of Soviet Ukraine and the whole Soviet Union drives the aspen stake deeper into the grave of its hopes for the revival of "independence" either under Pilsudski or under Hitler.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visty*, 5 April 1934.

Chapter 21. Purges and Purge Trials

Although they reconquered Ukraine and absorbed it into the USSR, the Russians always harboured a deep sense of insecurity regarding their largest colony. From the very beginning the Bolsheviks embarked on a reign of terror to wipe out all aspirations of independence of the Ukrainian people. One of the first attacks was directed against those intellectuals who had remained in Ukraine after the establishment of Soviet power and attempted to continue the maintenance of Ukrainian identity and the promotion of Ukrainian culture. In 1929 a group of forty-five was accused of counter-revolutionary activity and put on trial. The leader was Serhii Iefremov, a staunch, outspoken Ukrainian patriot and an outstanding politician, historian and literary figure. The public prosecutor was Panas Liubchenko, at that time secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Most of the accused were sentenced to imprisonment and perished in prisons or labour camps.

1. A Second Meeting of Ukrainian Workers in Winnipeg Condemns Iefremism

Ukrainian working men and women of the city of Winnipeg, gathered at a large mass meeting in the Ukrainian Labour Temple... have again condemned the Petliurite counter-revolutionary conspirators in Soviet Ukraine who are on trial in Kharkiv... Comrades I. Navizivsky and M. Shatulsky reported... that this counter-revolutionary organization worked to give Ukraine up to the Polish nobility and international capital...

After listening to the speeches, which those present frequently interrupted with boisterous applause, the chairman of the meeting, T. Kobzey, read the following resolution:

... The Soviet government does not persecute the Ukrainian intelligentsia or the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in Ukraine...

It was not their work in science and religion that brought these men of science and Autocephaly... before the Soviet court, but their secret counter-revolutionary activity.

Ukrainian Petliurism in Canada, which calls itself the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (SUS) and which has united around itself the most reactionary fascist elements of Petliurism, is nothing else than a branch of the Iefremism which has been liquidated in Ukraine and which wishes to impose capitalist slavery on the toiling masses of Soviet Ukraine.

We...categorically declare that Ukrainian Petliurism in Canada, whose leadership is made up of former members of Petliura's foreign missions and of Orthodox priests, does not have the right to speak and protest in the name of the Ukrainian workers and poor farmers of Canada against imaginary and, for the most part, invented "persecution" of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the Autocephalous Church in Ukraine.

We condemn before the Soviet government and the workers of the world the criminal activities of Iefremism in Ukraine and its allies in Canada and will oppose it as an enemy of the workers and an agent of international capital.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 15 April 1930.

2. Whomever They Executed, It was not Without Reason

After the assassination of Sergei Kirov on 1 December 1934 in Leningrad, a reign of terror was immediately unleashed. Among the first victims were the intellectuals of the non-Russian republics. In Ukraine, 37 noted literary figures were accused of terrorism, tried before a military tribunal and condemned, 28 to death and 9 to imprisonment. Of the nine, all perished but one, the poet Vasyl Mysyk. Although a few of the victims had migrated to Soviet Ukraine from Western Ukraine, the majority had been born in Eastern Ukraine.

Elsewhere in this issue of *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* we list the names of persons who were arrested in Ukraine at the end of the first half of December 1934. They were tried and 28 of 37 of those arrested were executed as people, most of whom came to Ukraine from abroad as conspirators, in whose possession were found revolvers and hand grenades when they were arrested.

When conspirators in Leningrad and Moscow were arrested, tried and executed, the bourgeois and the mercenary press restricted itself as usual to general attacks on the Soviet Union, the Communist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Workers of the Soviet press (Karl Radek*) replied to these capitalist "humanists" with enumerations of executions of revolutionaries in capitalist and colonial countries. They replied clearly and unequivocally that the Soviet government cuts off every terrorist hand which threatens the life of

* Karl Radek (1885–1939) was sentenced to ten years in the purge trial of 1937 in Moscow and perished in the labour camps.

a member of the Soviet government, that it is preferable that the Soviet government execute several tens or several hundreds of White Guards rather than allow them to draw millions of Soviet workers and collective farmers into the vortex of a bloody war.

Here broader explanations are not required. Here it is clearly stated in the language of the dictatorship of the proletariat, without any evasions on this question through diplomatic bypasses. The proletariat and the working peasantry of the Soviet land have made many sacrifices to establish their government and their state. We published...photographs of gallows in Katerynoslav on which revolutionaries perished at the hands of German occupiers to the applause of international interventionists. The Soviet government will destroy in the root, in the very embryo, those who would wish to again cover the cities and villages of Ukraine with such scaffolds in one manner or another....

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 7 January 1935.

3. Defence of Irchan by Counter-revolutionaries is the Best Answer

When we suddenly hear that the counter-revolutionary begins to defend a "revolutionary" we immediately put that revolutionary into question marks even though we did not know anything definite about his deeds. We then ask: What has happened that the evil heart of counter-revolution begins to bleed so over the fate of this "revolutionary?"

Lately the yellow-blue and the Trotskyite counter-revolution began to sob loudly...over the fate of Irchan and Sembay. As is known to our readers, a Trotskyite upstart in Eastern Canada even gave a lecture on the fate of Irchan and beside him stood an "honour guard" of Bennett's police....

Those Trotskyite upstarts, and following them into a united front the Petliurites of *Ukrainskyi Holos*, even turn to us with the question: Why do you not say anything about what happened to Irchan?

We will.... And we will [do so] not because they ask, but because we never remain silent on issues, and furthermore, we will not remain silent on questions on the counter-revolution against which the Communist Party and the Soviet government in Ukraine are conducting a final struggle, completing the great construction of socialism.

Not only for every communist, but also for every class-conscious worker the attitude to events in Soviet Ukraine is clear. There the Leninist Communist Party, the worker-peasant Soviet government, the dictatorship of the proletariat direct all the construction of socialism, all the economic, political and cultural life. The labouring masses of the whole world have full and unqualified faith

in them.

The Leninist Communist Party which led the toiling masses of the Soviet Union through the determined battles of the civil war and imperialist interventions, through the whole ruin which these wars caused, through the terrible famine of 1921-2; which raised a vast country—one-sixth of the earth's surface—to a colossal industrial, agricultural and cultural construction; which solved correctly in a Leninist manner the national question of the numerous peoples which occupy the great territory of the USSR; the party which several times simultaneously conducted such a great struggle inside its ranks with various deviations, formed in the face of these great difficulties which the party and the toiling masses encountered on the path of the construction of socialism; the party which transformed an economically backward country of great illiteracy into a leading industrial and literate country; which raised the worker-peasant state on an international scale to a mighty force in the struggle for peace, with which the greatest powers of the world and blocs of capitalist states reckon; all honest workers of the world will not question the policies of this party either in the economic, cultural or national socialist construction.... The membership of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Mass Organizations will not question it either, because that party and government arrested 10, 20 or even 100 Ukrainian counter-revolutionaries, even with party membership cards in their pockets and even though among them was not one but ten Irchans.

Irchan was arrested not because he was Irchan or because he was Ukrainian, but because of what he did, with whom he had connections, especially now, when fascism and on its leash all Hitler's and Pilsudski's agents of Ukrainian fascism work so vigorously for the detachment of Ukraine from the Soviet Union, when the Japanese military pig is pushing its snout into the Soviet garden while being applauded by Ukrainian fascism....

What happened with Irchan? And what happened with leaders of the first socialist circles in Canada who have now put on clerical robes or have become simultaneously Orthodox leaders of the Petliurite fascist camp?

They have mired themselves in open counter-revolution, they, who in their youth were in the workers' ranks, and began to organize and teach the workers, are now the most inveterate enemies of the workers....

This is the only answer.... The workers will not be taken in by any demagogic laments: they know the price of those crocodile tears; they know that when the counter-revolution defends someone, that "someone" is their very own....

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robotnychi Visti*, 15 April 1930.

4. Shatulsky's Report on Arrests in Ukraine

In our press we exposed extensively the roots and the works of nationalists and right and left elements in Ukraine. Last year we published in full the speech of comrade Kossior at the congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine; we published the speeches of Postyshev and Liubchenko; we published excerpts from Stalin's speech at the Seventeenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks on this very question. The membership of our organizations, following the ideological leadership of the Communist Party, maintained and maintains the Leninist position on nationality policy and on all Soviet policies.

But there came news of the arrest of Irchan and Sembay in Ukraine. This news first appeared in the Ukrainian fascist press. (This is fully understandable; there was contact between them.) In comparison to Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev or to certain Ukrainian "communists" who slipped into the mire of counter-revolution, Irchan and Sembay are simply nits. In addition, Irchan and Sembay have behind them a clearly vivid nationalist counter-revolutionary past. They came to the Soviet government and to our organizations from the nationalist camp and, as it appears now, they came as agents of national fascism, having masked themselves by outwardly accepting the proletarian ideology and a party card.

However, the exposure and arrest of Irchan and Sembay made a greater impression on a section of the membership of our organizations than all the other arrests in Ukraine.

Even in the very centre there were members who wavered and openly revealed their doubts, for example, D. Lobay.

Those members first said: "Why do you not write whether Irchan has been arrested or not?"

To write whether Irchan has been arrested or not only because *Ukrainskyi Holos* wrote about it? We know that *Ukrainskyi Holos* had many people "executed" who are still living. When we provide news, especially about the Soviet Union, we provide and explain only on the basis of authoritative sources. . . .

It is not a question of the Irchans and Sembays. We pose the question thus: *Have the Communist Party and the Soviet government correctly solved the national question in Ukraine or not?* Do we have full faith in the party and the Soviet government, which have led the toilers of Soviet Ukraine out of economic and political, social and national bondage, have transformed a backward agricultural country into an industrial country, a country of landlords, kulaks, poor peasants and servants into a country of total collectivization, a backward illiterate country into a literate country? And we reply: *The national policy of the party and the Soviet government in Ukraine is correct; we have full and unqualified faith in the party and the government*

which are kin to us through class. And only from this position do we regard the Shumskists,* Trotskyites and national fascists who, serving German and Polish fascism, international instigators of a new war and interventionists, conducted sabotage in Ukraine. . . . We explained the question of Irchan and Sembay in our press only from that position.

However, even after that, certain members, mainly the very ones for whom formerly "it was not clear," began to ask anew why Irchan was not tried like Iefremov.

Because, comrades, the times are different from what they were when Iefremov was tried. When Iefremovism was on trial there was the Rapallo Agreement between the Soviet Union and Germany; at that time the Japanese predator was not poised on the Soviet border. *Today Hitler and Rosenberg are pursuing a policy of tearing away Soviet Ukraine from the Soviet Union.* And the guards of socialist construction will not stand on ceremony with the agents of fascism; in addition, they have certain and wholly justifiable reasons for not revealing to their enemies the threads they uncover and what they know about their work.

When the Soviet government punishes someone and does not give a full or even any report of this it knows why it does this and we will not question it for this. We, as communists, as members of the working class, *expressed, are expressing and will continue to express* our full and unqualified faith in it. . . .

SOURCE: *Narady*, 32–4.

5. The Unmasking of Yet Another Lie by Enemies of Soviet Ukraine

A number of Ukrainians migrated to Soviet Ukraine from Canada in the 1920s and 30s. Among them was Hryhorii Smook, who had graduated from the second Higher Educational Course of the ULFTA in 1925–6 and later taught school in the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Timmins, where his wife's family lived. Rumors began to circulate in Timmins after the arrest of Irchan and Sembay that Smook was in difficulties. In his letter denying that he is in trouble one senses his feeling of insecurity by the fact that he disassociates himself from Irchan and Badan.† He was arrested about the time this letter appeared in Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti and confined to prison camps. Smook was one of the very few who survived the ordeal. He

* Oleksander Shumsky (1890–1946) was commissar of education in Ukraine from 1925 to 1929. He was removed for his policies of Ukrainization, arrested and confined to labour camps.

† Oleksander Badan (1895–1933) migrated to Soviet Ukraine from Czechoslovakia in the 1920s and worked in the ministry of education and the Ukrainian Institute of Marxism. He was killed in 1933.

was released after Khrushchev denounced Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, and was exiled to Karaganda, Kazakhstan. There was no more mention of Smook in the Ukrainian pro-communist press after he was arrested.

In *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti* of 22 February 1935 there was an article entitled "Timmins Patriots Are Mourning for Smook." In this article fabrications are described which are circulated against me and my family. . . .

When I read this article I was greatly surprised. How is it possible to lie, saying that "Smook is starving and does not have anything to wear?" I am more amply provided with food than I was in Canada. During our four years in the Soviet Union we have not seen any toilers starving. And we are dressed quite smartly. Timmins patriots have no need to worry and lament that we are hungry and naked. . . .

As to my being "removed as a principal and arrested," this is a despicable lie. I have worked as a principal since I arrived and am coping with my duties. . . .

Nor did I steal or think of stealing wheat. . . . I earn 300 rubles monthly. In addition to his salary, every teacher can have a half-hectare garden, a cow, pigs, chickens, etc. . . .

As to my child being taken to a shelter, this is also not true. Our child is being brought up by us. She is attending the school where I work and is successfully completing the third grade this year. . . . And our enemies will not boast of letters from me, even if they wished. Neither I nor my wife wrote letters to the patriots, only to members of our organization.

In conclusion: Gentlemen patriots, do not argue on the basis of gossip about me and my wife. Lament for Irchan and Badan, but not for me. The toilers of Canada do not believe your gossip anyway. The toilers know that this howling is the last pre-death convulsion. Your howling will not stop the revolutionary wave of the Canadian proletariat nor the building of socialism in the Soviet Union.

The toilers of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the party and its leader, comrade Stalin, are creating something great—they are building a new society in which there will not be any poverty, destitution or hunger and there will not be any room for such Petliurite hangers-on as the Timmins patriots.

In the words of our beloved leader, comrade Stalin: Do not shove your pig's snout into our Soviet garden.

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 11 April 1935.

6. Suicide of Liubchenko—Escape from Popular Anger

Panas Liubchenko had held various military, party and government posts in Soviet Ukraine. From 1927 to 1934 he was secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and then chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (Prime Minister) of Ukraine. In the Russian drive to destroy any vestiges of Ukrainian national consciousness and potential threat to Russian imperialist hegemony Ukrainians were systematically destroyed. After the exiling of the so-called kulaks, collectivization and the famine of 1932–3, in which millions perished, the drive intensified against the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the managerial personnel in industry, and the state and party functionaries. There were no announcements of arrests or trials. People simply disappeared. The result was the almost complete destruction of the leading personnel in all branches of Ukrainian national life. Among those arrested were the 17 members of the Ukrainian government and 100 of the 102 members and candidate members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. When he was faced with arrest, Liubchenko committed suicide.

Blood boils with indignation and hatred in every honest person at the news of those numerous conspiracies and manipulations by the enemies of the Soviet toiling people, and, at the same time, of the toilers of the world, for enemies covert and foul who, under cover, sharpen knives against the socialist country. Every honest worker, farmer, and intellectual felt no less indignation and hatred for the former chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine, Panas Liubchenko.

"He was enmeshed in anti-Soviet contacts and apparently was afraid of the responsibility for betraying the interests of Ukraine before the Ukrainian People"—thus a telegram to *Narodna Hazeta* explains the reasons for the suicide of P.O. Liubchenko. . . .

Anti-Soviet contacts of Liubchenko and his suicide present another example of what monstrous means are employed by the enemies of the toiling people. It is common knowledge that Liubchenko, as the chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, outwardly, publicly declared his loyalty to the Ukrainian people, but covertly became entangled in anti-Soviet contacts. From this it is necessary to draw at least two conclusions: firstly, that *the Ukrainian toiling people stand heart and soul for their revolutionary conquests, for their Soviet power* and for that reason their every enemy, who perfidiously enjoys their confidence, at the first revelation of his traitorous path trembles before the popular anger. Secondly, that the vigilance which all the Soviet people, and among them the Ukrainian, have so sharpened, and which penetrates into all aspects of their social life and has overflowed into a purge of state, economic and other institutions, is right. Before their eyes, the eyes of vigilance of the people, not even one enemy of the people can hide, can remain on the surface

of Soviet society, regardless of what high post this traitor and enemy occupies.

This is a testimonial to the fact that under the leadership of their communist party and its leader, comrade Stalin, *the Soviet people stands on firm ground*. This is a testimonial to the fact that everyone who tries to undermine this ground in whatever way will fail.

The head of the Ukrainian government, Liubchenko, tried to undermine this base, but in vain. The people's vigilance uncovered the trail. And Liubchenko, in order to evade a face-to-face encounter with popular anger, committed suicide.

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 4 September 1937.

7. Punishment According to Deserts

The reign of terror, which not only devastated the national cadres in the non-Russian republics but destroyed millions of ordinary citizens, also prevailed in the Russian republic, although on a much smaller scale, affecting not so much the masses of citizenry as party cadres who were regarded by Stalin as real, potential or imaginary opponents. Among these were the members of the Trotskyite and other opposition groups. The official Soviet explanations for the terror were accepted without criticism or even doubt by the Ukrainian communist leaders in Canada.

In Moscow the trial of a band of Trotskyite conspirators, terrorists and murderers has ended. A monstrous chain of filthy and bloody crimes of Trotskyite terrorists, spies, saboteurs and provocateurs has been uncovered and revealed to the world.

The whole trial of this brutal, hateful band confirmed fully all the accusatory reproaches made against the accused by the state prosecutor. At the trial a tangled skein of the most despicable crimes against the Soviet people and, consequently, against the toiling masses of the world, woven by the most inveterate enemies of the country, was unravelled thread by thread.

The "activity" of the Trotskyite-fascist conspirators and their "programme" is the "programme" which was signed by Hitler himself with the hands of his minister, Rudolph Hess, and the hands of the hateful old man for whom the worms are already preparing the ground—Judas Trotsky. In the realm of internal policies of the Soviet Union all their attention and energy was directed toward the following acts: foul murders of favourite leaders of the Soviet people, sabotage in industry and transportation, undermining the defence capacity of the country, and consequently the restoration of capitalism; in the realm of foreign policy: reliance on the defeat of the USSR in war, and for this spying was conducted in the interests of their foreign partners (Germany, Japan) and, in the case of war, the poisoning by infectious microbes of

consumer goods for the army, military barracks, trains, hospitals, etc.

Having unravelled the Trotskyite-fascist skein of the most monstrous crimes against the country of Soviets, the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR, in the name of the working class, which is free, happy, and firm toward its enemies, has pronounced its severe but only just verdict against the patented and degenerate Trotskyite band. . . .

The stinking carcass is sentenced to death. Because a carcass must be buried, the Trotskyite-fascist filth must be cleaned out. . . .

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 2 February 1937.

8. In the Capitalist Encirclement

At the plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party on 3 March 1937, J. Stalin raised a decisive voice of warning against opportunist complacency and political indifference. With his characteristic clearness and correctness he pointed out that the bourgeois states . . . "dispatch into one another's territories spies, wreckers, diversionists and sometimes even killers. . . ."

"If this is so," says Stalin, "then into the territories of the Soviet Union the bourgeois states ought to send twice as many wreckers, spies, diversionists and killers as into the territory of any bourgeois state. . . ."

The discovery and trial of the group of Trotskyite-Zinovievite murderers was not a great surprise. . . . In the history of the party they are known as Trotskyites.

But it cannot be denied that the news of the placing on trial for betrayal of the fatherland of the eight highest-ranking officers of the Red Army was very painful for every conscious proletarian. Why, they were entrusted with the direction of the defence of the socialist country!

What is painful is that they betrayed, trampled, and sold that faith and respect which the toiling masses placed in them to the greatest enemy of mankind and the Soviet land—fascism.

The entire bourgeois and fascist press is publicizing this trial of the late leaders of the heroic Red Army, utilizing it widely for anti-Soviet propaganda and the spreading of distrust and doubt in the minds of unstable elements among the toiling masses in the country of socialism and in its leadership. And, naturally, there will be those who will say: "There is something wrong there."

Of course there is. . . . There is that which a Soviet socialist state, surrounded by capitalist countries, and fascist at that, whose total might is directed toward the undermining of the power of socialism and the ruin of the Soviet Union, can expect.

The trial of these traitors was secret, therefore we will probably not hear their confessions. We will not hear them not because the Soviet government does not wish to inform the toilers of the world in the words of the traitors themselves how they slipped into this fascist spy mire, but because the Soviet government, living in the encirclement of capitalist countries, and since it does not wish to immediately provoke a war against itself, must recognize international law in regard to relationships with all capitalist and fascist countries.

The Soviet press reported that all the accused admitted their guilt, that is, followed in the footsteps of their accomplices. And we read the confessions of Piatakov, Radek and Co., who occupied responsible posts in socialist construction but betrayed and sold out the interests of the socialist state to the Japanese and German fascist spies and then related all this at the trial in all its details. . . .

After the sentencing and the execution by firing squad of these traitors, the Commissar of National Defence, Marshal Voroshilov, explained in an announcement to the Red Army that these arch-traitors to fascism conspired to separate Ukraine from the Soviet Union and to hand it over to a foreign state (Hitler's Germany), in return for which the latter state was to assist them in overthrowing the Soviet regime and establishing a capitalist one. . . .

The discovery of the traitors in the high command of the Red Army painfully affected both the toilers of the Soviet country and the toilers of all countries. But it will simultaneously assist the state organs and the toilers of the Soviet state to check their state apparatus to its roots and will also serve to indicate strongly how careful and sensitive the builders of socialism should be in the encirclement by capitalist states.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 16 June 1937.

9. Murderers on Trial

Yet another, the third group of Trotskyite murderers, fascist agents led by Bukharin and Rykov, is being tried . . . in Moscow. Also in league with them is Genrikh Yagoda, who was entrusted with the direction of the defence organs of Soviet power.

Not having the indictment or the previous confessions of these saboteurs, agents of German, Polish and Japanese fascism, we cannot give a broader review of the spy-saboteur activities of these mercenary servants of fascism on the basis of reports in the bourgeois press. However, it is enough to remind oneself of the confessions of the despicable conspirators from the Zinoviev-Kamenev and later the Piatakov-Radek group to imagine the deeds of these murderers.

However, on reading the report of the Associated Press of the previous confessions of the group of Bukharin-Rykov, in which they talk not only of planned but also of committed murders, of the death of Maxim Gorky, Viacheslav Menzhinsky, and Valerian Kuibyshev, who did not die natural deaths as was generally believed, but were poisoned, murdered by abettors, accomplices of Bukharin and Rykov, you have a picture of the detestable deeds of these murderers. Genrikh Yagoda confessed that Maxim Gorky was murdered and Bukharin confessed to a conspiracy with the SRs [Social-Revolutionaries] against the life of Lenin. . . .

Naturally these murderers will suffer appropriate punishment. But this is not enough. The fascist-Trotskyite hyenas will howl; all the enemies of Soviet power and democracy will scream and unleash lies and agitation; the fascist factory of lies and poisonous anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation will work with full force. Our duty, then, is to rebuff these slanders, to reveal the true face of these murderers. . . .

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 4 March 1938.

Chapter 22. The Struggle against Opposition and "Counter-revolution"

The Ukrainian pro-communist organizations were occasionally plagued with criticism and opposition within their ranks. At times the critics and oppositionists were individuals whose disagreements stemmed from personal conflicts with the leaders. However, there were also individuals and groups whose opposition stemmed from practical and ideological considerations. One of the first causes of friction was party control of the mass organizations. Already in 1929, at the tenth convention of the ULFTA, the problem was raised, to be repeated at the eleventh convention in 1930.

1. Wreckers in our Organization

We underlined this last year and cannot refrain from repeating that in our organization a clique has begun to form which consciously conducts harmful work in the organization. It is even composed, for the most part, of older members of the organization who have not learned anything, have remained behind and are angry at others for this. They are simply a reactionary element in our organizations. This is only half the problem. We also have great phrase-mongers who pretend to be very "leftist," who, speaking on every matter several times at every meeting, begin without fail "from the class point of view" and from that position support those backward members. We always see solidarity between those rightists and "leftists" (in words), which only confirms the fact that phraseological leftism is nothing more than disguised rightism. . . .

SOURCE: *Zvit (Odynadtsiatoho Zizdu, 11-15 liutoho 1930)*, 11.

2. And All This Thanks to You, Great Teacher Stalin

The first significant group in the ULFTA to challenge the accepted policies were the Trotskyites. In September 1932 several members were expelled in Toronto, among them Vasyl Bosovych, formerly secretary of the Ontario provincial committee of the ULFTA, and Mykola Oleniuk, a leading local member of the ULFTA. They formed an organization, Kamenari (The Stone Cutters), with a branch of about fifty in Toronto and smaller branches in Hamilton and Montreal. In November 1933 they began publishing a weekly, Robitnychi Visty (Labour News). In 1936 it merged with Pravda (The Truth), the organ of another opposition group headed by Lobay and Kobzey. The paper proclaimed the slogan: "WITHOUT STALIN THERE COULD NOT BE A HITLER," criticized the Ukrainian communist leaders and attacked the Stalinist regime. Following is a typical article from Robitnychi Visty poking fun at Musii (one of Shatulsky's pen names) and another from the Ukrainian pro-communist organ attacking the Trotskyites.

The Canadian Musiis cannot adapt themselves in any way to the demands of "modern red diplomacy. . . ." They had not yet had time to make known some new "turn" when they were told to turn again and even with "Bolshevik tempos. . . ." They make the turn and begin "to stabilize" and here again someone has "Litvinoved" and again it becomes necessary to lick up yesterday's "theories" and to glorify "the great one" for "his genius. . . ." They had made turns to level "highways," had gone through various "periods," and still the end to all this is not in sight. . . .

News of the death of Pilsudski caught Musii by surprise. . . . He at once began to slobber an obituary of Pilsudski. Having described his merits, he also mentioned that "under his dictatorship Western Ukraine experienced bloody pacifications, famine, poverty, typhus, dysentery and great political and national oppression. . . ."

The readers of URV had not had time to read this when the local press reported on the stand the Stalinists should take regarding Pilsudski. We learn that "Litvinov in Geneva praised the merits of the Marshal." Yes, Musii! Your "brilliant" diplomat enumerated and praised the great merits of Pilsudski and, as chairman of a special session, arranged to honour the memory of the Marshal with a few minutes of silence.

Further, we also learn "how the Bolshevik army paid tribute to the Marshal." Four hundred Red cavalrymen participated in a mournful church service and a ceremonial march with bayonets pointing downward in a gesture of sorrow.

This is not an accident which could happen through some misunderstanding or through the whim of some drunken corporal. Four hundred Soviet cavalrymen could not perform such a loathsome act on their own. . . . They

were directed by the Soviet government. Simultaneously, in Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev, according to these papers, there were ceremonies of mourning. Do you hear? What do you say to this?

Maybe you are awaiting "a special cablegram?" But in the meantime, do you know what the workers, the members of the ULFMO, are saying? They say that all this is a lie, that the Red Army could never commit such a crime.

Take counsel as quickly as possible and, without waiting for a "special cablegram," make a new "turn" and write about the merits of Pilsudski and not about his bloody pacifications, famine, poverty, typhus and dysentery.... It would be in order to organize a campaign for funds for a monument to Pilsudski. By this means you would promote "friendly relations" and there would be a little for you. The people will give. Tell them that "the party under the leadership of the Great Stalin (thunderous applause) knows what it is doing." Do this immediately "with Bolshevik tempos" and in the manner of "a shock brigade" and announce: "And all this thanks to you, great teacher—Stalin."

SOURCE: Vol. Borun (Vasyl Bosovych), *Robitnychi Visty*, 1 July 1935.

3. The Trotskyite Clique in Canada in the Mire of Counter-revolution

There is no middle ground. If one strays from the party line, one goes against the party. If one goes against the party, he ends up in the mire of counter-revolution.... When the Ukrainian labour-farmer organizations in Winnipeg expelled from their ranks the so-called generalites, their obvious counter-revolutionary role was perhaps not evident to all workers. Now, however, no one doubts this. When the party in Toronto expelled Spector (a leftist) from its ranks and later MacDonald (a rightist)... they came together on common ground. Around them began to gather various rejects from the Ukrainian labour organizations who, pretending to be "leftists"... in fact introduced Kulishism* to the stage in Toronto through their drama club and in their wall newspaper mocked at self-criticism, the turn to the path of revolutionary struggle, the ward system and so on....

Now this Trotskyite-counter-revolutionary gang has, in the United States as well as in Canada, found common ground with White Guard counter-revolutionaries, with the murderers of Kirov,† with those who follow

* Mykola Kulish (1892–1942), noted Ukrainian dramatist. In his dramas he satirized and criticized various aspects of Soviet life. He was arrested in 1934 and incarcerated in the gulag, where he perished in 1942. Kulish was rehabilitated in 1956, but some of his works are still banned.

† S.M. Kirov (1886–1934), a leading Bolshevik, held various military, administrative and party posts, e.g., secretary of the Leningrad regional committee of the party, secretary of the CC of the

the leadership of the Hitlerite interventionist, Rosenberg, and would even ally with the devil if only against the Soviet Union. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 1 July 1935.

4. “Defenders” of Their Nation

Almost simultaneously with the expulsion of the Trotskyites in Toronto, a small group led by Ivan Stotsky and Mykhailo Ivanysyn attacked the leadership of the ULFMO for bureaucracy and lack of revolutionary principles. They called themselves the “CEC of the General Revolutionary Line,” published a few issues of a mimeographed journal, and faded from the scene. The greatest threat to the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations came in 1935 from a strong opposition in the very leadership itself. The dissidents were expelled or defected. Among them were many founders of the ULFTA, such as Danylo Lobay, Toma Kobzey, Stepan Khvaliboha, Mykhailo Smit, Theodore Pylypas, Toma Kulchytsky and Omelian Khomitsky. They formed the Workers’ and Farmers’ Educational Association and in February 1936 launched a weekly newspaper, Pravda (Truth), which attacked Soviet national policies and the purges in Ukraine. Branches were formed in the larger cities, but the organization made little headway. Following are typical articles from Pravda criticizing Soviet policies and the Ukrainian communist leaders in Canada.

The “infallible” leaders of the ULFMO have great pretensions. They not only claim to be the sole representatives of the Ukrainian workers and farmers in Canada . . . but lately also speak as representatives and defenders of the whole Ukrainian nation. . . .

Let us examine what kind of “defenders” of the Ukrainian nation they are. . . .

In 1933 there was a famine in Ukraine. . . . All the foreign correspondents, even the *greatest friends* of the Soviet government, who were in the USSR and in Ukraine itself at that time, wrote about it. All those who lived in Ukraine at that time, or visited it, spoke about it. To these belongs Ivan Navizivsky, one of the leaders of the ULFMO, who, after his return from Ukraine in 1933, confirmed the fact that there was a famine in discussions with comrades.

But the leaders of the ULFMO, among them also Navizivsky and the editors of *URV*, continually wrote and declared at meetings that reports of a famine were lies and fabrications of the bourgeois press.

In 1933-4 not only Irchan and Sembay... but hundreds and thousands of Ukrainian cultural workers (among them also writers) were arrested without any evidence of guilt and even without a report in the press. After returning from Ukraine in December 1934, Navizivsky himself declared at first that 1,800 Ukrainians were arrested and the next time that 1,300 were arrested. In the meantime Postyshev revealed in a speech that by November 1933 alone over 3,500 Ukrainians had been dismissed from various institutions (and arrested)...

But the leaders of the ULFMO and the editors of the *URV* did not even mention these mass arrests. Although about the arrest of 3,500 or even 1,800 or 1,300 people in any other country, people of another nationality, they would have written and shouted for weeks and months...

When reports of the arrest and conviction of Irchan and Sembay appeared, these same leaders and editors, under pressure from the workers, at first announced that they did not have accurate reports on this matter and then, without the slightest evidence, began to write and say that Irchan and Sembay were counter-revolutionaries and agents of the UVO,* that they were in the service of Polish and German fascism.

And these people now come out as defenders of the whole Ukrainian nation...

SOURCE: *Pravda*, 16 September 1936.

5. Postyshev and the Leadership of the ULFMO

Half a month has passed since a special cablegram from Inprecor† to *URV* (22 March) mentioned the release of Postyshev from his duties as secretary of the CC of the CP of Ukraine and his appointment as secretary of the Kuibyshev regional committee, but until now there has not been any explanation in *URV* why Postyshev was dismissed as actual director of Ukraine and removed from Ukraine...

And so the editors of *URV* have no explanation as to why Postyshev was removed from Ukraine. They do not want to speak of Postyshev at all, as if he had never been in Ukraine...

And yet, not so long ago, for the editors of *URV* and the leaders of the ULFMO, Postyshev was not only "the leader of the Ukrainian people," but he was even "Soviet Ukraine" itself, because when anyone uttered a word against Postyshev they shouted at the top of their voices that he was against Soviet

* UVO, Ukrainian Military Organization, an illegal Ukrainian nationalist organization in Western Ukraine (1920-31) directed against the Polish authorities. Thus Irchan and Sembay were charged with being simultaneously agents of two opposing and irreconcilable forces.

† Soviet news agency.

Ukraine.

This is the same Postyshev who is not a Ukrainian, was not born in Ukraine and cannot even speak Ukrainian in spite of Ukrainization. This is the same Postyshev who was never invited to Ukraine, whom the Ukrainian people never elected and never entitled him their "leader," whom the Ukrainian communists never elected secretary of the CC of the CP of Ukraine and never appointed dictator of Ukraine. He was imposed on Ukraine to shatter Ukrainianism and to consolidate Russian power in Ukraine under his personal leadership.

The servants of Postyshev in Canada printed his speeches and every few days included a photograph of him wearing an embroidered shirt, cited his words in articles and published his speeches in separate brochures... No *Ukrainian* leader... was ever lauded on the pages of the ULFMO press as was Postyshev, the greatest pogromist of the Ukrainian nation. The editors of *URV* and the leaders of the ULFMO exchanged *one Russian for all the Ukrainians* who were destroyed in Ukraine during 1933-4.... The editors of *URV* and the leaders of the ULFMO chose the Russian, Postyshev, as their god and repudiated, as Judas repudiated Christ, all the merited Ukrainian revolutionaries... calling them counter-revolutionaries and agents of German fascism without the slightest evidence. Just as they praised Postyshev on the one hand, so on the other they selected the filthiest terms to abuse the names of all Ukrainians on whom Postyshev laid his bloody dictatorial hand....

Today the very same people who repudiated all the Ukrainian Skrypnyks and Irchans in favour of the Russian, Postyshev, have nothing to say regarding him. They remain silent because they see no other alternative. But it was precisely because of the anti-Ukrainian, pogromist nature of the policies of Postyshev in Ukraine that some individuals in the centre of the ULFMO opposed those policies....

The baseless expulsion and branding of members of the ULFMO as "counter-revolutionaries" began when some comrades in the centre opposed the destruction of Ukrainianism in Soviet Ukraine under the rule of Postyshev, while Navizivsky and Shatulsky defended and supported this devastation. At last Postyshev has been removed from Ukraine and he no longer plays any role in Ukraine or the USSR. The removal of Postyshev from Ukraine only confirms the fact that the stand of the comrades from *Pravda* was and is correct while the stand of the Navizivskys and Shatulskys was and is only serving Great Russian statism....

SOURCE: *Pravda*, 5 May 1937.

6. For the Revitalization of our Organizations and the Raising of the Ideological Level of the Membership

The communist leaders were alarmed by the Lobay-Kobzey revolt. They could not answer the questions or disprove the charges of the opposition. In the meantime the members demanded answers and explanations. The only recourse left for the Ukrainian communist leaders was to level unfounded charges against the members of the opposition and to attack them with abusive language. So great seemed the threat of the new heresy that hardly an issue of the Ukrainian pro-communist press appeared without an attack on the new dissenting group.

The open anti-communist stand of D. Lobay also has its positive side for our organizations and our movement in general. It will accelerate the elimination of that counter-revolutionary-nationalist rot with which our organization has been infected by the surroundings in which we must work and struggle. . . .

In Winnipeg, in the very centre of our organizations, the decision to clear out the counter-revolutionary-nationalist rot revealed that it infected a small group of "leading" members who for a long time had been closely associated with Lobay and through him with counter-revolutionary elements in Winnipeg, Toronto, Detroit and New York. Organized some time ago, it carried on its disruptive work covertly through secret discussions, whispers, insinuations and the distribution unintentionally, as it were, of counter-revolutionary literature. . . . Railroaders taking advantage of their free passes and secretaries in their tours on organizational business visited various parts of the country and "surveyed" the lay of the land, established contacts and poisoned whomever possible with anti-Soviet propaganda.

There was neither time nor desire to work in the interests of our organizations. However, no difficulties interfered in the dissemination, "as secrets," of such news as: "Skrypnyk did not shoot himself, he was killed by Postyshev." "The government in Soviet Ukraine is in the hands of Muscovites and Jews under the leadership of Postyshev, who was sent by Moscow." "In Soviet Ukraine the population is starving to death." "In Soviet Ukraine a policy of extermination of Ukrainians is being carried out." "Irchan and Sembay were punished not for contacts with the UVO or disruptive counter-revolutionary-nationalist activities but because they were Ukrainian public figures." "Delegations to the Soviet Union are shown the good but not the bad." "Our leaders in the centre are scoundrels who work only for money, tremble before Stalin and Postyshev and do not tell the truth about what is happening in Soviet Ukraine," and so on. . . .

We repeat: their work has awakened the membership of our labour-farmer organizations. . . . Reports of intensified activation of the membership, of the

successful conduct of the press campaign are arriving from many localities in Canada. Resolutions from the localities are demanding decisive rebuffs with definite leadership and instructions rather than procrastination. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 9 December 1935.

7. The Background on the Expulsion of Lobay and Kobzey

An account of the revolt and expulsion of the rebels has been produced in retrospect by a Ukrainian communist leader who was a loyal ULFTA participant in the events.

In 1919, when the Ukrainian Labour Temple Association was formed, its ranks were swelled by a large number of former members of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, which, although it held a correct position on a series of important questions, was not devoid of opportunist tendencies, especially on the national question. A small group of Social Democratic opportunists also penetrated into the leadership of the ULFTA. At the time when rank-and-file members . . . quickly cast off the Social Democratic ideology, a certain number of the leaders of the ULFTA (later also of the Workers' Benevolent Association) continued to maintain the old Social Democratic opportunist positions.

In the first years of the existence of the ULFTA, when Soviet power was established in Russia as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution, when there were revolutionary outbursts in Western Ukraine which also echoed on the North American continent, the Social Democratic opportunists became reconciled with the state of things. Formally, in words, they approved of the work of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Organizations.

In the 1930s, when the economic crisis erupted and the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Organizations intensified their active participation in the class struggle of the Canadian workers, the Social Democratic opportunists in the ULFTA and the WBA began to reveal, each time more clearly, their alien activity. They opposed the participation of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Organizations in the class struggle of the Canadian workers. They wished to limit these organizations to "cultural" associations.

In order to facilitate their pernicious activity they mobilized around themselves those Ukrainian workers who worked during the economic crisis, mainly in the railroad shops in Winnipeg, received relatively high wages and lived in rather comfortable circumstances. These workers (a unique labour aristocracy) shied away from the class struggle and isolated themselves from the broad sections of starved and impoverished unemployed workers. They especially isolated themselves from the Ukrainian post-war immigrants who were the first

victims of the economic crisis and who displayed great militancy in the struggle for work and state assistance. The Social Democratic opportunists were also against the participation of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Organizations in the class struggle because for that, as they used to say, "one can provoke against oneself the anger of the Canadian authorities."

Not having shed their nationalist baggage, the Social Democratic opportunists, in addition to their opposition to the turn in the ULFTA and the WBA, began to oppose the solution of the national question in Soviet Ukraine.

Nourished by fabrications of the Ukrainian nationalists, the Social Democratic opportunists in the leadership of the ULFTA and the WBA slandered the national policy of Soviet Ukraine and the economic policy of the Soviet Union toward the Ukrainian people. Their position fully coincided with the position of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. At first they conducted their activity underhandedly. They knew that if they came out openly with their agitation they would be smashed and expelled from the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Organizations. In order to ensure support in the local branches, they sent their emissaries across Canada, especially those who worked on the railroads and could take advantage of free fares. These emissaries went from branch to branch of the ULFTA, reconnoitered the lay of the land and established contacts. Some of them, being on organizational missions, acted hypocritically, as if they were carrying out organizational assignments, but, in fact, they searched for suitable people for their group.

The national deviationists became active after the Twelfth Convention of the ULFTA in 1931. This convention became a turning point in all the activity of the ULFTA. They did not want the ULFTA to draw closer to the broad masses of Ukrainian workers, to direct its activity in support of the class struggle.

Having prepared the ground, the national deviationists made a sally in 1934 when they thought they would attract a large number of rank-and-file members of the ULFTA and the WBA. Their "ideological" leader, Danylo Lobay, who was a member on the Central Executive Committee of the ULFTA and a co-worker of the paper, *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, took the floor at the pre-convention conference of communist delegates prior to the Fifteenth Convention of the ULFTA in 1935, in which he laid out the programme of his group.

The delegates to the conference unanimously condemned the speech of Danylo Lobay, assessing it as a nationalist sally, and proposed to the convention to expel him from the ranks of the ULFTA.

Although Danylo Lobay was driven out of the ULFTA, a national deviationist remnant, treasurer Toma Kobzey, member of the CEC of the ULFTA Stepan Khvaliboha, and secretary-treasurer of the National Executive of the WBA Omelian Khomitsky, remained.

On 25-9 December 1935 a plenum of the enlarged Central Executive Committee of the ULFTA was held. The plenum was called to purge the ranks

of the ULFTA of alien elements. . . .

The plenum of the enlarged CEC of the ULFTA expelled Toma Kobzey, Stepan Khvaliboha, Mykhailo Smit, Theodore Pylypas and Olena Kobzey from the ranks of the ULFTA. . . .

SOURCE: Kravchuk, *Na novii zemli*, 256-9.

Chapter 23. Conflict with Ukrainian Nationalists I

Theoretically the socialists, and later the communists, regarded nations as a temporary historical phenomenon which emerged with the rise of capitalism and consequently would eventually disappear with the overthrow of capitalism to be replaced by a universal socialist system with a universal language and culture. When the Bolsheviks came to power in the Russian Empire, they were confronted with a myriad of nations, large and small, with their own languages and little, if any, understanding of Russian. The Bolsheviks conceded the right to these nations to promote their languages and cultures as a temporary measure until the non-Russians acquired a knowledge of Russian, simultaneously emphasizing the eventual merging of all nations and languages. Consequently, anyone who proclaimed himself a nationalist and worked to promote the exclusivity of each nation was an enemy of socialism and of the working class. The Ukrainian nationalists who advocated and had fought for a united independent Ukraine were considered an enemy by the Russians and by the Ukrainian pro-communists in Canada. There was hardly a meeting of Ukrainian pro-communists or an issue of their press that overlooked the Ukrainian nationalists. Neither words nor ink were spared in defaming, reviling and ridiculing them. The verbal and press attacks led to deep animosities which resulted in serious confrontations between followers of the two camps. They would sometimes invade each other's public meetings and attempt to harass the speakers, take over the meeting, disrupt or break it up. There were reports of some rather serious incidents.

1. The Idea of "Nation" and "National Independence" is a Fiction

The nation at the present time is a concept synonymous with exploitation. National slogans are competitive slogans in the struggle of the capitalists between themselves. The workers, who have no need for any interest in this struggle, cannot consider themselves part of the nation. They only have

language as an instrument in the process of production. Since the workers of the world have only an economic interest—the overthrow of the capitalist order—their nation is the whole working class of the world.... What is the nation at this stage of development? It is a league of exploiters, a league of owners of the means of production who compete not only among themselves but also against the very same foreign exploiters....

The idea of *Nation* is a fiction for the workers. For the owners of the means of production it is a means of exploitation....

The idea of nation is the same kind of fiction as the Holy Virgin, heaven, hell....

Many components of national cultures will merge in a common feature of all humanity. This in turn will become a bridge to the merging of nations in one higher unit....

SOURCE: Evhen Hutsailo, *Fiktsiia natsii i natsionalnoi nezavysymosti* [The Idea of Nation and National Independence is a Fiction] (Winnipeg: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 1921), 23-4, 79, 117.

2. The National Question in Ukraine and Social-Fascism

What is a nation? If we wish to have a correct understanding of the development of all national-cultural work in Soviet Ukraine, we should first place before ourselves the conception of “nation.”

The Ukrainian national-fascist press and all the Ukrainian bourgeoisie pose the question thus: the Ukrainian intelligentsia—professors, directors, lawyers, priests, merchants, co-operators, landlords—this is “the salt of the Ukrainian nation,” this is its brain, its leading force. Then follows another stratum of “lesser lights”—teachers, smaller officials of various institutions, deacons and kulaks. These make up the audiences at meetings.

The third stratum—the workers and poor and middle farmers—is the fertilizer on which grows “the nation.” This third stratum should by the sweat of its brow not only feed (be the fertilizer of) these “higher strata,” but should maintain the schools, the various higher scientific, economic and political institutions where the sons and daughters of “the nation” are educated... as “political, economic, cultural and spiritual leaders of the nation.”

So, on the basis of this conception of a nation, it is wholly understandable why the Ukrainian nationalists and social-fascists (and the Trotskyites) wail so about “the death of the Ukrainian nation” in Soviet Ukraine when the communist party and the Soviet government arrest the criminal hand of the

Iefremovs, Lozynskys,* Vityks,† Badans and Irchans.

For the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, for the Ukrainian nationalists and social-fascists, servants of Hitler and Pilsudski, those are the representatives of Ukrainian culture. Those arrested are their brothers, people from their camp, people with whom they maintained contact.

The proletarians and Bolsheviks pose the question of *nation* quite differently. For them the nation is the proletarians and the poor and middle peasants who have been oppressed for centuries and who feed and clothe everyone, but who live in cold and hunger. . . .

For the Bolsheviks this mass of toilers is not fertilizer but the basis of the nation, and all those that the national-fascists regard as "the salt of the nation" are nothing more than parasites on the backs of the toilers living by their sweat and blood as direct exploiters or as faithful servants of large capital.

Having overthrown capitalism and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party, with the full support of the toiling masses of the Soviet Union, transformed all those who were "nothing" into "everything."

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 6 November 1934.

3. Workers Break up Mandryka** Meetings in Sudbury

Sudbury, Ont. 11 April. Two meetings of Mandryka on 8 and 10 April in the United Church were broken up by workers. The first evening about 100 workers came and demanded the election of the chairman. Mandryka said that the workers were "guests" and he would call the police to evict them. Then the workers sang the *International* and left the hall.

Over 200 workers came to the second meeting and unanimously elected their chairman. Then Pastor Johns and Mandryka told the detective to arrest the "rebels." All the workers shouted in unison: "Hands off the workers." And the detective did not dare arrest anyone. Then the workers sang the *International* and demonstratively went to the Ukrainian Labour Temple, where they held their own meeting.

Worker-correspondent.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 15 April 1930.

* Mykhailo Lozynsky (1880–1937), prominent political figure in Western Ukraine and authority on international law, migrated to Soviet Ukraine, was arrested in 1930, and perished in 1937.

† Semen Vityk (1876–?), a prominent political figure, founder of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party in Western Ukraine, migrated to Soviet Ukraine, was arrested in the early 1930s and never heard from thereafter.

** Mykyta Mandryka (1886–1979). Poet, writer and political figure. Born in the Kiev region. In 1917, he was member of the Ukrainian Central Rada. He migrated to Czechoslovakia after the Russian occupation of Ukraine and then to Canada in 1929.

4. An Attack in Vegreville, Alberta

Drunks and patriots wrecked a meeting in the Ukrainian Labour Temple on 25 February. Comrades Bolton and Klebanovsky from Edmonton spoke at the meeting. Bolton began explaining the need for political and economic discussions during the crisis when "British justice and equality" was transformed into fascist terror, and "freedom of speech" and "public discussion" became, in the eyes of the residents of Vegreville, a crime, and criticism of the monopoly of special interests became a criminal act, because, at the very time he began speaking about where "our proud civilization is headed," a shower of stones, pieces of wood and steel rained on the public. The Black Hundreds blockaded the doors from the outside and for half an hour continued their disgusting attack, simultaneously singing "God Save the King." Many women and children were injured by the stones, and the windows and frames were completely ruined. The Vegreville patriots thus exhibited their "cultural superiority."

SOURCE: Farmerske Zhyttia, 4 March 1931.

5. Whom are the Ukrainian Fascist Organizations in Canada Serving?

In the struggle against the Ukrainian fascist organizations in Canada it is necessary to pose clearly the question: What is the struggle about and with whom must it be conducted? To the first question it is necessary to reply that the class struggle with the Ukrainian fascist organizations is waged for the winning into the ranks of the working class of the Ukrainian working and farming masses, for the drawing away of the rank-and-file members of the Ukrainian fascist organizations from the influence of agents of the capitalist class, which is what the leaders of these organizations are.

The second question: With whom in the Ukrainian fascist organizations must we conduct the struggle?

The struggle must be against the leaders of the Ukrainian fascist organizations. It is necessary to differentiate between the upper and lower strata in the Ukrainian fascist organizations. The members of the upper strata, that is, the leaders of these organizations, are the recruiting agents of the capitalist class and its mobilizers of forces from the worker-farmer strata. They consciously perform their service to further maintain the system of force and exploitation of the toilers. They are paid agents of the master class; they serve it; they invent all sorts of vague slogans and methods to attract the necessary forces for the capitalist class.

The members of the upper strata of the Ukrainian fascist organizations know that they are working to destroy the liberation movement of the toiling masses, to smash the forces of the working class....

In their raging attacks on the Soviet Union and especially on Soviet Ukraine, the leaders of the Ukrainian fascist organizations consciously work to enslave and oppress the toilers of Soviet Ukraine as they enslaved the toilers of Western Ukraine for the Polish gentry, the Romanian landlords and the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie.

Yes, the leaders of the Ukrainian fascist organizations are conscious that they are working for the complete obliteration of the working class, for the destruction of the liberation movement of the toiling masses. They are working out of fear of the growing forces of the working class.... They regard the class enemy of capital as their enemy and for that very reason are ready to fight with all their might to maintain the capitalist class and its repressive order....

It is a different matter with respect to the rank-and-file members who allowed themselves to be ensnared by the foggy slogans and recruited by forceful methods into the Ukrainian fascist organizations. The rank and file of those organizations is recruited mainly from the masses of workers and farmers. They all experience the fate of the working class. We see them in soup kitchens and on bread lines. They are found among the unemployed and among those who work one or two days a week. They are equally exploited with other workers and poor farmers....

For that reason there must be two different attitudes to members of the Ukrainian fascist organizations in the class struggle.... It is necessary to conduct an uncompromising class struggle with the upper strata of the Ukrainian fascist organizations....

They must be shown through the deeds of their very own leaders the harm of belonging to the Ukrainian fascist organizations. It is necessary to open their eyes as to why their leaders have summoned them into those anti-labour organizations, to explain that their mercenary leaders are leading the rank and file, who come from the labour-farmer strata, along a path of the basest betrayal of the toiling masses....

With the deepening of the economic crisis in Canada, unemployment has increased and with it the pressure on the wages of those workers who are still working for the time being. The ruling class has advanced the pressure through two channels. Firstly, it attempted to prepare the population of Canada, and first of all the workers, the unemployed and the poor farmers themselves for that act. The most alarming news was circulated. The bourgeois press and with it the Ukrainian fascist press began fabricating the most monstrous lies about famine, poverty and forced labour in the Soviet Union. They wrote all this in order "to prove" to the Canadian workers that in the Soviet Union life for the workers is worse and in this way prepare for wage cuts and increases in the

hours of work here in Canada.

Regarding slave camps: When did the bourgeois press in Canada begin to write about those "slave" camps in the Soviet Union?... At the very time the government of the ruling class of Canada was preparing slave camps for the unemployed in Canada, when it was preparing to exile them for slave labour in the forests. In the lying and monstrous articles about "slave labour" in the USSR the government of the ruling class of Canada set up real slave camps, introduced into the forest real slave labour and transformed the unemployed into real slaves. The leaders of the Ukrainian fascist organizations and their press also contributed to the setting up of the slave camps, to the introduction of slave labour and the transforming of the unemployed into real slaves....

It is necessary to maintain constant contact with the rank-and-file members of the Ukrainian fascist organizations and to continuously explain to them the attitude of their leaders to the liberation struggle of the working class, to describe the daily events in the working-class movement and the class struggle and to draw them into that struggle.... They should be invited to all meetings and demonstrations organized by the labour-farmer organizations, to the assembly halls of those organizations, to group readings, lectures and so on....

It is necessary to organize opposition groups of class-conscious rank-and-file members in the Ukrainian fascist organizations. Their task will be to work inside those organizations, to enlighten other rank-and-file members and to reveal and explain to them the plans and deeds of the leaders of the Ukrainian fascist organizations. The work of those opposition groups inside the Ukrainian fascist organizations should lead to the withdrawal of the rank and file members from under the influence of the leaders, should bring them closer to the labour liberation movement and the Ukrainian labour-farmer organizations and, finally, should achieve through their work the desertion of rank-and-file members from the Ukrainian fascist organizations into the ranks of the organized proletariat....

The struggle of all the activists of the Ukrainian labour-farmer organizations against the Ukrainian fascists and their organizations in Canada must proceed under this slogan: Stubborn, uncompromising struggle against the leaders of the Ukrainian fascist organizations and their deeds; wide explanatory propaganda work among the rank-and-file members of those organizations. P[ylp] L[ysets]

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 5 January 1932.

6. The Hyenas are Howling

In 1933 farmers in the Myrnam district of Alberta complained of improper grading of wheat at the elevators. At a meeting in Myrnam on 4 December 1933, called by the communist-led Farmers' Unity League, the farmers demanded that a government inspector be sent to Myrnam to investigate the grading of wheat and resolved not to deliver any more grain to the elevators until such time as their grievances were met. They elected a strike committee and refused to make further deliveries. The strike spread to Northern Alberta and lasted three months. The Ukrainian nationalists and their newspapers vehemently opposed the strike, arousing the ire of the communists.

The strike of the farmers in Myrnam, Alberta, has been going on for two and a half months. For two and a half months the master's agents of Ukrainian origin have been howling at the solidarity of the striking farmers like hyenas who search in the cemeteries at night for food. For two months they have been yelping that the strike is being conducted by communists, because members of the Farmers' Unity League are taking an active part in it.

Already at the very beginning the Ukrainian nationalist press in Canada...took a hostile position against the farmers, which means that it stood on the side of the elevator companies that robbed the farmers by buying dry wheat as wet, deducting a great dockage and generally exploiting them by every possible means.

Some nationalist papers came out against the strike from the very beginning, but some took a "neutral" stand, that is, remained silent. It seemed that they were not at all interested in the struggle of the farmers against the elevator companies, that they would continue to remain silent. However, when the strike spread to other farm localities, these papers shed their "neutrality" and openly came out in the role of strikebreakers.

Now all the Ukrainian nationalist press in Canada has formed a united front against the striking farmers in Myrnam because it saw that the strike was taking on wider dimensions, that other farm communities are beginning to come out on strike in sympathy with the Myrnam farmers, and that members and sympathizers of nationalist organizations are condemning at mass meetings the shameful, traitorous position which the leadership of those organizations took against the first farmers' strike in the history of Canada.

The Petliurite* *Ukrainskyi Holos*, which thought until now that for business reasons it would be better to remain silent, which for the sake of "neutrality"

* Symon Petliura (1879–1926), Ukrainian political leader, organizer of the Ukrainian armed forces (1917–20) and head of the Directory, the last government of the Ukrainian Republic before its conquest by the Russian Bolshevik forces in 1920. His name became synonymous with the struggle for Ukrainian independence. Consequently, the idea of Ukrainian independence was dubbed Petliurism, and its supporters, Petliurites, by the communists.

published the statement of the strike committee, although without comment, is now singing a different tune. This paper adheres to the policy that sometimes it is necessary to place a candle for St. Nicholas, but at the same time not forget the devil. . . .

SOURCE: *Farmerske Zhyttia*, 28 February 1934.

7. Why are They Screaming?

Every time the stern but just court of the Soviet people tries and justly punishes vile criminals, wreckers, terrorists and saboteurs who were caught in the act, there follows furious screaming on the part of Ukrainian "gentlemen," "fathers of the people" (only do not ask what "people").

And now, when the trial began of the Trotskyite fascist band, organized in the Trotskyite so-called parallel centre, and when this trial ended and everyone received what he deserved, there is dreadful screaming and with it defamation of the Soviet government and for them the hated, but for all toilers, the beloved comrade Stalin.

Here the Orthodox-Petliurite *Ukrainskyi Holos*, the Catholic-Papal (or Mussolini's) *Ukrainski Visti*, the Rosenberg-Konovalets *Novyi Shliakh*, the conservative-Hetman *Kanadiiskyi Farmer*, and the renegade Lobay, everyone's midwife, *Pravda* all scream with one voice. Like jackals over a carcass they howl in chorus over the fate of the Trotskyite-fascist criminals. . . .

How can they not cry, not howl? Why, the leading accomplices of fascism have been taken out and buried. More than one of Hitler's stars of hope has been extinguished as a result of the court trial of the Trotskyite-fascist conspirators. And how can the "gentlemen" not rage when all attempts, the foulest and the vilest conspiracies of fascism and its agents to undermine the Soviet government from within, are being defeated. . . .

But then, the workers understand why the hearts of the Ukrainian gentlemen and would-be gentlemen ache so much for all sorts of counter-revolutionary carcasses. Their screams indicate to the workers that nationality does not necessarily play a role in solidarity. The main factor here is class interests. Ukrainian national "benefactors" come out in defence of their closest or furthest class partners regardless of their national or racial origin if only it becomes clear that these are digging a hole under the government of the workers and peasants, if they are acting to the detriment of the Soviet Union generally and Soviet Ukraine particularly.

For them there is no difference whether this spy, terrorist, or saboteur is a Jew, a Russian, a Georgian or any other national. He becomes a wonderful person as soon as he joins the ranks of the international conspirators against the country of socialism. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 4 February 1937.

8. An Emissary of Hitler in Winnipeg

Pavlo Skoropadsky (1873–1945) was a descendant of a Ukrainian Cossack family which had provided two hetmans in Ukraine in the eighteenth century. He served as general in the Russian tsarist army. In April 1918 the Germans proclaimed him hetman of Ukraine and head of government in place of the Central Rada. In December 1918 his government fell to the Directory, after which Skoropadsky emigrated to Switzerland and later to Germany. A monarchist movement of Ukrainians in the diaspora developed around his person and continued under his son, Danylo (1904–1957).

An emissary of Hitler-Rosenberg, Son of Pavlo Skoropadsky, Danylo, arrived in Winnipeg on his mission: to sow discord among the Ukrainian people and to recruit from among them sympathizers for Hitler and his plans of seizing Ukraine and transforming it into a colony of German imperialism. . . .

This Russian White Guard prince . . . came here from Germany, from where not even one ordinary German citizen can come. . . . On whose passport, *on the passport of what country did this enemy of the Ukrainian people come here?* If he titles himself the “heir to the throne” of the country out of which German Junkers carried his father in a sack in the dead of night in order to save his life from popular anger, then of what country is he a citizen? The government of what country gave him a passport? Perhaps the government of the bloody hangman of the German people?

He stated “diplomatically” to a reporter of the *Free Press* last Saturday: “If we were not certain (that Ukraine will be ‘liberated’) we would not work so feverishly.” These hetman Pu-yis* work feverishly for Hitler in order to be his puppet pretenders to the throne of Ukraine, but they will never see the day when they will be his puppet hetmans.

When asked whether he expects to acquire Ukraine in a manner other than by means of war, he replied that he “cannot expect Ukraine as a gift.”

He does not expect it at all, as that handful of hetman-fascist nonentities who rush around him in such a slobbering manner does not expect it. They are the Pu-yis of the general plan of Hitler-Rosenberg for a march by Hitler against Ukraine to detach it from the Soviet Union and transform it into a fascist Ethiopia or Manchukuo in the same manner as fascism now wants to

* Henry Pu-yi (1906–67) served as the last emperor of China under the name of Tsiian Tung (1908–12) and as the emperor of the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo (1934–45) under the name K’ang Te.

conquer Spain.

But these enemies of the people are miscalculating. Ukraine is not Ethiopia and not Basque land. Ukraine is strong, it is armed, it is not alone, it is part of a great family of nations of the Soviet Union. It will give the interventionist riff-raff such a rebuff this time that the hetman will not have time to escape, not even in a sack. If in fleeing Ukraine during the civil war they lost their trousers, this time they will lose their heads.

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 14 December 1937.

Chapter 24. The Famine Controversy

After establishing Soviet rule in Ukraine the Bolsheviks faced constant opposition in their drive to subordinate it to the interests of the Soviet Russian Empire. Eventually, even the Ukrainian communist leaders, among them many party veterans from tsarist days, ended up as opponents and perished as "enemies of the people." The Russians countered opposition with the most ruthless terror. When the Ukrainian peasants put up a stiff resistance to collectivization, which was begun in 1929, the Russians employed a new tactic. In the autumn of 1932 all grain was forcibly requisitioned from the peasants by armed bands dispatched by the Soviet authorities, leaving the peasantry without any means of sustenance. As a result, millions perished from starvation or diseases caused by malnutrition. The Ukrainian nationalists raised the alarm on behalf of the victims. In spite of reports by Western journalists who had witnessed the famine, the Ukrainian communists branded the accusation a lie and declared that there was no famine.

1. We are Exposing the Detestable Work of the Leaders of the Ukrainian Nationalist Organizations

Fort William, Ontario. On Wednesday, 4 October, there was a mass meeting in the Ukrainian Labour Temple in our locality with about 250 present, under the auspices of the executive council of the **TODOVYRNAZU**. The council issued a leaflet in which it invited mainly the members of the nationalist organizations to come to the Ukrainian Labour Temple and learn the truth about the imagined famine in Soviet Ukraine, and about the real famine in Western Ukraine.

Quite a large number of members of the nationalist organizations came to the meeting, among them their leader, who had been expelled from our organization and who had been the main speaker about the "famine" in Soviet Ukraine last Sunday at the Prosvita society.

At the Prosvita they did not give a single fact regarding a famine in Ukraine; it was simply created in the foolish fantasy of the leaders. But our

speakers proved by the very words of eyewitnesses, noted people in the bourgeois world, by the words of the large bourgeois press that there is no famine in Soviet Ukraine, but, on the contrary, there is the best harvest in the last thirty-five years. They proved it through the words of a leader of the French bourgeoisie, Prime Minister Herriot, who recently returned from the Soviet Union and, as an eyewitness, admits that:

"There is no other country in the world about which so much nonsense is written as the Soviet Union."

Commenting on how differently the Soviet Union is understood, the French Prime Minister said:

"The whole campaign about famine in Soviet Ukraine is conducted in this manner. When I travelled across Ukraine, lengthwise and crosswise, I did not see anything resembling a famine. Of course, here and there problems of supply or unsatisfactory production exist. But this is the result of laziness or wrecking. I did not find any famine anywhere. Not even in German villages which I visited."

Thus speaks a representative of the large bourgeoisie of France, surely an enemy of the government of Soviets, and one can in no way think that he speaks out of sympathy. He has to admit that the Soviet Union "is in a state of great progress and he who would deny this is either blind or a criminal. . . ."

And so the speakers, exposing the lies of *Ukrainskyi Holos* . . . and quoting eyewitnesses, representatives of the bourgeoisie and correspondents of the large capitalist papers such as Walter Duranty and others, explained the actual situation in Soviet Ukraine and in the whole Soviet Union without covering up the shortcomings which, for the most part, appear as a result of "laziness or wrecking"

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 19 October 1933.

2. Be More Determined with the Turncoats*

. . . Today even the patriotically inclined farmer does not allow himself to be fooled any longer by evasions. He wants to know why the prices are low on all agricultural products and high on manufactured ones.

For example, a paper such as the . . . *Orthodox Ukrainskyi Holos* at first wrote that the price of wheat fell because the Bolsheviks have "flooded" the world with their wheat. However, the pitiful *Ukrainskyi Holos* lies endlessly, because previously it wrote that there was a famine in the Soviet Union. The

* Among the most prominent "turncoats" was Myroslav Stechishin (1883-1947), editor of *Ukrainskyi Holos*, who had been prominent in the socialist movement between 1907 and 1912.

readers began to put two and two together and became convinced that *Ukrainskyi Holos* is misleading them terribly. Because either there is a poor crop in the Soviet Union and famine and no wheat for export or there is a good crop, no famine and wheat for export. Otherwise, where did the worker-peasant government get so much wheat for export that it has "flooded" the world?

Ukrainskyi Holos wrote that the worker-peasant government took wheat from the peasants by force. Then the readers began to ask: "How come the peasant government takes from the peasants, from themselves? Peasants are robbing peasants? No, something is not in order with our editor...."

Next, the readers of the patriotic *Ukrainskyi Holos* began to ask themselves: suppose the Bolsheviks took a lot of wheat by force from the peasants and are flooding the world with it and for that reason the price of our wheat in Canada has fallen. But even *Ukrainskyi Holos* did not write anywhere that the Bolsheviks are flooding the world with barley, oats and rye. Why have the prices fallen on these food grains? Why has it fallen on linseed? Why have the prices fallen on cattle and pigs? Are the Bolsheviks also flooding the world with these? Impossible, because even *Ukrainskyi Holos* itself wrote that farm animals had been slaughtered....

It is common knowledge that in every Soviet village...only a few were wealthy and many were poor and the poor imposed their will and expropriated the kulaks. They took the surplus land from the kulak which the latter had amassed from the poor.... That is why newspapers of the lords and their lackeys raised such a storm about the destruction of the "peasants."

Yes, they are destroying and will continue to destroy, but what kind of peasants? Not peasants, but the wealthy kulaks.... For by what right should a rich man have more land than he can till and hire a poor man and thus exploit him? The land should not belong to anyone personally and privately as, for example, a pair of shoes....

So, comrade farmers, fight all the turncoats and lords' lackeys more boldly and determinedly so that they may not mislead you and lie to you any longer.

SOURCE: *Farmerske Zhyttia*, 31 December 1930.

3. Disgusted Reading Lies about the "Famine" in Soviet Ukraine

Egremont, Alberta. Up to now I have read newspapers which often angered me with their lies about famine in Soviet Ukraine. In every issue: only famine and famine in Soviet Ukraine, people eat each other, mothers eat their children.

I will not believe these lies about famine in Soviet Ukraine, because a coyote will not eat a coyote, much less a mother its offspring. And the coyote is an animal and his intelligence is not as developed as in humans. Thus, if it will not eat its young, how can a human with developed intelligence, who is master over the animals, do this?

I think that perhaps only editors with underdeveloped animal intelligence could write such lies.... Every serious-thinking worker and farmer laughs at these fairy tales about famine in Soviet Ukraine.

If it had not been for the "famine" in Soviet Ukraine I would not have become a subscriber to *Farmerske Zhyttia*. And I believe that there will be more such farmers, because it has simply become repugnant to read in the nationalist press about that famine. V.M.D.

SOURCE: *Farmerske Zhyttia*, 25 April 1934.

Chapter 25. Social Democracy and Social-Fascism

The Ukrainian communist leaders in Canada reflected the position of the Communist International in their attitude to social democracy in general and the Canadian Social Democratic movement, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) in particular. Regarded as inveterate enemies of the left-wing labour movement, they were vehemently condemned and opposed.

1. Resolution on the Class Struggle

Social Democrats from the Second International stand on guard like faithful watchdogs and assist capitalism. Social Democrats and reactionaries from reactionary trade unions not only assist the imperialists in the preparation of a new world war, but help fascists come to power and fully support the interventionist policies of imperialism against the USSR. . . .

SOURCE: *Zvit (Trynadtsiatoho Zizdu 11 i 12 lypnia 1932)*, 11.

2. Behind Each of their Words Hide Confusion and Hypocrisy

On Wednesday evening, 18 January, there was a public meeting in the Walker Theatre called by the Independent Labour Party (ILP) at which labour leaders spoke about the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). The Winnipeg daily, *The Tribune* . . . published a sympathetic article in which it called upon the Winnipeg public to participate in it in large numbers and to listen to the speech of the president of the new organization, J.S. Woodsworth. . . .

In addition to the workers, many of whom already understood the leaders of the ILP and came to the meeting out of curiosity, there were many members of

the large and small bourgeoisie. The labour speakers appealed to this bourgeoisie from the bottom of their hearts to support the "new" movement which aims at the peaceful reconstruction of the existing social order. These labourite leaders are convinced that this order can be transformed into a more just order by peaceful means without force if all strata of the population unite.

On the platform were such labour leaders as John Queen and S.T.* Farmer, members of the provincial legislature from the ILP, A.A. Heaps and J.S. Woodsworth, members of Parliament and others. . . .

It is not necessary to elaborate on A.A. Heaps as one of the builders of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. . . . We are reminded that this is the same Heaps whom the workers did not allow to speak at a meeting in East Windsor, for which ten workers were arrested and each sentenced to several months' imprisonment. This is the same Heaps who swore out a warrant last year for a search of the Ukrainian Labour Temple and the arrest of comrades Navizivsky and Marriot. When he did not succeed in getting them packed off to prison, he sued the Ukrainian labour-farmer press, demanding \$10,000 in damages. . . .

J.S. Woodsworth, president of the CCF, who dreams of the prime minister's chair in Ottawa, never opposed anti-labour laws or the infamous Section 98. . . .

Did Woodsworth utter even one word in Parliament in defence of those workers who are being deported under Sections 41 and 42 of the Immigration Act and the vagrancy laws? A worker who is unemployed is called a vagrant, arrested and deported if he has been in Canada less than five years. But Woodsworth, who calls himself a "labour" member, will not utter one word against this.

Woodsworth appeals to the farmers to join the CCF to struggle against capitalist laws for socialism, but when twenty-three farmers were arrested in Arborg because they opposed the sale of a farm for tax arrears, Woodsworth did not say a word about it in Parliament. Woodsworth not only does not wish to condemn Alberta premier Brownlee for his brutal breaking up of the hunger march of workers and farmers in Edmonton, but announces that Brownlee is a very "humane" person. . . .

Woodsworth is recruiting into his organization workers, farmers, lawyers, businessmen, priests, bankers, in general, all those who believe in the reconstruction of our present system with the help of ballots and the joint co-operation of the exploited and the exploiters. . . .

Behind Woodsworth's every word hides hypocrisy. . . . He used radical phrases from time to time in order to confuse the workers and farmers. . . . But after each radical phrase he repeated that he was against bloodshed, against revolution, against force, for a change of the present system but for a peaceful change. The bourgeois who were present felt relieved and applauded his

* Farmer's initials were S.J.

announcement.

Woodsworth and company will not succeed in confusing the farmers with radical phrases because those phrases hide hypocrisy, canine faithfulness to the capitalist class, the defence of capitalist interests. . . .

SOURCE: *Farmerske Zhyttia*, 25 January 1933.

3. Convention of the Commonwealth Social Conciliators in Regina

Last week the first national convention of a new political organization, which calls itself the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, was held. This is not a unified political party, this is a conglomerate of various labour and farmer conciliatory election apparatuses and even a conglomerate of déclassé intelligentsia: priests and former priests, lawyers, insurance and automobile agents and people of other professions and among them such quixotic judges as former Winnipeg Judge Stubbs, who was removed recently as judge because of personal animosity between him and Manitoba Attorney-General Major. . . .

The capitalist press has widely publicized this commonwealth convention and treated its manifesto or programme favourably. The *Winnipeg Free Press*, in an editorial, praises Woodsworth and the creators of the new organization of pure British "socialism" as if to say that we capitalists have nothing to fear because, even if it came to power at present, it would only be in the interest of the capitalists. . . .

In looking over the reports in the bourgeois press . . . which wrote in detail daily about this convention, we can really see that the capitalists should only rejoice that they have such great and determined defenders there where they should have enemies. Regardless of who they are by occupation and origin, those leaders of the commonwealth act as leaders of workers and farmers destined to introduce "socialism" in Canada.

For the commonwealthers themselves . . . it was not clear until now how the commonwealth is to introduce "socialism" in Canada and what that "socialism" is to be like. Now these questions are as clear for all of them as a rainy night. "Socialism" is to be introduced by the ballot box. . . .

This is in theory. . . . In fact, the leaders did not talk at that convention about any socialist programme. Agnes MacPhail, a delegate from Ontario, Woodsworth's closest collaborator in the organization of this new election apparatus for the déclassé intelligentsia, openly stated at the convention that she is tired of the word "socialization," therefore she will no longer use it but will speak of "nationalization."

For the commonwealth there are neither capitalists nor workers, neither exploiters nor exploited. And in the commonwealth, when it is established,

there will not be any difference between these classes, because even now classes do not exist as far as they are concerned; there are only people. . . .

The banks, factories, railroads, mines, forests and fields are to be purchased from the capitalists just as the CNR was purchased. The workers and farmers are to make payments to the capitalists for all that they, the toilers, built for the capitalists with their own hands and for which they have already paid tenfold and lost anyway. Russian tsarism introduced such "socialism" away back in 1861 by abolishing feudalism and parcelling out the land to the peasants but burdening them with heavy payments which they paid until the revolution of 1905.

Such is the "socialism" that Woodsworth, Stubbs, Queen, MacPhail and company propose for the toilers. . . .

SOURCE: *Farmerske Zhyttia*, 25 January 1933.

4. Social-Fascism Supports the Bourgeoisie

After 1933, when the Executive Committee of the Communist International issued a manifesto calling for a united front against fascism and war, the communists in Canada could also attack the CCF, which by now was labelled social-fascist, as were Social Democrats by communists throughout the world, for failing to enter into a united front with the communists.

Basing themselves on and supporting the principle of class collaboration, the social-fascists, especially the CCF, the social reformists, in practice support the internal and external policies of the Canadian monopoly bourgeoisie in its attack on the living standard of the workers, in the introduction of the fascization of the country, in the maintenance of the superprofits of the large bourgeoisie, in the acquisition of export markets and the embargo on imports.

Instead of a united front with the workers against the bourgeoisie they are covertly forming a united front with the bourgeoisie against the workers (Woodsworth's agreement with Bennett and King on the question of "peace and war," the defence of Bennett's "social security," and so on). Only the communists and the workers who belong to the labour-farmer revolutionary organizations are conducting a counter-attack, having declared a merciless struggle against hunger, fascism and war.

SOURCE: *Narady*, 53.

5. Progressive Forces United in Saskatchewan

After the call for a united front against war and fascism in 1933 by the Communist International, the communists changed their attitude to the CCF. Although generally the leadership of the CCF was very sceptical of communist approaches, their persistent agitation for a united front eventually produced some results.

The CCF convention, which ended its deliberations last Saturday in Saskatoon, will go down in the history of the progressive movement as an outstanding achievement. The delegates, in their endeavour to unite the CCF and other groups in order to face the next election as a mighty force, spoke enthusiastically. The Saskatchewan convention clearly recognized the need for co-operation with other progressive groups.... During the discussions the convention acknowledged without hesitation the Communist Party of Canada as one of those groups with which it must co-operate....

Saskatchewan must become an example for the rest of Canada as to how it is possible to achieve co-operation between various political progressive groups....

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 24 July 1937.

Chapter 26. The United Front

In March 1933, after Hitler came to power in Germany and the Soviet Union felt threatened, the Executive Committee of the Communist International issued a manifesto calling for a united front against fascism. The Ukrainian communists in Canada immediately took up the cry and the "turn to the path of revolutionary struggle" was replaced by a struggle for a "united front." The purposes of the united front in Canada included opposition to fascism, reaction and war and support for peace, democracy and the Soviet Union. Consequently, the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations began to approach those whom they had recently reviled for co-operation. However, in the eyes of the communists the united front was not to be limited to the purpose for which it was organized; it was above all to become, through skillful manipulation, a means of extending communist influence and advancing the communist cause.

1. For a United Front but not at Our Expense

The first and main thing that the branches must remember in the application of the tactics of the united front is that it must only be with the rank-and-file membership of the yellow-blue organizations and not with their fascist top strata, which it is necessary to fight and unmask most resolutely. In the formation of a united front it is necessary to fight against right deviations so that this union does not take place, as in the case of the Edmonton comrades, at the expense of our programme, because such procedure is, in fact, not the building of a united front but capitulation before the yellow-blues. . . .

We also have comrades who think that with the formation of the united front with the rank-and-file members of the yellow-blue organizations we should lay before them conditions for such a union and that they should make some sort of declaration regarding their political or organizational affiliations. Such an opinion is incorrect and harmful. It is the result of misunderstanding and lack of skill in utilizing the tactic of the united front as a means of drawing the rank-and-file members of the yellow-blue organizations into the struggle for their immediate demands and then, in the course of this struggle, unmasking their leaders, introducing and widening the rift between them and

their leaders...drawing them closer to the revolutionary worker-farmer movement and recruiting them into our organizations....

SOURCE: Rozhornim nastup, 7.

2. The Meaning of the Term United Front

In March this year militant farmers of the McKenzie constituency organized a united front conference at which they adopted a programme and nominated a militant farmer as its candidate. He was L.P. McNamee.

What is the united front? The united front exists when farmers and workers carry on a common struggle against capitalism. The united front is the factor which brings together into one body as large a number as possible of farmers or workers or both together for joint action regardless of their political opinions on the basis of a common class problem that affects the one and the other.

A united front can be organized on the question of opposition to sheriff's auctions, to the sale of farms or taxes, the seizure of grain, cattle, machinery and demands for adequate relief. In the constituency of McKenzie, for example, the united front is organized on the basis of a militant election programme and a nominated candidate, which reflect the needs of the farmers.

During the election campaign the United Front Election Committee will develop and conduct local united fronts in those areas of the constituency where there are local issues affecting the farmers. Such a local committee has already been organized during the present election campaign in the Preeceville district, where it prevented the sale of a farm for taxes....

During the election campaign the United Front Election Committee and its candidate will organize such united committees on local issues which confront the farmers....

SOURCE: Farmerske Zhyttia, 13 September 1933.

3. Building the United Front is Today's Main Problem

When the Farmers' Congress in Regina adopted a programme of united struggle and mass action as the only means by which it is possible to improve the desperate conditions of the farmers, it simultaneously imposed certain obligations and duties on the shoulders of the left-wing farmers, and, in the first place, on those who belong to the Farmers' Unity League.

The main danger in the formation of the united front with individuals or groups that do not belong to our movement is the right-wing danger: "Unity at

any price." This means that in order to achieve unity of action, compromises can be made regarding conditions and methods of conducting the struggle which would immediately destine the struggle to failure. It is necessary to be careful. We need unity for struggle and not unity for its own sake. . . .

When it is a question of ordinary rank-and-file farmers, the danger of "unity at any price" is not so great (although it also exists then) as when we are dealing with leaders of groups or organizations, because generally these people demand unity on their own conditions, based on compromise and wavering. Their aim is to draw the masses of farmers away from the struggle and final victory. Therefore, we must build the united front from the bottom with the rank and file of the farmers, without consideration for their leaders, because in that way we will lessen the right danger.

We must build a united front for struggle and not a united front for unity. We are not building a society for entertainment; we are building a movement for struggle for the rights of all poor farmers to live and keep their homes; we are building a movement for struggle against evictions from farms, the seizure of grain and for appropriate relief. That is why we must oppose all alliances whose conditions could hinder, limit or threaten our struggle.

Everyone who speaks of compromise in the struggle must be exposed before the masses and expelled. If we do not do this, we are betraying the movement and all those who look to us for leadership and help in their great needs.

But this does not mean that we must only build a united front with those farmers who share our views and agree with us on all matters. . . . The secretary of the Farmers' Unity League stated at the congress that we should unite with everyone regardless of his political or religious views if he is ready to join the struggle for the right to live and to keep our homes. . . .

SOURCE: *Farmerske Zhyttia*, 8 August 1934.

4. He Who is against the Communists is for Fascism

At present the greatest threat to humanity is fascism, the terroristic dictatorship of monopoly capitalism. He who fights against fascism simultaneously fights against hunger, terror, exploitation, ignorance and war, and for a better lot for humanity. The communists, as is already known, stand in the vanguard of the struggle of the working people on the basis of their daily needs. He who, in whatever manner, opposes the communists, he who opposes the united front, whether he desires it or not, abets the development of fascism and prolongs the rule of the capitalist system, the rule of exploitation and oppression of man by man.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 13 August 1935.

5. A Public Meeting in the Labour Temple in Vancouver

Since the Tenth Convention of the ULFTA in February 1929, where a resolution was passed for "a world congress of Ukrainian workers, peasants and working intelligentsia who live outside Soviet Ukraine," the Ukrainian communists have raised from time to time the question of a Ukrainian congress. This was one of the issues on which they advocated a united front with Ukrainian church and nationalist organizations. Their overtures were rejected, with the exception of Vancouver, where they obtained the support of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Parish and its priest for a Canadian congress.

On Tuesday, 21 July, there was a joint mass meeting in the Labour Temple in Vancouver called on the initiative of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic parish and the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Mass Organizations. The hall was overfilled as never before by Ukrainian citizens of Vancouver. The subject of the meeting was: *The need to summon a Ukrainian National Congress and Its Tasks.*

The chairman was D. Zubyk.... The first speaker was the local Greek Catholic parish priest, Rev. N. Bartman, who, at first, was quite nervous because, as he himself declared, a lady told him not to go to the Bolsheviks because they would beat him. As it turned out, not only was there no disrespect, but those present greeted him with loud applause.

The speaker unequivocally declared his support for a united front for joint action for daily needs, for which those present rewarded him with loud applause. He also said that a National Congress would not be national if all Ukrainian citizens of Canada, regardless of their political or religious convictions, did not participate.

The second speaker was comrade O. Sholdra, a member of the ULFMO. He said: "A Ukrainian National Congress would accomplish a great task. It would unite all Ukrainian citizens in Canada in a joint action for everyday demands. We could jointly struggle against war and fascism...."

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 13 August 1936.

6. Call for a Canadian Ukrainian National Congress

We are convinced that a Ukrainian National Congress is at present an urgent problem, that it can be called, and that when called it will become a centre of our joint unity and creativity. It will be able to unite us for joint action in matters which are common to all of us regardless of our political or religious convictions. It will be able to unite all the Ukrainian labouring people for joint action on behalf of their daily needs and a better life and on all public issues that will be beneficial to them.

Understanding all this, we, Ukrainian citizens of the city of Vancouver, B.C., at a joint mass meeting numbering 400, which took place on 21 July 1936 in the Ukrainian Labour Temple, unanimously desire such a congress and support its realization and simultaneously address all Ukrainian organizations and societies in Canada that support this idea so that it may be realized as soon as possible.

At the National Congress all Ukrainian citizens in Canada should be represented regardless of their religious or political allegiance or convictions.

On behalf of the Greek Catholic community,

F. Babyko

I. Gliutyk

A. Drushkiv

On behalf of the Ukr. Lab. Farm. Mass Organizations

O. Sholdra

I. Holiat

A. Golinska

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 13 August 1936.

7. Why?—We Ask—Why?

Other attempts of the Ukrainian communist leaders to form a united front with the nationalists were not so successful. In September 1938 Ukrainian patriotic and church organizations in Winnipeg called a conference to organize a mass protest rally against the acts of violence and terror of the Polish authorities in areas of Western Ukraine occupied by them. The Ukrainian communist leaders greeted the conference and expressed their desire to also send delegates so that they could jointly participate in the protest against the pacification of Western Ukraine by the Polish occupation authorities. The reply and the comments of the conference, published in the nationalist press, were reprinted in the Ukrainian pro-communist press.

Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Organizations,

Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple,

Winnipeg.

Gentlemen:

The unanimous opinion of the Ukrainian organizations which formed a committee to demonstrate against Poland in the interests of the persecuted Orthodox Ukrainians of the Kholm region is that although you very eloquently proclaim yourself in favour of participation in this demonstration, it is too soon to accept your words as sincere. Your projects to smash and destroy those organizations to which you now apply for joint action are still too fresh in our

memory. Your hatred for everything Ukrainian that is not subservient to Moscow is still too fresh in our memory for us to believe in such a radical and unexplained change in your thoughts and emotions.

You volunteer to protest with us against the destruction of Ukrainian churches by the Polish government, but we do not recall that you ever raised your voice in protest against the destruction of Ukrainian churches in the Soviet Union. And you should know as well as we that the Ukrainian churches have also been destroyed by the government there.

Between you and us there is no common language and YOU yourselves give us reasons to doubt whether you are of the same nation as we. In your comments on your letter to us, published in no. 218 of *Narodna Hazeta* of 12 September, you continually talk of some "Western Ukrainian nation," of the struggle of the Western Ukrainian nation, of the oppression of the Western Ukrainian nation, of the fate of the Western Ukrainian nation. However, we know of only one Ukrainian nation. . . . We detest equally all yokes on the Ukrainian nation, be they Polish, Muscovite, Romanian or Czech. At the same time we are ready to extend a fraternal hand only to those Ukrainians who are ready to stand with us without treachery or intrigues against every oppressor of the Ukrainian nation.

But we regard it as necessary to guard against those who would wish to unite with us against one enemy of the Ukrainian nation, but at the same time unite with another enemy of the Ukrainian nation against us. And your comments indicate that this is precisely what we should expect from you. Therefore, we see no possibility of accepting you into our endeavour.

The Committee of Ukrainian Organizations

A. Pawlyk, Secretary

This letter speaks for itself and there is no need for comments. We can add that communist protests against persecution of Ukrainians in Poland should begin not from Winnipeg, but from the communist government of Soviet Russia or Ukraine, if such actually exists, from the Third International and from the representative of Soviet Russia in the League of Nations. But for some reason there are no such protests!

Why, We Ask, Why?!

On the contrary, we saw in the world press a picture in which the ambassador of Soviet Russia (and therefore of Ukraine), comrade Antonov-Ovsienko,* during the height of the most savage "pacification" of the Ukrainian population of Galicia in 1931, appeared at Pilsudski's palace on

* V.A. Antonov-Ovsienko (1883-1938). A noted revolutionary, militarist and diplomat, and a close associate of Lenin who was arrested numerous times under the tsarist regime. He led the Bolshevik attack on the Winter Palace in November 1917, commanded the Red Army during the Russian Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine in 1918, and was Soviet diplomatic representative in Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Poland and Spain. He was arrested in the purges in 1937 and executed.

his birthday with hearty greetings. Why, we ask, WHY?... .

At this very time it is fashionable and timely to protest in support of one's nationals....

Why does the communist Ukrainian state, such as it is, not protest in regard to the Ukrainians in Poland? Why does it wish to use us in Canada?

WHY, WE ASK, WHY?

Ukrainian WORKERS OF WINNIPEG! Do not allow yourselves to be led around by the nose through the streets of Winnipeg in support of foreign interests by false Moscow agents....

Committee of Ukrainian National Organizations of Winnipeg and Surrounding Areas

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 28 September 1938.

Chapter 27. International Events I

The editorial pages in the Ukrainian pro-communist press were usually filled with editorials and articles dealing with organizational matters, Canadian events, comments and reprints of articles from other papers, especially from the USSR. However, occasionally Shatulsky, the editor-in-chief, would produce one of his rare but unique editorials on international events. Following are several such editorials and an appeal on an international issue by the CC of the ULFTA to its membership.

1. They have Recognized the Soviet Union

The United States has recognized the Soviet Union. They have recognized it after sixteen years of a stubborn policy of diplomatic disregard of the land of Soviets. They recognized it at a time when Hitlerism and its sycophants from the Ukrainian bourgeois camp have unfolded an interventionist propaganda campaign on the one hand, while, on the other, in the far east the Japanese militarists have intensified their provocative activities along the Soviet border.

The recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States at such a time is a strong reply to these interventionists. . . .

The coming to power of Hitler was characterized not only by bloody terror in Germany . . . but by open sabre-rattling against the Soviet Union, by the well-known anti-Soviet attacks of members of Hitler's government, . . . by their plans of separating Ukraine from the Soviet Union and the exchange of Ukraine with Poland for the Danzig Corridor.

Hugenberg, Rosenberg and their patrons, the arch-capitalists Thyssen, Detering and others, had in their interventionist policies the puppet Skoropadsky and the militarist Konovalts. Having smelled carrion, the whole Ukrainian bourgeoisie, including the radicals and Social Democrats, as well as their press, moved in the direction of the scent at first in Western Ukraine; later the "gentlemen" from across the ocean and their press also joined the united front.

Under the direction of Rosenberg and with material support the "press barons" became more active in London, Geneva and Berlin. There began a filthy defamation of the Ukrainian people in Ukraine, describing them as

cannibals; there began a sort of cannibalistic bacchanalia unheard of in the history of any people. The fascists not only provided the leadership for this dirty anti-Soviet campaign, they provided it with specialists even in cassocks, as, for example, the Viennese Cardinal Innitzer.

When, in the very heat of that propaganda, Herriot, the former Prime Minister of France, visited the Soviet Union, crossed the whole of Ukraine and then denied before the whole world all those lies about famine in Ukraine.... Ukrainian lawyers, priests, co-operators and professional provocateurs, on the instructions of Rosenberg, attacked Herriot and France, the very France which had for years nourished Petliurism with funds and hopes of intervention....

However, these pitiful pygmies of Hitlerism did not achieve their goal. No one listened to them. Like the drowning man who grasped at a straw, they picked up every false anti-Soviet news item of the capitalist press, disseminated it, repeated it over and over again in various forms,... dug it up again from the scrap heap and published it again in a rehashed form in the columns of their press as "the latest news on the famine in Soviet Ukraine...."

And the more they intrigued, lied and berated and prayed, the Soviet Union, as if on purpose, strengthened its positions and stepped more firmly into the international political arena as a great international force....

The recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States... the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations between these two great countries is yet another great victory of Red Soviet diplomacy. This is a mighty blow against all types of interventionists and provocative attacks of those who wish to provoke the Soviet Union into a war.

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 21 November 1933.

2. Let Us Aid Democratic Spain

The fascist hordes of General Franco, Mussolini and Hitler, having invaded Spain, are daily perpetrating the most despicable crimes against the Spanish working people and consequently against the people of the world. Daily grows the list of defenceless victims. Spanish women and children are savagely torn to shreds by bombs from the planes of the fascist interventionists, Mussolini and Hitler. The fascist barbarians are attempting to drown the freedom of the Spanish people in fire and blood, to destroy its democratic rights, to transform its beautiful country into ruins.

This horrible barbarism, unequalled in the history of mankind, evokes revolting convulsions in every honest person and demands from every honest person with a heart and brain all possible aid to the heroic Spanish people so that they can smash once and for all the fascist interventionists, the savage Moroccan army of Franco, the military formations of Mussolini and Hitler.

30 May to 9 June in Canada and other countries will be a week of aid to Spain. During this week all workers' and farmers' organizations, all progressive humanity and all friends of Spanish democracy will make large-scale, intensive efforts to aid the Spanish people in their struggle against the fascist barbarians. . . .

The struggle of the Spanish people against fascism . . . is also simultaneously our struggle. Therefore, it is our duty to help the heroic national fighters to defeat fascism by whatever means possible. . . .

During this week to assist Spain, Canadian labour organizations undertake to collect enough money to send an ambulance for the Canadian Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion. . . . We, organized Ukrainian workers and farmers, should help in realizing this task. . . .

CEC, ULFTA

M. Kostaniuk, pres.

P. Prokopchak, sec.

J. Boychuk, sec. treas.

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 27 May 1937.

3. Finland and the Working Class

Reactionary leaders of the Social Democratic parties are the leaders of an international crusade against the Soviet Union which supposedly threatens the "independence" and "democracy" of Finland.

And how does the matter of "independence" in Finland stand? Just as soon as the Bolsheviks gave Finland its independence in 1918 the Finnish bourgeoisie sold three-quarters of Finland to American millionaires. . . .

From 1920 the sale of the economy of Finland increased even more. As an example, in the eighteenth century large deposits of nickel were discovered in northern Finland. To whom do these deposits of nickel belong today? They belong to the International Nickel Company, which has captured nearly all deposits of nickel in the world, and first of all in Canada, which has 90 per cent of the world's production.

It is dollar and nickel anxiety that has evoked the "moral and sentimental indignation" of Roosevelt and the American dollar kings and the reactionary Social Democratic leaders. . . .

This economic enslavement of Finland was only possible through the most brutal smashing of the working class of Finland, which actually struggled for the social and national liberation of the Finnish people.

Forty thousand Finns were killed and 90,000 had to experience the dreadful terror of White Guard prisons. This is the unextinguishable protest against the forced foreign domination of Finland. . . .

The conditions which the Finnish bourgeoisie has created in Finland in the service of the dollar, the pound sterling and the great English oil trust, Royal Dutch Shell, cannot be characterized otherwise than as semi-colonial.

The toilers of Finland are completely subjected to the social and political terror of the military clique, which is descended from the bourgeois stratum and the large landowners and, in addition, are under the oppression of the Social Democratic and trade-union leaders. The leaders of the poorly developed trade unions have to be approved by the police.

Attempts by foreigners to start a conversation with a worker in Finland about economic, social and political conditions are impossible, because the workers are spied upon by the police and police agents, with whom Finland is overrun. . . .

For people who were capable of massacring 40,000 workers, for people who even today have again filled their prisons with "suspects," it is not a question of one lie more or less when it is a matter of guaranteeing the source of profits of large international finance capital and, in addition, guaranteeing one's own privileges.

The regime in Finland is under the control of the president of the state bank, multi-millionaires, newspaper magnates and large landowners.

SOURCE: Narodna Hazeta, 23 January 1940.

4. They have Become Reconciled

The "Northern Front" has been liquidated. To the great surprise of the whole capitalist world, and even against its wishes, the Soviet Union has become reconciled with the White Finnish government. It became reconciled at the very moment when preparations were being carried on at full speed to transform the "Northern Front" into a real crusading war against the country of socialism.

The Soviet Union opposed the Finnish barons and now has become reconciled with them simply because the security of its borders is "the duty of the Soviet government to the Soviet people, who do not wish to participate in the clash of imperialist powers," writes *Pravda*. . . .

For what did the Finns fight? Why did the White Finnish government involve the people of Finland in this wholly unnecessary and hopeless adventure? . . . The Soviet Union not only did not threaten the independence of Finland, but, on the contrary, guaranteed it. But the Soviet Government desired and demanded that the White Finns lock the door, in this period of war, to all who would wish to attack the Soviet Union through Finland. Not having achieved this through good will, the Soviet Union achieved it by force of arms.

The Soviet Union demanded a portion of Finnish territory, but not for the territory itself, not for the mineral resources on it. It demanded strategic defensive areas which would secure Leningrad from attack and secure the Soviet border. The Soviet Union . . . wanted from Finland 1,046 square miles of its territory. Is this aggression?

SOURCE: Narodna Hazeta, 15 March 1940.

5. The Victory of the Soviet Union

The cannons and machine guns have stopped firing on the Karelian Isthmus; pens are creaking more loudly; diplomats, political commentators and specialists in politics and intrigue have spoken.

They have spoken because the Soviet Union has won—decisively and unequivocally. Those who wish to diminish this second great victory of the Soviet Union in the current war ask: “What is there to boast about? The fact that a country with a population of 183 million overcame a country of 4 million?”

They are talking nonsense; they know it themselves. If it were only a question of Finland it would be another matter. It is not a question of Finland but of the reason for the war and of the agreements signed in Moscow on 13 March.

Three months ago it was possible to shell Leningrad, a large industrial and port centre of the Soviet Union, with long-range artillery. Today the Finnish border is seventy-five miles from Leningrad, and a good half of that territory is the Mannerheim Line.

With the establishment of a Soviet naval stronghold in Hango, with the fortification of the islands in the Gulf of Finland, the whole gulf will be under the complete control of the Soviet Union. All the most fortified areas, like those around Lake Ladoga and in the vicinity of Salo, become from today defensive strongholds of the Soviet border. . . .

The Soviet Union regarded the war as an act of defence of its borders. . . .

The Soviet Union thinks of its people, of its great achievements and attainments, of the defence of the whole socialist country. The international anti-Soviet intervention from 1917 to 1920, the unceasing harassment from then until now, the Munich and other conspiracies—all this forces the Soviet Union to be sensitive and ready to guard the borders of its country. That is why it marks the latest victory in Finland so solemnly. . . .

SOURCE: Narodna Hazeta, 16 March 1940.

Chapter 28. Relations with the Authorities

The general attitude of open hostility of the Canadian public, the press and the authorities to the USSR was also reflected in their attitude to the CPC and the ULFMO. After the open identification of the latter with the party and their "turn to the path of revolutionary struggle," this hostility sharpened into what was perceived by the Ukrainian communists as persecution. Raids, arrests, prison sentences and even deportations were used as a means of curtailing the activities and growth of the Ukrainian leftist movement. The Ukrainian communists reacted with bitter condemnation and sharp protest.

1. 1931—Year of Raging Terror against Working Class of Canada

During 1931 we witnessed the sharpening of the economic crisis in Canada. The army of unemployed has grown to over 700,000, while on the farms impoverishment and misery have affected a very large section of the population.

The increase in poverty has been the cause of the growth of a militant mood among the masses during this period. Mass demonstrations of hundreds of thousands of workers, who demanded relief and non-contributory unemployment insurance, occurred throughout the country under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Workers' Unity League. . . .

The radical movement among farmers developed very rapidly. The Farmers' Unity League organized over 150 branches in the West, recruited thousands of members, and initiated a campaign for a charter of farmers' rights that posed drastic demands for the easing of the burdens of poor farmers and the attainment of relief from poverty.

Owners of industries took advantage of the growing unemployment for the intensification of their campaign of wage cuts and the introduction of the "stagger system." On this front the workers also fought back militantly with a series of strikes (miners, lumber workers, tailors, furniture workers and others)

under the leadership of the WUL.

The ruling class answered the militant movement of the workers and poor farmers with an unprecedented wave of class terror in Canada. If in 1930 200 workers were arrested and only a few were sentenced, for 1931 we have the following figures, which indicate an increase in terror:

Arrested—over 720

Sentenced—155 (most are still in prison)

Demonstrations and meetings broken up—96

Beaten and wounded—98

Murdered—3 miners

Numberless raids, beatings, and other forms of persecution.

In 1931 the terror reached its zenith with the banning of the Communist Party in Ontario, the finding of the eight communist leaders guilty, and their sentencing to five years each in prison on charges of being members of an illegal organization and “anti-government conspiracy.” This was certainly dictated by the fear of the capitalist class (which under the Bennett regime followed a strong imperialist policy) of the growing strength and popularity of the Communist Party of Canada and of the fact that the latter led the masses in the struggle against war, starvation and exploitation.

The recent verdict of the Ontario court indicates that there is a growing trend toward fascism in Canada. There are indications that Section 98 of the Criminal Code, under which the eight leaders of the Communist Party were sentenced, will be used in other provinces to smash the militant labour movement. . . .

Brutal beatings, either on the streets or in police cells, deportation for political and labour activities, and murder by the mounted police (Estevan) have now become daily events in the class struggle in Canada. In 1930 most of the arrests were for “vagrancy” and “disturbing the peace.” There have been great changes in the character of the charges during the last year, as the following list indicates:

“Membership in an illegal organization” and “anti-government conspiracy”—9

Seditious utterances—15

Unlawful assembly—95

Inciting the army to rebel—1

Inciting to riot—40

The intensification of the terror is further revealed...in the terrible sentences imposed on those who were found guilty. The sum total of all sentences adds up to 119 years and 3 months in prison. . . .

There were also twenty-one political deportations (not including the thousands of workers who were deported because they were “a public burden”). Many of them were deported to fascist countries.

SOURCE: Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti, 29 December 1931.

2. Ukrainian Hall in Toronto Closed by Police

Toronto, 9 Nov. The Ukrainian Labour Temple has lost its public hall license as a result of action by the Toronto Police Commission on the suggestions of the red squad and other police officials. Last Thursday, when the representative of the Ukrainian Labour Temple was called before the police commission, it was made clear to him that the license was being cancelled because the hall had been rented to the CLDL for the meeting which heard the report on Kingston penitentiary.

Last week, when the police learned that the hall had been rented to the CLDL, they tried all means of intimidating the hall owners to close the doors. Declaring their solidarity with the struggle for free speech, officials of the Ukrainian Labour Temple refused to be intimidated and opened the hall to the CLDL.

The police commission, in discussing the matter, made the usual allegations of "communist propaganda. . . ."

SOURCE: The Worker, 12 November 1932.

3. Raid on the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg

On Thursday, 19 November, at 3:15 in the afternoon the police raided the Ukrainian Labour Temple, the Workers' Centre in Winnipeg and the residence of the district organizer, Chas. Marriott.

The raid was carried out in an organized fashion à la Toronto. The municipal, provincial and federal police and the detachment of detectives participated in the raid. The Ukrainian Labour Temple was surrounded momentarily on all sides. Guards stood at all the doors—front, rear and side. No one was allowed in or out. In front of the building there were several police automobiles and scores of policemen, who attracted the attention of a large mass of people.

In the meantime, inside, work was going on. Detectives went from office to office in groups seeking "documents." The greatest attention was devoted to the office of the administrator of the Labour-Farmer Publishing Association, whose director was comrade I. Navizivsky. The search in his office lasted an hour. The detectives searched through the desks, drawers, and cupboards, taking away newspapers, books and journals.

The police also searched through the archives room, the office of comrade Shatulsky and the whole print shop. In the print shop they took election folders in English and Ukrainian. They also took down the names and addresses of responsible workers in the offices and the print shop. They questioned comrade Navizivsky most.

In the schoolroom, where a class in English was in progress, the police searched the participants and took down their names.

The police were in the buildings about an hour and a half. They went through every room, peering into every corner. They also took some materials from the office of *Boiova Molod* (Militant Youth).

At the Ukrainian Labour Temple the police arrested comrade Chas. Marriott, for whom they had also been searching at his residence. Marriott was arrested on a warrant of A.A. Heaps, Labour MP for Winnipeg North. Marriott was immediately bailed out on a \$1,000 bond and spoke that very evening at a protest meeting in Market Square.

The evening edition of the local English press reported that, when the raid was being conducted on the Ukrainian Labour Temple and the Workers' Centre, Mayor Webb was in the police headquarters on Rupert Street directing the raid and waiting for the results.

As is known, after the Toronto conviction, Mayor Webb promised that he would immediately begin a purge of communists in Winnipeg....

SOURCE: *Ukrainski Robitnychi Visti*, 21 November 1931.

4. Enemies Wish to Destroy the Workers' Benevolent Association

On 3 March 1933 a charge was laid against the Workers' Benevolent Association... by Ivan Kozlovsky, a member...

Kozlovsky is charging the Workers' Benevolent Association over his suspension. However, we can see that in the lawsuit it is not only a question of the suspension. The Workers' Benevolent Association is charged with various crimes...

There are suggestions of waste, loans, purchases and donations for purposes which, claims the lawsuit, are not permitted by the charter. It is claimed that some group has obtained control of the WBA and is directing it as it pleases, that the WBA gave money to aid those arrested or marked for deportation, that it associated with various organizations in Canada "for the achievement of criminal aims" (here are listed the Communist Party, the CLDL, the WUL, the FUL, the ULFTA and others) and forced members of the WBA to propagate "the principles of communism, Bolshevism and Sovietism," that in the WBA a system of spying on members was introduced, and so on...

All the charges against the Workers' Benevolent Association, and especially the demand in the suit for its dissolution and the placing of all the affairs of the WBA in the hands of a receiver, indicates that it is not a question of returning the membership rights to Kozlovsky but of destroying the Workers' Benevolent Association. The enemies of the Workers' Benevolent Association, who have been defaming it for many years, now wish to employ other means against an organization which has done so much good for thousands of its members...

The enemies of the Workers' Benevolent Association cannot bear to see that the workers could form their own organization, which would assist them in time of illness or aid their families and their children in case of their death...

SOURCE: *Farmerske Zhyttia*, 9 March 1933.

5. Hitler Started the War

After Hitler's advent to power in 1933, and especially after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935 called for a united front against war and fascism, the energies of the communists were directed away from "the path of revolutionary struggle" to the struggle against war and fascism. Consequently, relations with the authorities became less strained. When the Second World War broke out, the Ukrainian communists condemned Hitler's aggression against Poland.

The "war of nerves" has ended. The war of blood and ruin has begun... Hitler attacked Poland. Great Britain and France gave Poland full guarantees that as soon as it is attacked these countries would come to the defence of Poland. "FORCE WILL BE MET WITH FORCE"—this is the position of the governments of Great Britain and France.

Britain and France have announced a general mobilization. The Canadian government, which has already begun a partial mobilization, is calling a session of Parliament on 7 September. As a parliament of a British dominion, one can expect only one decision from the Canadian Parliament in this critical moment...

Today we wish, first of all, that the Hitlerite aggressor may find his grave in the war which he started...

The very thought of bombs dropping from planes on the peaceful population of cities and towns, on women and children, fills us with fear. Our brothers in Western Ukraine are already experiencing these horrors of war and Hitlerite aggression...

The Ukrainian people, together with all democratic people and countries, are opposed to the Hitlerite aggression...

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 2 September 1939.

6. On with the Struggle against the Fascist Aggressor

War! Hitler's Germany, which has been harassing the people of the whole world since 1933, and sowing death and ruination everywhere, has thrown its armed regiments against Poland and Western Ukraine with the intention of subjecting them to its brutal fascist slavery.

The land of the Polish and Ukrainian people is drenched in blood; people's homes are in flames. Fresh graves of fighters against the aggressors blanket the whole country. . . .

Since 1 September the Hitlerite barbarians have been plundering the land and destroying the wealth of the Polish and Ukrainian people. . . . The Ukrainian workers of Canada have announced their solidarity in this defensive struggle of the people who inhabit Poland and Western Ukraine. They are prepared to fight against the fascist aggressor in a common effort with all humanity. . . .

From 10 September Canada has been at war with Hitlerite Germany. This is not a war against the German people who, in their overwhelming majority, are opposed to the Hitlerite policies of war and plunder. This war is against the most brutal reaction of Hitlerite Germany, which occupies one country after another and destroys through robbery and terror the lives of millions of people.

We, Ukrainian Canadians, an inseparable section of the Canadian people, were and are always ready to defend the democratic rights of Canada and its independence and stand together with all the democratic people of Canada against the fascist aggressor who began this war. . . .

The Democratic Union For the Defence of the Ukrainian People

V. Iarmoliuk—Chairman, P. Lysets—Financial Secretary, S. Macievich—Secretary.

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 15 September 1939.

7. Voices for Peace

Although the German-Soviet trade and non-aggression pact was signed on 23 August 1939, it was not until 7 November that the Communist International issued a manifesto calling for opposition to the war. Toward the end of November the Ukrainian pro-communist press abruptly changed its line and began to conduct subtle anti-war propaganda.

Ever more voices appear in the American and European press for peace. They originate in both warring and neutral countries.

Recently trade unions of the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organizations held their conventions, at which they adopted resolutions opposing the participation of the United States in the war. Three weeks ago a poll was conducted in the United States through distributed questionnaires regarding the war. Seventeen per cent of those who replied favoured a truce conference to end this war.

And last week tens of thousands of students in Catholic colleges in the United States, in an overwhelming majority of forty to one, declared themselves against war.

In warring countries voices for peace are also growing. In Britain the Council Acting for Peace, which is under the leadership of Lloyd George and which embraces large sections of the population and several large organizations, is demanding that the governments of the warring nations investigate the possibilities of stopping the war and establishing peace. The communist parties and some trade unions in Britain and France and all labour unions and the communist parties in Nazi Germany and the countries occupied by it are conducting a campaign for peace.

This does not mean that they are aiding the aggression of Nazi Germany, as the reactionary press asserts. The toiling masses for whom Nazism is no less horrible than war cannot be suspected of this. The workers of all countries desire, first of all, a decisive defeat and collapse of the Nazi regime in Germany. But they are for peace because they see that this war is bringing terrible destruction and great war burdens for all mankind, while the ruling classes, taking advantage of their position, are restricting the democratic rights of the people and intensifying fascism in their countries.

SOURCE: Narodna Hazeta, 25 November 1939.

8. And Who Will Pay for the War?

Rationing of some products has been introduced in Great Britain. But in his last speech Prime Minister Chamberlain predicted that this is only the beginning; that the population should be prepared for new sacrifices and inconveniences in order to strengthen the war effort. . . .

It is unlikely that the British consumer will find any comfort in such an announcement. The fact is that the war lays a heavy burden on the population. As a result of increasing expenditures on armaments, taxes have been greatly increased in England from the time of the policy of appeasement. As soon as the war started, taxes immediately doubled. When the question of assistance to the unemployed came up . . . there was no money to provide for the people.

Money was found for rearming and even more so for war.

Great Britain entered the war with a debt of 45 billion dollars, mostly unpaid, from the last world war. If the war now costs Germany about 40 million dollars a day, it costs Britain no less. . . .

The consequence of this will be that the war debt will triple or quadruple to an astronomical sum. Who will be repaying it? Will it not be the inhabitants of those "United States of Europe" (and perhaps of the whole world) that the prime minister predicted in his last speech? . . .

SOURCE: Narodna Hazeta, 15 January 1940.

9. On the Question of Conscription

The question of conscription . . . has become the question of the day in Canada. Young and old are interested in this question, young people especially, because they will be forced to serve in the forces whether or not they wish to do so.

The Canadian Youth Congress has sent out a questionnaire to youth across Canada to ascertain its attitude to conscription. From the 1,500 questionnaires already returned, it appears that 82.75 per cent of young people are against conscription regardless of its form.

The overwhelming majority of the Canadian population desires that this question be dealt with openly, that the government of Mackenzie King announce what he plans to do regarding this matter in the near future, that is, after the federal elections, which are to be held on 26 March. . . .

The leaders of the Liberal and Conservative parties . . . announce that, as far as their parties are concerned, there will be no conscription.

But the people do not believe in these assurances, because Mackenzie King, just like the leader of the Conservatives, Manion, announce in their pre-election speeches that, when they come to power, they will stop at nothing in the successful prosecution of the war. This means that when they regard it as necessary to introduce conscription in the country, they will introduce it. Prime Minister Mackenzie King talks of dispatching tens of thousands of young Canadians overseas to the war front. Conservative and Liberal papers carry editorials from time to time about national registration, national service, and national mobilization. These are slightly different phrases, but the meaning is the same.

In March and September last year, Prime Minister Mackenzie King announced in parliament that conscription "will not be introduced by the present administration." But what assurances can the Canadian people have that there will be no conscription under a new government after the elections? . . . The older generation of Canadians still remembers that Sir

Robert Borden in 1914-1916 also gave assurances that there would be no conscription and then introduced it.

It is very important to note that Mr. R.B. Bennett, the former Conservative prime minister of Canada, speaking in Toronto on 21 December last year to the members of the Empire Club, reminded them that Canada has a law by which conscription can be introduced any time. . . .

It appears that there are no assurances other than mere promises that the new government of Canada, be it Liberal or Conservative, will not introduce conscription. That is why the young people under the leadership of the Canadian Youth Congress have initiated a large-scale campaign against compulsory military service, for they know that only the strong opposition of the Canadian people can restrain the government from introducing such a law.

SOURCE: *Narodna Hazeta*, 21 March 1940.

10. Ukrainian Group Hard Hit by Ban

On 4 June 1940 the government banned the ULFTA, the Communist Party of Canada and several other organizations under Article 15 of the Defence of Canada Regulations and later interned their leaders. Peter Prokopchak pleaded injured innocence and later explained why he thought the ULFTA was banned.

Among the foreign-language organizations outlawed under the defence of Canada regulations, as announced . . . by Rt. Hon. Ernest Lapointe, minister of justice, the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association is claimed to be the largest and to receive the hardest blow by the ban.

The ULFTA has over 200 branches from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, controls more than 80 labour temples valued at about \$750,000 and maintains more than 200 orchestras, according to P. Prokopchak, secretary of the central executive committee. . . .

"I was greatly surprised at the action of the government in declaring our association illegal, as we are strictly a cultural and educational organization, operating under a dominion charter obtained in 1924, and are an absolutely non-political body," said Mr. Prokopchak.

"Press reports and certain individuals insinuating that this organization was working under cover were deliberate falsehoods," continued Mr. Prokopchak. "Everybody was welcome to all our activities—public meetings, lectures, concerts, dramatic plays, festivals and even rehearsals."

Members of the association consisted of many political views, different religious beliefs, and many of them went to church and celebrated in their traditional way Easter and Christmas festivity, according to Mr.

Prokopchak. . .

SOURCE: *Winnipeg Free Press*, 6 June 1940.

11. Why the ULFTA was Banned

...The ULFTA did not abandon its principles of serving faithfully and unwaveringly the interests of the Ukrainian toiling masses, who are an inseparable section of the whole Canadian nation. It was precisely for these principles, for faithful and unwavering service to its members and a sympathetic attitude to the new life of its people in the Old Country who have found their place in the Soviet system that our organization was banned. It was not banned for any crime committed against this country, which has become our adopted fatherland, but because, in serving the working class, it foresaw that which even many outstanding public and state figures in Canada could not see. In banning the ULFTA the government seemingly paid a tribute to the pro-fascist leaders of the so-called Ukrainian nationalist organizations for their false denunciations and slanders of our Canadian-Ukrainian progressive movement. It was they who advised government officials that if only the ULFTA was banned, and the central leadership, including the editors of *Narodna hazeta* and *Farmerske zhyttia*, were arrested, then the whole mass of members would follow the nationalists. So it was done. The ULFTA was banned, members of the Central Executive Committee and the editors of *NH* and *UZh* were arrested. . . .

SOURCE: P. Prokopchak, *Slavnu istoriiu i tradytsiiu maie TURFDim* [The ULFTA Has a Renowned History and Tradition] (Toronto: CEC, ULFTA, 1948), 14-15.

12. Report of Government Audit of the WBA

The Workers' Benevolent Association, incorporated and licensed in Manitoba, was not banned, although its secretary, Anthony Woytyshyn, was interned as a leading communist. On 6 July 1940, W.J. Major, the Attorney-General of Manitoba, appointed a chartered accountant, A.G. Harrison, to audit the association's books. As a result of his lengthy report, which was based on the association's records from 1 January 1935 to July 1940, the association was forbidden to accept new members. The original report has disappeared from the files of the provincial archives. However, the report had been translated and published in a Ukrainian weekly in Winnipeg. The following excerpts are translated from the

Ukrainian translation.

The conclusion of the government audit of the Workers' Benevolent Association:

The association operated in other provinces, outside Manitoba, contrary to section 22(5) of the Manitoba Insurance Act. . . .

The assets of the Association . . . are mainly such as do not yield income. . . .

The annual reports which the Association presented to the Superintendent of Insurance were, according to the regulations of the Insurance Act, false in several cases, namely, unsecured loans were reported as secured by mortgages when this was not so. . . .

Considerable sums in the form of donations and payments as organizational and educational were made to organizations which are now declared illegal.

The state of the Association regarding cash assets was complicated by injudicious loans. . . . The overdraft in the bank on 31 December 1939 was \$6,649.92. It was increased to the extent that on 30 June 1940 it was \$20,769.17. . . .

The Association was brought to such a state by imprudent loans mainly to the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, The People's Co-Operative Ltd. and the Labour-Farmer Publishing Association. All those loans were so large that it was impossible to rely on their repayment.

From 1 January 1939 to 7 July 1940 the directors of the Workers' Benevolent Association loaned \$66,550 without receiving, for the most part, any guarantee. . . .

To whom and how much was loaned:

1. People's Co-Operative Ltd.	\$40,000
2. CEC, Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association	6,000
3. Labour-Farmer Publishing Association.....	17,000
4. Clarion* Publishing Company	1,000
5. James Litterick†.....	1,000
6. Jack Cowan, Clarion Publishing Company	1,000
7. ULFTA branch in Point Douglas	250
8. ULFTA branch in East Kildonan	300
	\$66,550

The annual reports for 1936-9 do not indicate unsecured loans, although such existed. Furthermore, it was revealed that the directors used various dishonest methods of concealing the existence of such unsecured loans before the Superintendent of Insurance.

* *Clarion*, the organ of the Communist Party of Canada.

† James Litterick, Communist MLA for Winnipeg.

It is worthy of note that in many cases the loans bore no interest. . .

It appears, as a result of all this, that the Workers' Benevolent Associaton was not managed for the purpose for which it was organized according to its charter, but for the financing of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association, the Labour-Farmer Publishing Association, the Clarion Publishing Company, the People's Co-Operative Ltd., and other organizations closely allied with the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association.

During the three years . . . the following sums of money, as indicated in the records, were paid out as donations:

1937	\$1,264.50
1938	1,790.49
1939	1,340.30

Donations which according to the books of the Society, were made during the year ended 31 December 1938:

1938	To whom paid.....	Amount
21 Jan.	Cash, re donation Lenin Memorial meeting	10.00
11 Jan.	Community youth centre	5.00
31 Jan.	Chlypawka	5.00
1 Feb.	Branch ULFTA Winnipeg, re bazaar	25.00
17 Feb.	CEC, ULFTA, donation ULFTA, Fort William.....	25.00
28 Mar.	<i>Clarion</i>	10.00
19 Mar.	Branch ULFTA, donation re 20th anniversary.....	50.00
31 Mar.	K. Banat	1.00
18 May	CEC, ULFTA, re greetings to YCL Convention	10.00
27 May	K. Krewenchuk	20.00
31 May	Dutchuk	10.00
30 June	D. Zubyk, Vancouver	5.00
30 June	D.C.H.	2.50
16 Aug.	ULFTA, Bienfait, Sask.	35.00
23 Aug.	K. Krewenchuk	25.00
13 Sept.	CEC, ULFTA, donation re delegation to Br. Commonwealth P. Congress	35.00
27 Sept.	Dmytro Nubyk, Vancouver	50.00
11 Oct.	ULFTA, Point Douglas	200.00
13 Oct.	ULFTA, in Steveston, BC	5.00
17 Oct.	Re CC Junior Section	100.00
19 Oct.	ULFTA, East Windsor	25.00
9 Oct	ULFTA, St. Boniface	10.00
27 Oct.	Alta. Prov. Com. re. organizer N. Alexiewich	25.00
31 Oct.	Donation to <i>Advance</i>	5.00
2 Nov.	NC, CYYF, re 1/2 page ad in <i>Youth Programme</i>	10.00
23 Nov.	<i>Clarion</i> donation	133.00
23 Nov.	<i>People's Gazette</i> (W&F Publishing ass.)	

	donation	500.00
23 Nov.	Mike Deriy, Sudbury, Donation	20.00
30 Nov.	Donation to <i>Clarion</i>	166.99
2 Dec.	Okruzhkom, Fort William, donation	15.00
6 Dec.	National Council, Can. League for Peace and Democracy—fee and donation	10.00
6 Dec.	Donation to Point Douglas Branch ULFTA	100.00
14 Dec.	Donation to returned Spanish veterans	100.00
17 Dec.	Br. ULFTA Winnipeg, donation re bazaar	25.00
30 Dec.	"Donations"	17.00
		\$1,790.49

The books of the Association indicate that the following sums were donated for educational and organizational purposes:

1937	\$1,886.15
1938	3,532.86
1939	1,659.83

Below are listed sums of money which were paid out for educational and organizational purposes in 1938:

1938	To whom paid.....	Amount
12 Jan.	M. Mutzak, organizational salary for December	20.00
12 Jan.	CEC, ULFTA, re salary for Prokopchak*	174.00
12 Jan.	CEC, ULFTA, organizational fund	20.00
24 Jan.	M. Mutzak, organizational salary for January	20.00
24 Jan.	Trip of organizer Hutsuliak	7.10
1 Feb.	N. Hutsuliak, organizer, salary, etc.	65.66
2 Feb.	Posters re Hutsuliak meetings	4.60
3 Feb.	CEC, ULFTA, part salary for M. Popowich for February	15.00
16 Feb.6	CEC, ULFTA, organizational fund	25.00
17 Feb.	CEC, ULFTA, re National Children's Council	12.00
1 Mar.	M. Mutzak, salary for February	20.00
3 Mar.	CEC, ULFTA, part salary for M. Popowich for March	15.00
4 Mar.	CEC, ULFTA, organizational fund	25.00
22 Mar.	Re trip for N. Hutsuliak	25.00
31 Mar.	M. Mutzak, trip to Grimsby	2.00
8 Apr.	M. Mutzak, salary for March and April	40.00
8 Apr.	M. Popowich, salary for April	15.00
13 Apr.	CEC, ULFTA, re org. fund Sask. Prov. Committee	10.00

* Apparently the WBA was paying the salaries of some of the functionaries of the ULFTA. Prokopchak and others were on the staff of the ULFTA.

3 May	N. Hutsuliak, organizer	50.00
4 May	M. Popowich, part salary for May	15.00
10 May	CEC, ULFTA, org. fund	12.50
23 May	CEC, ULFTA, re Dubno org. fund	15.00
23 May	CEC, ULFTA, re trip of delegate to IMBF	10.00
25 May	M. Mutzak, org., salary for May	20.00
30 May	Woytyshyn, trip to Edmonton	38.50
17 June	CEC, ULFTA, salary for Popowich for June	15.00
17 June	N. Hutsuliak, salary	66.50
18 June	CEC, ULFTA, donation for Higher Educational Course	2,000.00
2 July	CEC, ULFTA, org. fund	25.00
4 July	CEC, ULFTA, part salary for Popowich for July	15.00
12 July	M. Mutzak, salary for June and July	40.00
15 Aug.	CEC, ULFTA, salary for M. Popowich	15.00
15 Aug.	Okruzhkom, Vancouver, re Ia. Slobodian for July	15.00
30 Aug.	CEC, ULFTA, organizational fund	300.00
1 Sept.	CEC, ULFTA, salary for M. Popowich for September	15.00
21 Sept.	CEC, ULFTA, salary for M. Mutzak for August and September	40.00
1 Oct.	CEC, ULFTA, salary for M. Popowich for October	15.00
17 Oct.	District Committee ULFTA, trip for M. Mutzak	30.00
18 Oct.	Prov. Com. ULFTA, salary for M. Mutzak for October	20.00
22 Oct.	CEC, ULFTA, org. fund	200.00
3 Nov.	CEC, ULFTA, salary for M. Popowich for November	15.00
6 Dec.	CEC, ULFTA, salary for M. Popowich for December	15.00
6 Dec.	CEC, ULFTA, salary for Ia. Slobodian for November	15.00
	Total	\$3,532.86

SOURCE: *Narodnia Gazeta*, 5 February–2 April 1941.*

* This paper must not be confused with *Narodna Hazeta*, the organ of the ULFTA, which appeared for the last time on 6 July 1940. *Narodnia Gazeta*, published from 25 December 1940 until 30 April 1941, was an anti-communist weekly published for Ukrainian farmers and labourers by Ukrainian nationalists. It was edited by Onufrii H. Hykawy (1885–1945), a prominent Liberal Party worker and veteran editor of *Kanadiiskyi Farmer*, and managed by Dr. Mykyta J. Mandryka. The paper represented an unsuccessful effort to win ULFTA members over to the side of the nationalist Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

TABLE 1		TABLE 2	
Summary of the Study		Summary of the Study	
Study	Results	Study	Results
Study 1	Results of Study 1	Study 2	Results of Study 2
Study 3	Results of Study 3	Study 4	Results of Study 4
Study 5	Results of Study 5	Study 6	Results of Study 6
Study 7	Results of Study 7	Study 8	Results of Study 8
Study 9	Results of Study 9	Study 10	Results of Study 10
Study 11	Results of Study 11	Study 12	Results of Study 12
Study 13	Results of Study 13	Study 14	Results of Study 14
Study 15	Results of Study 15	Study 16	Results of Study 16
Study 17	Results of Study 17	Study 18	Results of Study 18
Study 19	Results of Study 19	Study 20	Results of Study 20
Study 21	Results of Study 21	Study 22	Results of Study 22
Study 23	Results of Study 23	Study 24	Results of Study 24
Study 25	Results of Study 25	Study 26	Results of Study 26
Study 27	Results of Study 27	Study 28	Results of Study 28
Study 29	Results of Study 29	Study 30	Results of Study 30
Study 31	Results of Study 31	Study 32	Results of Study 32
Study 33	Results of Study 33	Study 34	Results of Study 34
Study 35	Results of Study 35	Study 36	Results of Study 36
Study 37	Results of Study 37	Study 38	Results of Study 38
Study 39	Results of Study 39	Study 40	Results of Study 40
Study 41	Results of Study 41	Study 42	Results of Study 42
Study 43	Results of Study 43	Study 44	Results of Study 44
Study 45	Results of Study 45	Study 46	Results of Study 46
Study 47	Results of Study 47	Study 48	Results of Study 48
Study 49	Results of Study 49	Study 50	Results of Study 50
Study 51	Results of Study 51	Study 52	Results of Study 52
Study 53	Results of Study 53	Study 54	Results of Study 54
Study 55	Results of Study 55	Study 56	Results of Study 56
Study 57	Results of Study 57	Study 58	Results of Study 58
Study 59	Results of Study 59	Study 60	Results of Study 60
Study 61	Results of Study 61	Study 62	Results of Study 62
Study 63	Results of Study 63	Study 64	Results of Study 64
Study 65	Results of Study 65	Study 66	Results of Study 66
Study 67	Results of Study 67	Study 68	Results of Study 68
Study 69	Results of Study 69	Study 70	Results of Study 70
Study 71	Results of Study 71	Study 72	Results of Study 72
Study 73	Results of Study 73	Study 74	Results of Study 74
Study 75	Results of Study 75	Study 76	Results of Study 76
Study 77	Results of Study 77	Study 78	Results of Study 78
Study 79	Results of Study 79	Study 80	Results of Study 80
Study 81	Results of Study 81	Study 82	Results of Study 82
Study 83	Results of Study 83	Study 84	Results of Study 84
Study 85	Results of Study 85	Study 86	Results of Study 86
Study 87	Results of Study 87	Study 88	Results of Study 88
Study 89	Results of Study 89	Study 90	Results of Study 90
Study 91	Results of Study 91	Study 92	Results of Study 92
Study 93	Results of Study 93	Study 94	Results of Study 94
Study 95	Results of Study 95	Study 96	Results of Study 96
Study 97	Results of Study 97	Study 98	Results of Study 98
Study 99	Results of Study 99	Study 100	Results of Study 100

PART C

The Second World War and After



Chapter 29. Illegality, Revival and the War Effort

Although the ULFTA and, shortly afterward, the Ukrainian pro-communist press were banned and the temples and the publishing facilities taken over by the Custodian of Alien Properties, the Ukrainian communist leaders who had not yet been interned continued to provide leadership for the Ukrainian pro-communist movement. Members of the ULFTA met in homes and continued various activities. In some of the larger centres limited cultural work was carried on in rented quarters. In a few smaller centres such as Vernon, B.C., Grimsby, Ontario, and others, where the temples had not been incorporated with the NEC of the ULFTA and were consequently not taken over by the Custodian, the Ukrainian pro-communists continued activities in their own halls. Arrangements were also made to take over an existing paper and to publish an illegal one, as described in the following excerpts from the reminiscences of a participant.

1. Guilty without Guilt

From 3 July to 28 September 1940, I was forced into a position of illegality and obliged to carry on organizational activity from the underground. . . .

Soon we learned which of the activists in Winnipeg had not been arrested and formed a leading collective of five persons consisting of Ivan Boychuk, Stepan Macievich, Mykola Hrynychshyn, Bohdan Harmatiuk and myself. That committee met regularly, planned the work for the revived collectives of the Ukrainian progressive movement in various Canadian cities and maintained contact with them through its representatives. . . .

To establish direct organizational ties with leading collectives in the various cities of the country, the leading committee sent Mykhailo Seychuk and Mykhailo Valchuk on a tour, one to western and the other to eastern Canada. Their task was to collect the names and addresses of the activists, establish contact with them, form local committees and take in the money which had been collected during the press campaign so as to publish *Narodna Hazeta* and *Farmerske Zhyttia* with it.

The leading committee took steps to renew the publishing of these papers because they were not affected by the ban. When concrete steps had been taken in this respect the government issued an order-in-council banning the Labour-Farmer Publishing Association and confiscating the print shop. . . .

But the leading committee felt that with each passing day the need was increasing for a paper around which it would be possible to unite thousands of Ukrainian workers and farmers who had subscribed for many years to *Narodna Hazeta* and *Farmerske Zhyttia*. Without the papers they felt lost and isolated from truthful information. . . .

The leading committee decided to turn to Mykhailo Cependa, an "independent" Orthodox priest who published the paper *Holos Pravdy* [Voice of Truth] in the rural Alberta town of Smoky Lake, in which articles of a progressive nature sometimes appeared. In fact, he corresponded with Ivan Navizivsky for many years before the outbreak of the Second World War and sometimes received assistance from the Labour-Farmer Publishing Association, especially in the form of newsprint. We contacted him and he came to Winnipeg for discussions which took place in a hotel and in which Stepan Macievich and I participated. He demanded that someone from our collective come to edit the paper. . . . Naturally, we ourselves did not want him to be the only editor, because he had very little education, was not dependable, but was capable of all sorts of mischief. He understood that if the paper was edited by our person it would be read by thousands of people who had been subscribers to *Narodna Hazeta* and *Farmerske Zhyttia* and that the financial base of *Holos Pravdy* would be immediately enhanced. We decided in the leading committee that our editor of *Holos Pravdy* would be Mykola Hrynchyshyn. He edited that paper from October 1940 to the end of August 1941. As soon as he took over, *Holos Pravdy* became a serious spokesman of the Ukrainian progressive community.

Each week there were hundreds of new subscribers. Later, when *Holos Pravdy* had a strong material base and several thousand subscribers, Mykhailo Cependa began to resort to various dishonest tricks. . . . He began to introduce sectarian politics with a strange "philosophy." In other words, we were not travelling the same road, and it was necessary to cut decisively all ties with him. At that time *Ukrainske Zhyttia* had already begun publication in Toronto. Relations with him were permanently terminated. . . .

In the relatively short time that I was "free" and worked underground there was considerable useful organizational work done. It was necessary, first of all, to revive bureaus of the party fractions of the Ukrainian progressive organizations, because it was precisely they who directed the activities of the groups of the ULFTA members who met in private homes. . . .

Petro Kravchuk

2. How Publication of *Ukrainske Zhyttia* Began

With the appearance of the newspaper, *Ukrainske Zhyttia* (7 September 1941), a new chapter in the history of the Ukrainian progressive press in Canada began....

In my reminiscences I wish to relate the circumstances under which the newspaper was born, because I was one of its sponsors and the official publisher....

Several leaders of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association and editors who avoided internment on 6 July 1940 immediately took steps to publish an illegal mimeographed paper, *Za Voliu* [For Freedom], and also a mass legal paper, because there were persistent demands from former readers of *Narodna Hazeta* and *Farmerske Zhyttia* and members of the banned ULFTA to give them a newspaper, since this was a war period and they wished to have accurate information on world events.

Of the Winnipeg leaders still at liberty were John Boychuk, Peter Krawchuk, Stepan Macievich and Mykola Hrynchyshyn, who formed the leading committee for planning the organizational work under the existing illegal conditions. I was then on organizational work in Saskatchewan. During the harvest I worked for farmers to earn money for clothing. At the end of September I returned to Winnipeg, having been well informed as to who had been arrested and who was at liberty by a letter from George Solomon, who was the Secretary of the Federation of Ukrainian Youth in Saskatchewan.

In Winnipeg I was included in the leading committee, which decided that I should visit Port Arthur, Fort William and Toronto and establish contact with activists. In Fort William I became acquainted with William Hluchaniuk, the district leader. He rejoiced when he received the paper, *Za Voliu*.... He reported that he was collecting funds for the publication of a legal paper which we must publish without fail. I informed him that the leading committee had resolved to send Mykola Hrynchyshyn to Alberta to edit the newspaper *Holos Pravdy*....

In Toronto I met Ivan Ivasiuk who was responsible for the distribution of the illegal paper *Za Voliu* in the Hamilton, Windsor and Welland areas....

In Toronto Mykhailo Dushnitsky, former secretary of the ULFTA, called a meeting of leading comrades to discuss propositions which I had brought from Winnipeg. Ivan Horbatiuk, Oleksander Melnychenko and I were at the meeting.

Mykhailo Dushnitsky reported on the organizational situation in eastern Canada and proposed that the leading committee be moved from Winnipeg to Toronto. All the Toronto comrades upheld this proposal. At the meeting it was also proposed that preparations be made to publish a monthly journal whose publisher was to be Oleksander Melnychenko....

From Toronto I went to Timmins. It already had a committee, a member of which was Michael Korol, who then worked in a gold mine. The secretary was Pelahia Shushanska. The committee included Mykola Hubaly, Fred Wasyliuk and Harry Tkachuk. The committee in Timmins worked very well, helping to finance the publication of the illegal paper and later *Ukrainske Zhyttia*.

When I returned to Winnipeg neither Petro Krawchuk nor John Boychuk was there; they had been arrested and interned. . . .

At a meeting of the leading committee I reported on my trip. . . . Finally it was decided to move the leading committee to Toronto. . . . I was again assigned to go to Toronto to prepare for the transfer of the leading committee from Winnipeg. . . .

Organizational work improved. People donated generously for the press fund of *Za Voliu*, which was published regularly, and for organizational requirements. . . . I was assigned to investigate the possibility of acquiring Ukrainian type. . . . We purchased used type for \$88.

But another problem arose: where to get a linotypist for Ukrainian. Through good work we solved all the problems. Stepan Macievich prepared the material for the legal paper, although we were not certain of obtaining permission to publish from the censor. . . .

At the beginning of June there was a meeting of the leading committee. Stepan Macievich was elected chairman, Ivan Horbatiuk—financial secretary, and I—organizational secretary. It was decided to hold the next meeting on Sunday, 22 June, in quarters on Eglinton Avenue, not far from Avenue Road. I will never forget this meeting. Prior to this I received an automobile, which Ivan Tofan, from Hamilton, had purchased for the committee for \$50.

On the way I picked up Stepan Macievich and Ivan Horbatiuk. I turned on the radio and we heard the announcer announce in a dramatic voice that the Hitlerite armies had invaded Soviet territory and were moving eastward. All three of us were momentarily paralyzed.

At the meeting we altered the programme completely. It was resolved to proceed immediately with the publication of the paper. I was to be the publisher, Stepan Macievich the editor and Ivan Horbatiuk, Mykhailo Dushnitsky and Ivan Ivasiuk responsible for the collection of press funds.

On Monday, 23 June, I went to the censor to obtain permission to publish the paper. . . . His office was in the building where the *Globe and Mail* was located. The censor asked me many questions. . . . He advised me to bring an outline in two copies (in Ukrainian and in English) of the aims which the paper set for itself. I was also to prepare a document that I, as publisher, would abide by the regulations. . . .

From the censor I drove directly to Stepan Macievich. He had already written the editorial for the first issue of the paper. I suggested he call the committee and that we collectively formulate the tasks of the new paper and my pledge. In a few days the committee met and we decided on the name of

the paper, *UKRAINSKE ZHYTTIA*. I was delegated to find suitable accommodation for the editorial and administrative staffs immediately and to make arrangements with Edward Yargas for the printing of the paper. The first issue came off the press on 7 August 1941. . . .

The first editorial of *Ukrainske Zhyttia* had a headline: Savage Enemy of the Ukrainian People. It was translated into English in full by my wife. I took the editorial together with my pledge to the censor. . . . He told me to come back in three days for his reply. . . . The paper came out six weeks after the attack on the Soviet territories by the Hitlerites.

The committee and wide circles of the Ukrainian progressive community rejoiced when *Ukrainske Zhyttia* finally appeared. The doors to the office of *Ukrainske Zhyttia* at 274 College, Room 28, did not close all day. People came bringing their subscriptions and press fund. In their eyes there was joy and satisfaction, as if to say: FINALLY WE HAVE OUR PAPER.

The first months were very difficult. We had to wait a whole month before we received a permit to install a telephone, because this was wartime. . . .

I proposed printing 8,000 copies of the first issue of *Ukrainske Zhyttia*. . . . In a very short time the circulation rose from 8,000 to 15,000. The number of pages also increased from eight to twelve. The administration received hundreds of letters daily. . . .

SOURCE: Bohdan Harmatiuk, *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 15 November 1982.

3. Canadian Ukrainians Pledge Aid to Russia

With the German attack on the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, the Ukrainian pro-communist groups operating underground immediately came out into the open as branches of the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland, organized mass public meetings throughout Canada with the support of some quite notable Canadian public figures, called for the full support of the war effort, pledged aid to the Soviet Union and demanded the release of their imprisoned leaders. Delegates of the branches met in Toronto to form a national organization. This was followed by a flood of appeals for the support of the war effort and denunciations of the Nazis.

Toronto, Ont. Fifteen hundred Canadian Ukrainians at a meeting here last week expressed "solidarity with the peoples of the Soviet Union and Soviet Ukraine" now defending their sacred soil against a "treacherous aggressor" and appealed to the Canadian government for the immediate release of the "more than twenty" anti-fascist Ukrainians interned in Canada.

In a resolution which declared that "the defence of the Soviet Union at this time is in reality a defence of Great Britain and a defence of Canada," the

Canadian government was urged to consider the following recommendations:

(1) The release of all anti-Nazi Ukrainian leaders; (2) The withdrawal of the order-in-council declaring Ukrainian organizations illegal and confiscating their property; (3) The curbing of the activities of the many pro-Hitler and pro-fascist Ukrainian groups in Canada whose identity is without doubt well known to the government.

The meeting was addressed by John Collingwood Reed, Toronto radio commentator; Ald. E.C. Bogart; Drummond Wren of the Workers' Educational Association and Anthony Holowchak, Canadian-Ukrainian leader.

SOURCE: Canadian Tribune, 12 July 1941.

4. Successful Slavic Meeting in Sault Ste. Marie

On 25 September a great Slav meeting of unity was held in the sports hall of All People's Church. It was called by the local branch of the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland. . . .

The mayor, representatives of the Canadian Legion, Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, Yugoslavs, Red Cross and the United Church all spoke at the meeting.

J. MacMeechan, mayor of the town, declared in his speech that he was very happy to become acquainted with the work of the Association to Aid the Fatherland.

"I am full of sympathy with the aims of this meeting. And I, as mayor, promise your association that when you need any assistance from city council, you can count on me," said J. MacMeechan.

Major H. Toley, an officer on active duty, . . . spoke on behalf of the Canadian Legion.

"The duty of your association is to help your former fatherland and simultaneously call for aid to your new fatherland in its war effort. We Anglo-Saxons deeply sympathize with the Ukrainian people, who are shedding their blood in a bitter struggle against the aggressors. WE SALUTE THE HEROIC DEFENDERS OF ODESSA, KIEV, KHARKOV, LENINGRAD AND MOSCOW," he declared.

Reverend J. Perkins, representative of the United Church, said: . . . "I give full credit to the founders of the branch of the association in Sault Ste. Marie. The Nazi attack on the Soviet Union came unexpectedly on 22 June and on 24 June, two days after the attack, the Ukrainians in Sault Ste. Marie summoned a meeting and formed a committee to aid the Old Country. Such swift action evoked great respect in me for the Ukrainian people who live in this country

scattered in small communities but who can act so quickly on their own initiative."

SOURCE: Ukrainske Zhyttia, 9 October 1941.

5. Ukrainian Meeting in Myrnam

Myrnam, Alta. A mass anti-fascist meeting, attended by farmers from localities far and near, was held on 14 September. The chairman, citizen Teresio, explained that the meeting's objective was to initiate large-scale anti-fascist work among Ukrainians of the district.

Mr. Irvine spoke on democracy in Canada and the USSR. He and two other Anglo-Saxon speakers called for a struggle against fascism, which is threatening democracy in the whole world.

W. Halina, speaking in Ukrainian, indicated the traitorous work of the Ukrainian fascists in Canada. He described the heroic struggle of the Red Army and the people of the USSR against brutal fascism.

At the end, one resolution was passed expressing solidarity with the people of the USSR in the struggle against fascism and a second for the release of all interned anti-fascists in Canada. A committee of seven was elected whose task was the continuance of anti-fascist work among Ukrainians in the Myrnam district.

SOURCE: Ukrainske Zhyttia, 9 October 1941.

6. To the Ukrainian People of Canada: Appeal of the Eastern Canada Conference

The savage enemy of humanity, raging Nazism, driven to insanity by its aggressions, has attacked the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Soviet Ukraine, the dear fatherland of all the Ukrainian people is in danger.

Brazen, impudent German fascism, using the most detestable perfidy, has forced its way into the western regions of Soviet Ukraine. A mighty struggle is going on against the dark forces of Nazism on Ukrainian territories. . . .

The cursed enemy is attempting to seize Ukraine and to enslave the free Ukrainian people. . . .

The enemy will inevitably be destroyed because the Red Army and the Soviet people are fighting a just war, a war in defence of their fatherland, a war for the progress of mankind, a war for the liberation of the European

people, oppressed by fascism, who have been waiting for this opportunity to destroy the yoke of the detested aggressor. The armed forces of the Soviet people, strong because they are right, conscious of their historic role, and knowing that on victory over fascism depends the fate not only of the USSR but of the whole world, are inflicting destructive blows on the aggressor. . . .

The attack of the raging fascists on Ukraine has shaken every decent Ukrainian patriot to the very depths. There, in Ukraine, our fathers, brothers, sisters, children and relatives are perishing in order that the Ukrainian people be free, that Ukraine live. Fascism is plundering the wealth of the Ukrainian people, killing en masse Ukrainian patriots who have risen, as had risen their forefathers, in defence of their fatherland. . . .

Before every Ukrainian and every Ukrainian organization in Canada only one task should be paramount—the defence of and aid to Ukraine, our native fatherland and the defence of and aid to Canada, our adopted fatherland. . . .

In spite of the UCC* . . . there is a great need for a stronger Ukrainian organization whose main aim would be the defeat of the fascist aggressors who attacked Ukraine and who aspire to dominate the whole world, including Canada.

Political convictions . . . organizational or church affiliations should not be an obstacle to the creation of such an all-inclusive Ukrainian organization. . . .

Traditionally, the anti-fascist and democratic Ukrainian people have consistently, unconditionally and relentlessly carried on a struggle against fascism even in difficult and unfavourable conditions of persecution. They now wish to increase this struggle a thousand fold.

Taking this desire of the Ukrainian people into consideration, the initiatory Ukrainian Committee to Aid the Fatherland in Toronto, Ontario called a conference on Saturday, 26 July 1941 of representatives of similar committees in Eastern Canada. At this . . . conference it was unanimously decided to transform the Ukrainian Committee to Aid the Fatherland into the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland.

The Eastern Canada conference calls upon all Ukrainian democrats, anti-fascists and patriots to join the ranks of this great national Ukrainian movement to aid the fatherland.

Every Ukrainian man or woman, regardless of political convictions, organizational or religious affiliations can join this national movement if he undertakes the following tasks:

1. To give every possible aid to our native fatherland, Soviet Ukraine, in the struggle against the blood-thirsty Nazi aggressor.
2. To give every possible aid to our adopted fatherland, Canada, in the conduct of the most effective war against Nazi Germany and fascist Italy.

* Ukrainian Canadian Committee, a non-communist umbrella organization formed in November 1940 with headquarters in Winnipeg.

3. To conduct an organized and relentless struggle against fascist agents in the midst of the Ukrainian community. . . .

The National Council,
Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland.

SOURCE: Issued as a separate four-page bulletin shortly after the date of the conference, 26 July 1941.

7. Our Aid to Ukraine and the Soviet Union

The Ukrainian pro-communist support of the Canadian war effort after the Soviet Union had been invaded by the Germans included agitation for enlistment, support of conscription, the purchase of war bonds, participation in the campaigns to aid the Soviet Union, and appearances by their various cultural groups to promote the war effort.

In the various campaigns to aid the Ukrainian people in Ukraine and the peoples of the Soviet Union our association collected over half a million dollars. In the first campaign, under the auspices of the Red Cross, over \$135,000 was collected; in the second campaign, under the auspices of the Canadian Aid to Russia Fund, nearly \$150,000 was collected; for the evacuees from Ukraine during the retreat of the Red Army, for hospitals in Kiev, Chernivtsi and Lviv—over \$170,000, which adds up to \$445,000. Over \$50,000 was donated by our branches outside the campaigns. We must add that, in addition, branches of our association collected 242,043 pounds of clothing or over 120 tons.

SOURCE: Mykhailo Dushnitsky, *Narady i Ukhvaly Druhoho Vsekraievoho Zizdu Tovarystva Kanadskykh Ukraintiv iakyi vidbuvsia v dniakh vid 12 do 15 sichnia 1946 r. v Ukraïnskomu Robitnychomu Domi*, Winnipeg, Man. [The Deliberations and Decisions of the Second National Convention of the Association of Canadian Ukrainians held from 12 to 15 January 1946 in the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Winnipeg, Man.] (Toronto, 1946), 49–50. Reports of conventions were published by the association for the membership. (Henceforth they will be cited as *Narady i Ukhvaly* with the number of the convention and its date.)

8. Cultural-Artistic War Work

The Ukrainian Canadians have greatly increased their contributions to the war effort of our newly adopted fatherland, Canada, through their cultural work, which is conducted by the branches of the Association of Canadian Ukrainians (ACU) across Canada. From the very beginning of this war* our orchestras, choirs, dance groups, sports clubs and drama groups were mobilizing factors by means of which we called together thousands of Ukrainian Canadians and acquainted them with the general demands of war work in the present war.

In the campaigns for the Red Cross, state loans, funds to aid the peoples of the Soviet Union and in the various other community activities our cultural-artistic forces played a very important role. With their help we collected for these causes hundreds of thousands of dollars, even millions if we include the purchase of bonds in state loans....

The result of our work is evident.... Our cultural forces appear on behalf of various humanitarian community causes in churches, public and high schools, military camps, factories and so on.

In two years our orchestra of the Calgary branch of the ACU staged about forty concerts in Canadian military training camps. The string orchestra of the ACU in Winnipeg toured military training camps of the province at least twice a month for two and a half years. The band of the Point Douglas (a section of Winnipeg) branch of the ACU put on 196 concerts for community and benefit causes. The Toronto orchestra put on a number of concerts in war factories and military training camps. In every part of Canada where there are branches of our association our cultural forces were always at the service of various community committees and appeared with concert programmes to raise the morale of the Canadian armed forces and returning veterans of the present war.

Hundreds of our finer musicians, singers, dancers and physical culturalists are in the Canadian armed forces. Twenty members of the West Toronto string orchestra, 48 members of the band in Point Douglas, 56 members of the orchestra and dance ensembles from Saskatoon, hundreds from Edmonton, Vancouver, Montreal and other localities volunteered for the Canadian armed forces to participate directly in the great war against barbarous German fascism....

We can also state that a number of our artists, who received their elementary musical training in our association, are today professional performers. You can hear their melodious songs and music on various programmes on radio networks in Canada. They are invited to participate in appearances of the most outstanding symphonic orchestras in Toronto and

* No evidence could be found to indicate that the cultural forces of the pro-communist organizations worked to promote the war effort prior to the German invasion of the USSR in June 1941.

other cities. They participate in concerts of the navy under the name, "Navy Show," which has toured Canada and for several months has been appearing in the largest theatres in England. In many cases our artists in military camps provided the initiative in organizing orchestras for the entertainment of the soldiers. Many of our artists appear on BBC programmes from London, England. . . .

Michael Mutzak

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 28 December 1944.

Chapter 30. Campaign for Legality and Return of Seized Properties

The promotion of the war effort by the Ukrainian pro-communists was linked with a campaign to force the government to lift the ban on the outlawed ULFTA and return its seized properties. The dynamism and dedication with which the Ukrainian pro-communists promoted the war effort and the frequent public appearances of their cultural forces gained them broad popular support. The Civil Liberties Association spearheaded a campaign on their behalf which included mass public meetings, intensive publicity campaigns, public petitions and delegations to the authorities that included such prominent figures as B.K. Sandwell, editor of Saturday Night; Sir Ellsworth Flavelle, a director of the National Trust Company; Very Reverend Peter Bryce, D.D., former moderator of the United Church of Canada; J.M. Macdonell, general manager of the National Trust Company; Pat Conroy, secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Congress of Labour; and numerous others. Altogether 108 United Church ministers urged their parishioners to sign petitions for the return of the confiscated properties. Dailies throughout Canada carried editorials in support of lifting the ban and returning the properties. The Toronto Star alone had seventeen such editorials.

1. Restore Ukrainian Property, Probe Destruction is Plea

Restoration of confiscated properties of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association across Canada, with compensation for alleged destruction of libraries was urged last night. More than 1,300 persons joined in the pleas at a mass meeting in Massey Hall sponsored by the Civil Liberties Association of Toronto.

The resolution moved by B.K. Sandwell, and seconded by W.M. Wallace of the Civil Liberties Association of Toronto, also urged upon the Dominion government the immediate institution of "an inquiry in regard to the alleged destruction of books of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association and to fix the responsibility therefor, and to deal firmly, if the fact is established, with those responsible for such conduct."

Speakers included Rev. John Coburn, secretary of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church of Canada; Russel Harvey of the Toronto District Trades and Labour Council; Morley Callaghan, internationally-known author and Michael Dushnitsky, secretary of the National Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Canadian Association.

Speakers were introduced by Miss Agnes MacPhail, while the meeting was under the chairmanship of Sir Ellsworth Flavelle. Included on the programme were musical and dance numbers by representatives of the Ukrainian population in Toronto. . . .

SOURCE: *Toronto Star*, 11 February 1943.

2. Letter to Prime Minister King

Toronto, Ont.

May 26, 1943.

I have read "An Appeal for Justice. . . ." * If the statements in this appeal are approximately correct I feel that a grave injustice has been done and I would respectfully urge that this ban be lifted.

John H. Gibson.

SOURCE: *Public Archives of Canada*, Records of the Department of External Affairs, RG 25, G1, vol. 1896, File 165—39c, Part III.

3. To Right a Wrong

If an average Canadian were told that an anti-fascist society had been banned, its properties confiscated, its libraries destroyed in barbarous fashion, and its leaders sent to concentration camps—if an average Canadian were told these things he would immediately conclude that they must have happened in Germany or some other dictator-ridden country. But they happened in Canada.

The society in question is the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association. It was one of the organizations arbitrarily declared illegal by order-in-council by the Canadian government under the Defence of Canada Regulations in 1940. The association had been operating under a Dominion charter since 1924. It had constructed 108 temples across Canada in which there were functioning 210 orchestras, 190 dramatic circles, 150 dancing classes, and various other cultural and educational activities.

* The reference is to a brochure published by the Civil Liberties Association on behalf of the seized properties.

No charge was made against the association, no instance of subversive activity was proved. According to officials of the movement, the only clue to the action of the government was that contained in a letter written by the late Ernest Lapointe, the minister of justice, in which he claimed that the Ukrainian association was sympathetic towards Soviet Ukraine. The presence of some communists in the membership may also have been a factor.

In any case, fourteen of the association's temples were seized and sold; others were leased. The value of those sold has been put at \$298,000; they fetched \$74,000. Some 60,000 books were destroyed—books, among others, by Shakespeare, Tolstoy, Marx, Burns and Churchill. Bricks for a new building belonging to the association were even confiscated.

Today Ukraine is a valiant ally of Canada. Over its plains bloody battles, battles against the Nazis, are being fought. And the Ukrainian people are fighting and dying in those battles. The Ukrainian Canadians in the ULFTA have all along been anti-Nazi.

No step has yet been taken to redress this wrong. The facts suggest an injustice almost too shocking to believe. If the facts are true, it is impossible to think that the members of the government are not aware of them. A delegation of the Civil Liberties Association of Toronto is waiting on the government in Ottawa to ask that the property of the association be restored and the ban against it lifted. Surely that is a reasonable request.

SOURCE: The Ottawa Citizen, 23 September 1943.

4. A Canadian Mystery

Many people are wondering why the government persists in doing nothing about the Ukrainian halls. There is a growing state of unrest among the Ukrainian people on this account and other sections of the population have taken a warm interest in their cause.

The flagrant injustice to a highly respected people will make strange reading in the history books. In 1940, the dominion government confiscated 108 buildings which had been purchased by the members of the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association in cities across Canada. The association had functioned for over twenty years under a dominion charter. The industry of the Ukrainians in Canada has helped to increase the wealth and comfort of this country. They have enriched Canadian life with their music and other artistic talents. The record of their good citizenship has never been stained. For over 20 years they spent their hard-earned savings to buy community centres and equipped them with libraries, musical instruments and furnishings. They used them for peaceful enjoyment and the cultural development of their children.

In the spring of 1940, the association was outlawed. To this date there has been no investigation or trial of the charges against it. But 108 buildings were confiscated and disposed of by the custodian of alien properties. Some of the halls were sold for a fraction of their value to Ukrainian groups known to be anti-Soviet. For example fourteen halls valued at approximately \$300,000 were sold for \$73,882. Some of them had clear titles and others were newly built. It is said by the officers of the association that valuable libraries of books and music scores have been destroyed or disposed of as waste paper.

The Civil Liberties Association of Toronto has had a special committee, headed by Mr. B.K. Sandwell, active in the correction of this injustice. It has ascertained through a widely circulated petition that there is widespread disapproval of this fantastically unjust treatment of an Allied minority group. The relatives and friends of these people are dying on the battlefields of Ukraine in the struggle to defeat our common enemy. . . .

In July of 1942, a committee of the House of Commons recommended that the ULFTA be restored to its legal status. Parliament then took no action, though there were public demonstrations in support of this course. This year requests were made by Ukrainians and the C.L.A. for a hearing. But Mr. Sandwell has pointed out in a circular letter: "Up to the present time it has not been possible to arrange for any appointment with the Prime Minister and the members of his cabinet in connection with this subject."

For this reason, a conference has been called to formulate a special appeal to the cabinet. It will be held on Tuesday, October 7th, at the Chateau Laurier Hotel, in Ottawa. Delegations from all interested groups and individuals as well, are invited to attend.

To those who cannot attend the conference, it is suggested by Mr. Sandwell that they can materially assist this cause by writing a personal letter to the Prime Minister and to their member of parliament. This should be done before the date of the conference.

SOURCE: The Toronto Star, 25 September 1943.

5. Ukrainian Halls

The outlawing of various Ukrainian, Finnish, Hungarian and other societies in Canada in the first year of the war on account of their attitude towards Canadian participation, which was the attitude of the Communist Party and was dictated by the current policy of the Soviet Union, was an entirely justifiable procedure and had naturally to be followed by other procedures for taking charge of the properties of these societies which they were no longer capable of using or administering. As soon as the attitude of the Communist Party changed the attitude of these societies changed also, and they became the

most ardent supporters of the war effort.

The ban on these societies should have been withdrawn as soon as it became evident that they were no longer opposing the war effort; they were not banned on account of their sympathy with communism, but on account of their opposition to Canada's effort in the war...

SOURCE: Saturday Night, vol. 59, no. 7, 23 October 1943.

6. The Ukrainian Properties

A special committee, composed of Judge G.W. McPhee of Moose Jaw, G.A. Campbell of Edmonton and W.G. Thomson of Windsor, appointed by the government, is holding hearings across the country concerning the Ukrainian halls which were confiscated when the Ukrainian Labour-Farmer Temple Association was banned. The committee has been receiving evidence regarding the hall on Bathurst Street.

The ban on the ULFTA was lifted last October, but some of the valuable properties purchased with the savings of thousands of hard-working men and women are still in the possession of rival Ukrainian groups. The halls were sold to them at a fraction of their value by the Custodian of Alien Properties. It has never been explained nor is it possible to understand why these properties, which belong to an Allied group, were treated worse than those of enemy aliens. The properties of enemy aliens are being held in trust by the official custodian and they are to be returned to them with the least possible or no loss when hostilities cease.

This should now be done with the properties taken from the Ukrainian Canadians. Judge McPhee's committee has been receiving evidence not only as to the original costs of the building, but also as to their sentimental value accumulated over some years in their respective communities. The committee has received testimonials from a large variety of citizens' groups concerning the character of these Ukrainian citizens and the value to Canada of the cultural activities that they carried on in their community centres.

There is peculiar appeal in a group of people who came to a far and strange land, worked industriously and with the earnings from their labours built cultural centres where their children may learn music, drama, good literature and build wholesome habits. Such an act in itself demonstrates the stability and splendid character of these people, and also their faith in Canada. The committee has heard of the loyalty of these Ukrainian citizens. Thousands of the young men and women who grew up under the influence of these community centres are now serving in Canada's armed forces. Some have become accomplished professional musicians, others have become trained for various occupations useful to themselves and to their adopted country. There is

hardly any record of social delinquency among them.

These Ukrainian halls have been built not merely of bricks, stone and lumber. They are made of the dreams, hopes and faith of mothers, fathers and young people in our midst. They contain the memories of joys and sorrows shared by a community. They are not just pieces of real estate; they are monuments of human culture and aspirations.

It was an act of extraordinary injustice when they were forcibly taken away from these people. How it must have hurt them to see their beloved halls passed over to unfriendly hands! It is no more than right that the halls should be returned to their original owners.

SOURCE: *Toronto Star*, 13 January 1944.

7. Campaign for Return of the ULFTA Properties

In 1942 the political situation in Canada changed. The participation of the Soviet Union in the war changed these conditions. A situation developed that made it possible to begin a struggle for the return of our properties. However, it was not an easy matter. This was a struggle with the government. And it took three years for us to obtain the return of our properties. It was most difficult to get back the buildings which had been sold. . . . The return of our temples and the expulsion of the Ukrainian fascists from them was a great political victory, not to mention the material gains.

This struggle falls into three periods: the first for the removal of the ban, the second for the return of the unsold properties and compensation for damages and taxes, and the third for the buildings that had been sold. Those periods are sharply divided because each had its beginning and end. It so happened that after nearly every one of these periods we had to begin the campaign anew. And this was difficult to do. When, in Toronto, in 1942, a committee was formed which began a struggle for the return of our properties, it was aware of the fact that it could win concessions from the government only by means of mass action. This committee went to the Civil Liberties Association and explained the whole matter of the ban on our organization. From then on this association stood in the leadership and led the struggle to its conclusion. But, although the Civil Liberties Association was in the leadership, the committee of the ULFTA itself had to conduct the whole campaign. This was a campaign on an unheard-of scale. Tens of thousands of pamphlets were printed in Ukrainian as well as in English. A brochure, *An Appeal for Justice*, was issued; a book, *This Is Our Land*, was published in 8,000 copies. The brochures and the books were sent to all Canadian public organizations, all municipalities, trade unions, universities, churches and Members of Parliament and the Senate. We did not miss one respectable provincial or dominion

convention such as Liberal, Conservative, church, YMCA, druggist, adult education and others in our campaign to raise the question of the ULFTA.

The whole country was covered with petitions. About a half-million were collected. And not until this mass action did the government remove the ban on 14 October 1943. On 19 October of the same year, by means of an order-in-council, the government entrusted the custodian with the appointment of an advisory commission of not more than three members which was to make recommendations regarding the return of our properties. . . . After several months of deliberations it brought in a recommendation to return all temples that had not been sold. . . . And when the unsold temples had been returned, all the municipalities immediately applied to our branches that they pay the taxes for the three years that the custodian had held our properties. This was a considerable sum—\$13,000. The committee immediately prepared a statement with a demand to the minister that the government pay all the taxes and compensation for various damages to the temples. It was necessary to carry on a long struggle. Finally the minister agreed to pay the taxes and some compensation. Although the government did not pay the full sum of compensation that we claimed, still we succeeded to the extent that the government compensated our branches in the sum of \$10,491.70. . . . But this was not the end. This, so to speak, was victory in the second battle. The third battle, for the return of the buildings that had been sold, was the hardest. This was after the return of the unsold buildings, when the custodian sent cheques to our branches for the sold buildings. This was a miserable sum. What we feared most happened.

The custodian sent cheques for the sold buildings in the following amounts:

Brooklands	\$176.22
Libau	61.99
Arborg	89.06
Swift Current	139.81
Bienfait	55.59
North Battleford	79.52
Lachine	1,457.93
Toronto	24,762.89
Hamilton	3,540.00
Saskatoon	299.80
Edmonton	3,540.00
Calgary	1,073.22
Lethbridge	432.65
Medicine Hat	1,011.44
Vancouver	1,577.04

Winnipeg (Point Douglas) was to pay an additional \$408.19 for custody. Thus the total from the sale of the sold buildings was \$292,339.26, while the custodian mailed cheques totalling \$38,297.16.

From this it is evident that those sixteen sold buildings made up almost half of all our assets. These were all buildings in cities and had a great significance for our movement. For that reason the CEC immediately instructed all our branches which had received cheques not to cash them but to mail them to the CEC. It was decided to continue the struggle.... We collected all those cheques and selected a delegation to see Minister McLarty. After a half-hour discussion the minister did not give us any definite reply. But in the discussion he revealed that he had no intention of forcibly taking back the halls. He declared: "I will not make any recommendations in the cabinet, I will give my report and let the cabinet decide."

Noting the danger, we began to intensify our campaign. That very day our four delegates in Ottawa visited a number of Members of Parliament and the cabinet.... On 25 and 26 July 1944 there was a conference in Ottawa which sent a delegation to the government. This was the first conference in which not only members of the ULFTA but noted public figures, trade-union leaders, church and press representatives and Members of Parliament participated. Four ministers in the presence of thirty Members of Parliament heard our delegation and promised to look into the matter. As a result the minister again appointed a commission of one whom he empowered to buy back our buildings for the government....

None of the owners agreed to sell. Then the government realized that there was no other solution, while we pressed even harder. On 25 January 1945 it passed an order-in-council to dispossess the owners of our halls. But in this order-in-council were included Lachine, Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Calgary, Lethbridge, Medicine Hat and Vancouver. The halls in Brooklands, Swift Current, Bienfait, North Battleford, Libau and Arborg were not included....

Members of the CEC were summoned before the commission and informed that the following halls would be returned: Lachine, Toronto, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton and Vancouver. For three buildings: Calgary, Lethbridge and Medicine Hat, the government was prepared to pay \$20,000. In addition we were told that from this sum we were to pay over \$6,000 for repairs to the Edmonton Hall.

The CEC... decided at once to send a delegation to Ottawa with a protest. Before departing for Ottawa, the CEC had an enlarged conference of all our leading people in Toronto at which it was decided that we must come to a final agreement because the federal elections were approaching, and not knowing how the election may go, there was a danger that we could lose everything. Having arrived in Ottawa, the delegation learned that the minister who was in charge of this matter was resigning and in his place someone else would be appointed with whom it would be necessary to begin all over again. We decided to conclude this, otherwise it might be too late. The delegation saw Minister McLarty. After long negotiations he agreed to increase the

amount for the three halls by \$5,000 and to pay \$3,000 towards the repair of the Edmonton hall. . . . We came to the conclusion that it would be unwise not to come to a final agreement. On 10 April 1945 we finally accepted the government's compromise offer. This was on Tuesday, and on Friday of that week the parliamentary session ended and elections were announced.

SOURCE: Boichuk, *Borotba*. . . , 19-23.

Chapter 31. Upsurge and Growth

The Ukrainian pro-communists, regrouping their forces after the German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, experienced a phenomenal revival and rapid growth. The hard-pressed Allies greeted the Soviet involvement in the war with great enthusiasm and the USSR, once regarded with suspicion and enmity, suddenly became "our gallant ally." Western leaders, among them many Canadians, began to view the Soviet Union with admiration and praise. The Ukrainian communist leaders were quick to take advantage of and exploit the favourable situation. They not only voiced their unconditional support for the war effort but threw all their resources into its promotion. Many, even among the leaders, joined the armed forces. The activists worked unstintingly in the fund-raising and other campaigns. Michael Mutzak, the chief spokesman for the movement, was able to mobilize the cultural forces to provide entertainment for the armed forces and other audiences. The Ukrainian pro-communists, posing as anti-fascists, appeared as patriotic Canadians and cultivators and promoters of Ukrainian culture. By their activity and propaganda they completely outmanoeuvred their more numerous nationalist opponents, whom they labelled fascists, and created the impression that they represented the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians in Canada. Riding the waves of Soviet popularity, they skillfully combined their support of the war effort with appeals to Ukrainian patriotism. As a result, their press found new readers and their ranks attracted new members. By the conclusion of hostilities in 1945 they were fully confident that in the Ukrainian community the future belonged to them.

1. Eight Branches of the ACU have been Organized in Saskatchewan

The Provincial Committee of the Association of Canadian Ukrainians sent me in February on an organizational tour in Saskatchewan. During February and March I visited over thirty localities. . . .

I visited localities where there were no branches of the ACU yet and also those where our organization exists.

One notices an increasing interest among farmers in the Association of Canadian Ukrainians. This is evident from the fact that during my tour I organized eight branches of the ACU at Bonne Madone, Meath Park, Prince Albert, Chelan, Pelly, Stoney Creek, Calder and among the miners in Bienfait.

When one takes into account the severe winter (heavy snowfalls), then my meetings were very successful. Some farmers had to drive or walk over ten miles.

One also notices that some Ukrainian farmers, who were under the influence of Ukrainian pro-fascist organizations until recently, are joining the ranks of the Association of Canadian Ukrainians. One Ukrainian farmer, who was a delegate last fall to the SUS convention in Saskatoon, today is a member of the ACU.

Honest Ukrainian farmers who belong to Ukrainian organizations in the UCC are very indignant because the UCC sent out a circular (secret) calling upon them not to participate in the campaign to aid the people of the Soviet Union with other Ukrainian progressive organizations, which it labelled "communist." Many members spoke to me of this and in reply contributed and collected from others. . . .

In several localities my meetings were held in Ukrainian National Homes, which is also a commendable development. The executives of these UNH previously refused organizers the halls for meetings; today their attitude is different because they understand the need for a clarification of important questions related to the present war against bloody fascism. . . .

I thank all the executives of the Ukrainian National Home for allowing me to hold my meetings.

I. Alexiewich.

SOURCE: Ukrainske Zhyttia, 13 May 1943.

2. New Branches of the Association of Canadian Ukrainians Formed

The National Executive Committee of the Association of Canadian Ukrainians planned a campaign for new members for the months of January and February. Later this campaign was extended to the end of April.

During this period 1,900 new members were recruited into the Association of Canadian Ukrainians and a significant number of new branches were organized. . . .

The result of the campaign for members in each province is clear from the figures. . . . New members were recruited as follows:

Ontario	706
Manitoba	451

Alberta	417
British Columbia	137
Saskatchewan	108
Nova Scotia	51
Quebec	30

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 6 July 1944.

3. A Break in Nationalist Ranks

The Ukrainian communist leaders had good reason to be confident and optimistic regarding the future of their movement. Not only had the hopes of the Ukrainian nationalists of achieving an independent Ukraine as a result of the war been shattered, but serious rifts began to appear in their ranks. Wasyl Swystun of Winnipeg and Mykyta Romaniuk of Toronto, both barristers and prominent former members of the Ukrainian National Federation, and William Yarmey, a Toronto physician, adopted a positive attitude toward the Soviet Union and Soviet Ukraine. Articles began appearing in the Ukrainian pro-communist press by Mykyta Romaniuk and Mykhailo Sribniak from Toronto, and A. Marko from Saskatchewan, H.N. Kostash, Superintendent of Schools in Alberta, and I.S. Dubeta, a school principal in Warspite, Alberta, all from the Orthodox camp. Swystun was a founder of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the first president of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and one of the most prominent nationalist leaders in Canada. In 1943, on the eve of the first congress of the UCC, he resigned from the vice-presidency of and membership in the UNF and from the chairmanship of the co-ordinating committee and vice-presidency of the UCC. Suddenly, on 18 February 1945, when the war was drawing to a close, he delivered an unexpected speech which proved a delight to the Ukrainian pro-communists and a surprise for the nationalists.

I am extremely pleased to see such a large audience in this, the largest Ukrainian hall in Winnipeg. This demonstrates conclusively that those present attach great importance to the subject of my lecture. And the subject is so important and interesting that because of it I decided to interrupt my silence of almost two years. . . .

Ukrainian citizens of Canada today, in the sixth year of the war, are divided on the Ukrainian question, just as they were before the war, into two groups which carry almost the same names and proclaim the very same slogans, have the same programmes and the same world outlooks. . . .

Without abandoning the national ideology, I was able, as a private person, to consider matters regarding the Ukrainian national question which I could not see as a member of a group. . . .

I speak as a Ukrainian who had all his life regarded the national question as most important for the Ukrainian nation and posed the question of Ukrainian statehood on a national plane, with little regard for the social problem. . . .

Ukrainian citizens in Canada, after five years of war, are divided, it seems, into two irreconcilable camps. . . . In a word, one camp declares: there is a genuine Ukrainian state; the second declares more vociferously: no, there is no Ukrainian state, and there is no hope that it will soon appear. . . .

I think that the time has come to consider whether it is not possible to eliminate that hostility through the explanation of certain questions. . . .

The Ukrainian political immigrants always expected that the irreconcilable conflict between the Soviet Union and the West would lead to a new world war during which the question of an independent Ukrainian state would be raised in all its aspects.

The nationally thinking groups also believed that the Soviet regime in Ukraine, with its five-year plans, collectivization and dictation from Moscow was so detested by the Ukrainians that as soon as the German armies began approaching they would immediately rebel against the regime. . . .

Consequently, the first great disappointment for the Ukrainian political immigration came at the beginning of the war, when Germany did not go against the Soviet Union but, on the contrary, made an agreement with it. . . .

But there came an even greater disappointment. The Western Powers did not display the least desire . . . to raise the question of Ukrainian statehood. . . .

Germany not only did not raise the question of Ukrainian statehood but immediately, at the very beginning of the war with the Soviet Union, arrested all those who had formed the Ukrainian government which proclaimed Western Ukraine an independent Ukrainian state. . . .

Instead of rebelling against the Soviet Union, for which the Ukrainian people had full opportunity during the German occupation of Ukraine, they rose up as one in defence of Ukraine in the face of the German invasion. . . .

Actual events have caused Ukraine to seek its statehood in a manner which it found most convenient for itself. . . . Do we, a small part of the Ukrainian people . . . have the right to dictate to the Ukrainian nation what state form it should have? . . .

The very fact that Ukraine is in a federation with other Soviet republics does not mean that the Ukrainian people will not have the opportunity to create their own genuine state. I believe that the Ukrainian people have the necessary power and means. . . .

And if the Ukrainian people in their native land did not have such power, could we, a small group here in Canada, give it that power? If the war has proven anything, it is that we cannot conduct any action from here for the liberation of the Ukrainian people. . . .

In my opinion, one must agree that there is a Ukrainian state, but that it has a lot of room for further development both as regards form and content.

Already during this war the Ukrainian state has become stronger because it obtained two new commissariats—foreign affairs and defence. . . .

The fact that Soviet Ukraine is in a federation with other Soviet republics does not preclude its further state development and progress. . . .

I am delivering this lecture, first of all, in order to find a common language between the two Ukrainian camps on the question of Ukrainian statehood. It will only be possible to find such a common language through the goodwill of both sides. Certain psychological changes of attitude to a whole series of matters related to the question of Ukrainian statehood are absolutely necessary in order to exhibit such goodwill. . . .

SOURCE: Vasyl [Wasył] Swystun, *Ukrainske pytannia v svitli voiennykh podii* [The Ukrainian Question in the Light of Developments During the War] (Winnipeg: National Publishers, n.d.), 2–5, 9–13, 16.

4. Victory Festival

Swystun's speech was shortly followed by another event, the Victory Festival in Toronto on 30 June–1 July, which indicated upsurge and growth and seemed to confirm the faith of the Ukrainian pro-communists in the future development of their organization.

In 1945 the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the Association of Canadian Ukrainians (ACU) decided to stage an Eastern Canadian Festival of Ukrainian Song, Music and Dance to demonstrate before the Canadian people the cultural achievements of the Ukrainian people and to mark the liberation of Soviet Ukraine and its people from the German fascist aggressors. . . .

The festival was planned for 30 June and 1 July 1945. Because the war in Europe ended on 9 May 1945 . . . the NEC of the ACU decided to transform this festival into a victory celebration. . . .

The Canadian Ukrainian festival began with a great concert in Maple Leaf Gardens, the largest accommodation in Toronto. Over 1,000 performers from the branches of the ACU in Toronto, Hamilton, Welland, St. Catharines, Windsor, Oshawa, Kitchener, Thorold, Sudbury, Val d'Or and Montreal participated in the concert programme. The participants included 350 choristers, 240 musicians in the string orchestra, 50 in the band, 200 dancers and 200 sportsmen. . . .

A great surprise for the audience of the festival was the appearance of two guests from Soviet Ukraine, Professors Petro Pohrebniak and Volodymyr Bodnarchuk. They were members of the Ukrainian delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization in San Francisco. After the conclusion of the sessions, they visited Toronto on their way back to Soviet Ukraine at the very time of the festival. The festival committee invited them to

speaking to the Victory Festival... Their appearance was enthusiastically greeted by 15,000 people in Maple Leaf Gardens. Ukrainians... greeted the heroic Ukrainian people in the persons of Petro Pohrebniak and Volodymyr Bodnarchuk and the great victory it achieved with the assistance of its elder brother,* the Russian people, and its inviolable friendship with all other Soviet peoples.

Georgii Zarubin, the ambassador of the Soviet Union in Canada, appeared at the concert... and officially thanked the Canadian Ukrainians for the aid they rendered the peoples of the Soviet Union in their struggle against the fascist aggressors.

On Sunday, 1 July, there was a massive manifestation on the island at Hanlan's Point near Toronto at which over 25,000 people were present. The cultural forces put on a short concert programme which concluded the victory festival.

SOURCE: Kravchuk, *Na novii zemli*, 324-5.

5. Joyous Meeting with Representatives of Fraternal Peoples on Canadian Soil

From Toronto the three emissaries from Ukraine went to Winnipeg, where they also received a tumultuous welcome. In the meantime, the main body of the delegation from Ukraine to the United Nations Conference, led by Dmytro Manuilsky,† stopped over in Edmonton. They were met not by representatives of the Canadian government, but by representatives of pro-communist organizations.

On Friday, 29 June at 11:15 a.m. two large Soviet planes landed with the Ukrainian and Belorussian delegations to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco who were on their way home.

Representatives of the Canadian military and air force, headed by General Foster, and representatives of Ukrainian and Belorussian associations and the press awaited the Soviet guests.

When the Ukrainian delegation, headed by Dmytro Manuilsky, emerged from the plane, it was greeted by General Foster and from the Ukrainians by Ivan Navizivsky....

* Pan-Russians contend that their nation is older and larger than the Ukrainian and, therefore, superior. Many Ukrainians, however, point to Kievan Rus', which was a highly developed state when the present site of Moscow was still a wilderness. The Ukrainian communist leaders repeat the Russian claim in order to ingratiate themselves with the Russian authorities.

† Dmytro Manuilsky (1883-1959), prominent party and state figure, secretary of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, 1928-43, and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, 1944-52.

Present at the airport from the Ukrainians were Ivan Navizivsky, representative of the CEC of the ACU, Matthew Shatulsky, representative of *Ukrainske Slovo* and the Ukrainian organizations in Winnipeg, Peter Krawchuk, representative of *Ukrainske Zhyttia* in Toronto, Andrew Bileski, manager of the People's Co-operative... in Winnipeg and John Stokaluk, vice-president of District 18, United Mine Workers of America.

From the Edmonton Ukrainian organizations present were William Halina, secretary of the provincial committee of the ACU....

Also present was W.A. MacDonald... editor of the *Edmonton Journal*.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 4 July 1945.

6. Meeting Delegates of the Ukrainian State

...The administration of the airport provided a dinner for both delegations in the officers' mess. Ivan Navizivsky, Matthew Shatulsky and Peter Krawchuk were also invited....

In the evening there was a hospitable and festive banquet in the reception room of the Corona Hotel...sponsored by the Association of Ukrainian Canadians and the Federation of Russian Canadians....

The master of ceremonies was Andrew Bileski, a noted Canadian Ukrainian public figure.... Andrew Bileski called upon Ivan Navizivsky to deliver greetings....

Ivan Navizivsky greeted the members of both delegations on behalf of the CEC of the ACU and thousands of members and sympathizers.... In concluding his speech, he said:

"Only under the leadership of Marshal Joseph Stalin, the great genius, could the Ukrainian and other people of the mighty Soviet Union have withstood and vanquished such a cruel enemy as German fascism...."

Ivan Klymchuk from the Federation of Russian Canadians, W.A. Macdonald from the Canadian Soviet Friendship Society and John Stokaluk also delivered greetings....

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 11 July 1945.

7. Mighty Manifestation of Ukrainian Musical Culture

The Ukrainian communist leaders were intent on maintaining the momentum generated by their identification with the victorious USSR and the visit of the Ukrainian delegates to the UN Conference. The second convention of the association in January 1946 decided to hold a mass Western Canada festival in Edmonton in the summer to raise even higher the organization's prestige and maintain the momentum. As an added attraction the convention decided to invite a delegation representing the arts from Ukraine.

For a long time the cultural forces of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians have been preparing for the Festival of Ukrainian Song, Music and Dance. . . .

The festival began on Friday, 26 July at 8 p.m. There was a parade through the streets of the city by the performers of the festival programme. Over 1,000 singers, musicians, dancers and sportsmen marched four abreast through the streets of Edmonton. . . .

A long parade marched down Jasper Avenue, the main artery of Edmonton. Heels rhythmically struck the asphalt of the street to the melodious march of the band of the Workers' Benevolent Association under the direction of H. Nichols. . . .

The parade moved to the large Market Square. The park was filled with people. For a spectator standing on the sideline and observing the scene, the performers appeared like a large garden of multicoloured living flowers. The rays of the warm July sun, which rolled on to its evening repose, played on the girls' necklaces, embroideries and the soft velvet. . . .

Originally only one festival concert was planned—for Saturday night in the spacious Edmonton Arena. When news arrived from Kiev that the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations had accepted the invitation to send a delegation and announced that five delegates would soon leave for Canada, it was necessary to reorganize the concert programme.

The committee decided to add an additional concert. . . . On Saturday afternoon the spacious arena was filled with spectators. . . . But, unfortunately, the delegation was held up in Paris. . . .

On Saturday at 7 p.m. the arena could not accommodate all those present. The musical programme was transmitted over the Canadian radio network. . . .

James Gardiner, Minister of Agriculture, greeted the festival. . . on behalf of the federal government. . . . Harry Ainley, mayor of the city of Edmonton, greeted those present on behalf of the city council. . . . Mykhailo Dekhtiar, a representative of the Soviet Union in Canada, delivered greetings. . . .

Under the baton of the experienced director of the Toronto Conservatory of Music, Ivan Moskalyk, the combined choir and orchestra performed the musical programme. Every song, every musical composition, every Ukrainian

national dance and every appearance of the sports group evoked great enthusiasm and a flood of applause. It was said that the Edmonton Arena had never known such enthusiasm and excitement....

On Sunday, the third day, the festival was held in the park. About 15,000 people congregated on the field....

The people waited impatiently...for the arrival of the guests from Ukraine.... The dear guests arrived on the platform at about 7 p.m.... At 9:30 p.m. the concert began....

On the stage were the delegate-guests: Luka Palamarchuk, Semen Stefanyk and Andrii Malyshko. All three delegates delivered short speeches. The audience greeted the guests with prolonged applause.

The choir began to sing. Ivan Patorzhynsky and Zoia Haidai came on stage. In her beautiful voice, Zoia Haidai sang three Ukrainian folk songs....

The choir rendered arias from operettas.... The sounds of the choir had just died down when Ivan Patorzhynsky came forward and sang three Ukrainian folk songs....

It was stifling hot in the hall.... Ukrainian girls in national dress approached the stage and presented the guests with bouquets of luxurious flowers....

At the request of the chairman, Andrii Malyshko read a poem which he had written on the plane between Winnipeg and Edmonton....

When the concert came to an end the chairman thanked, in the name of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and those present, the Ukrainian nation and Ukraine for sending their ambassadors of the great Ukrainian culture.

He assured the guests that the Ukrainians would repay Ukraine and its people; they would send their delegation to their native land, if not this year, then next.

Those present slowly left for home, filled with enthusiasm. This historic Festival of Ukrainian Song, Music and Dance and the meeting with the dear guests from their native Ukraine will remain forever in their memory. They will recall these pleasant days many times during their lifetime....

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 8 August 1946.

8. Not from Berlin or Warsaw, but Kiev and Lviv

The great success of the festival confirmed the confidence of the Ukrainian communist leaders in the future of their movement, strengthened their ties with Soviet authorities and generated in them tremendous pride in their Soviet connections and in their latest achievement. They proceeded to act and plan on the basis that they, who had ties with Soviet Ukraine, were the

real representatives of the Ukrainians in Canada and that they would continue to grow in numbers and in strength to become dominant in the Ukrainian community in Canada.

For the first time in history, as far back as generations can remember, a delegation of the great Ukrainian nation officially visited a branch of that nation in another country. That fortunate branch was the Ukrainian people in Canada.

Ukrainian Canadians feel fortunate and proud that on them has been bestowed such a great honour. "Guests" came to Canada in the past not once and not twice. They came with some sort of false passports... with Lithuanian passports in their pockets (and with guilt in their hearts). OUN delegates came from Berlin, from Vienna, "historians" from Warsaw and the devil knows who and from where....

We are greatly pleased that those... people came to Canada not from Kiev, not from Lviv, but from Berlin, Warsaw, but... not from Ukraine. We are greatly pleased that these types came not from the Ukrainian people, but from those to whom they sold themselves. We are pleased that the Ukrainian people drove these villains out of its land....

We invited the delegation from Ukraine to Canada. We make no secret of this. On the contrary, we have told all the Ukrainian people in Canada and all the Canadian people about this.

We greeted this delegation with open arms as the first true emissaries of the great Ukrainian nation and its state. From the first day of its arrival in Canada, the Ukrainian delegation appeared before people and with them at their meetings, concerts, picnics and banquets. It was greeted by representatives of cities and provinces, representatives of the government and of cultural institutions of Canada.

Even more: in every city they were greeted by people from the nationalist camp who came to talk with them, to inquire about the Old Country and even about the refugees. Perhaps some came with not too good intentions, but, having spoken and discussed with them and listened to their speeches and their singing, sincerely squeezed the hands of the delegates when bidding farewell....

The delegates from Ukraine came to Canada as heralds of national unity and solidarity. In speech and song they glorified the heroic distant and not too distant past of the Ukrainian people. They described in words, facts and old and new, popular and classical songs the terrible times the Ukrainian people experienced during the German occupation, how they fought at the front and as partisans; of the heroes and military leaders that the Ukrainian people produced in that struggle and how they won.

They won, do you hear? They won, united all their territories into one mighty Soviet state and are now sending its delegates to the United Nations, to the Peace Conference in Paris and have sent a delegation to Canada....

And we are proud of this! Every Ukrainian, if in his heart glows a spark of love for his people and the country from which he originated, should be proud and happy with this. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 19 September 1946.

9. To Grow Uninterruptedly

The campaign of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians is in full swing. The first reports indicate that the members of the branches of the AUC have begun to work with enthusiasm from the first day of the campaign, are developing this work and aim to achieve full success by the end of April.

All the objective and subjective conditions exist for such success. Regardless of all the attempts of the enemies, they will not succeed in turning back the clock of history, because these enemies are the vanquished and we are the victors. The victory in the war did not only mean the defeat of the fascist armed forces, it also meant a new period of great development of the democratic forces in all countries.

We must take full advantage of this possibility of further development. We can and should grow uninterruptedly.

The editorial board of our paper has noticed that with the unfolding of the March-April campaign of the AUC, the administration of *Ukrainske Zhyttia* began to receive 10–15 new subscribers nearly every day. This is a pleasant fact. It indicates that the progressive labour-farmer press of the Ukrainians in Canada also has prospects of uninterrupted growth.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 21 March 1946.

10. The Consolidation of our Forces

As the Second National Convention of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians specified, the consolidation of our forces was the first task facing the progressive Ukrainians of Canada in the post-war period. What is understood by the term "consolidation of our forces?"

During the war the Association of Ukrainian Canadians grew into the largest and strongest Ukrainian Canadian organization. This is not self-praise but a statement of fact. It is enough to point to the work performed during the war by the progressive democratic Ukrainians organized in the AUC to become convinced of this.

Actually, the progressive Association of Ukrainian Canadians carried out during the war a great deal of work which was and is now being recognized

by the whole Canadian nation. Thousands of new Ukrainians, who saw in the AUC the only organization that served their interests and desires, joined the ULFTA core. Thousands of Ukrainians heard the militant call of Ukraine, wounded by the fascist beast, and answered by joining the ranks of the great Association of Ukrainian Canadians, where they could make the greatest contribution to the victory over the accursed enemy of Ukraine and all mankind, Fascist Germany.

Immediately after the war it was necessary to consolidate the gains of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians made during the war in order to go on with the same determination into the struggle for the complete destruction of the fascist remnants, the achievement of lasting peace on earth and prosperity for the people. Precisely this task was placed before the whole organization by the Second National Convention of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians.

A year has passed since the Second Convention of the AUC. There was no national convention this year. Instead, provincial conventions were organized, which are an even better means of reviewing what was achieved by the organization since the last convention.

The provincial conventions indicate that the membership understood the tasks placed before it by last year's convention. Much has been done in this field. From spontaneity, which sometimes appeared in the work in the war period, the organization as a whole has gone over to functioning according to plan. And while at the last national convention the slogan regarding the consolidation of our forces was introduced from above by the National Executive Committee, at the provincial conventions this year the slogan FOR FURTHER consolidation of our forces was advanced by the membership itself.

This is a good sign. This means that the decisions of the Second National Convention of the AUC, although not fully realized, are being carried out.

Furthermore, the provincial conventions of the AUC indicate that generally all the main resolutions of the second convention are applicable today. . . .

So, together with the study of the resolutions of the provincial conventions, which introduced a series of new tasks, all branches and their committees should again study the decisions of the Second National Convention and draw up their plans and carry on their activity during the next year in the light of these decisions. An understanding of our tasks will guarantee the success of our activities.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 6 February 1947.

11. Internal Organizational State of the Association

"Consolidate our forces." "Secure our positions." Our second convention was conducted under this slogan. . . .

Have we secured our positions? The mass work performed in the last two years indicates that we have. The festivals in Edmonton and Timmins in 1946, the festivals in Coleman, Windsor, Fort William, Hamilton and the Niagara district in 1947 revealed those influences that our organizations achieved, especially the festival in Edmonton. This festival was a great blow to the Ukrainian fascists, our enemies. They were so stunned by it that they did not know what to do. They organized a special committee, went to the city council, to the police, to various people in order to hamper us. They went from house to house and collected petitions against a grant from the city council, they came to the station when people were arriving and alarmed them in whatever way they could. But the efforts of the Ukrainian pro-fascists were not crowned with success. The festival was held and more than 10,000 people attended it. Only those who participated in the festival know how many difficulties had to be overcome, because there were difficulties not only from the enemies, but with the preparation of the programme itself. This was a grandiose enterprise which no other organization in Canada dared undertake.

This festival popularized our organization not only among the Ukrainian people in Western Canada, but also among all the Canadian people.

The programme of our festival was transmitted over the CBC radio station; people listened to it even in Europe. . . .

The fact must be underlined that our Association gained certain prestige in the area of culture in Canada. We are the first organization in Canada to introduce festival work, which is an important contribution to Canadian culture. . . .

On the provincial committees falls a much greater responsibility. . . . The province of Alberta, for example, has as many branches as our whole national organization had twelve years ago. . . . *

SOURCE: Ivan Boichuk [John Boychuk], *Narady i Ukhvaly (Tretioho Zizdu 12-15 liutoho 1948)*, 55-63.

12. First AUC Branch of the Canadian-Born

At its Second Convention the Association drew up plans "to extend our organization and our influence." Meeting in the favourable climate generated by the visit of the delegates from the UN Conference, it resolved to organize separate branches of the Canadian-born in which the

* In 1937 Boichuk reported that the ULFTA had 165 branches.

deliberations and activities would be conducted in the English language, in which the members could more easily express themselves, to call a conference to lay plans for a Ukrainian youth organization and to launch a paper in the English language for the Canadian-born. The first results of the campaign to implement the decisions were most promising, reassuring the members that their movement would continue to grow.

On Sunday, 10 March, there was an enthusiastic, well-attended meeting in the Ukrainian Labour Temple of Canadian-born Ukrainians. A significant number of Canadian-born Ukrainians attended a banquet-meeting and 103 joined the Association of Ukrainian Canadians.

The great enthusiasm displayed at this first gathering leads one to conclude that the new branch of the association will soon greatly increase its ranks.

The initiator of this was the last convention of the association, which resolved to organize branches made up mostly of those born in Canada. . . .

A great number of those who came to the meeting and joined the association were returned soldiers of the Canadian army.

All those who joined the new branch decided to summon the first official meeting on Monday, 25 March. At this first meeting the executive and various committees will be elected. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 21 March 1946.

13. Recruiting the Canadian-Born into the AUC

It is true that in the last period we made impressive advances, perhaps not so much quantitatively as qualitatively. We already have a number of fine and promising English-speaking branches and youth and children's clubs. We are publishing a fine and useful paper, the *Ukrainian Canadian*, which has grown to almost 5,000 readers.* New cadres, which are more and more playing their leading role in our organization, are growing up and being trained. . . .

What we have accomplished is good. But how can we seriously talk and think about our younger reserves when we have barely 38 English-speaking branches (and not all are active), 15 youth clubs and 10 children's clubs. . . . Why is this so? Firstly, we have too few experienced cadres, and secondly, our Association as a whole has not begun the struggle to win the Canadian-born for our ranks. . . .

The young generation in Canada is under the influence of the capitalist ideology. It must be rescued and led onto the correct path, particularly now, when hundreds of thousands of workers in Canada have lost their jobs.

* This was the peak of its circulation.

Last summer there were short-term courses in various parts of Canada. . . . These courses evoked among the Canadian-born a great interest in further broadening their world outlook, in acquiring a clearer understanding of the real history of Canada, the role of the labour movement, the merits of the Ukrainian Canadians, and so on. Do we need such courses? Of course, and it is to be expected that this year there will be a whole series of them. . . .

All these courses will give us a number of new workers, people who will not only become good activists but leaders of our branches and noted public figures.

Thanks to short-term courses conducted by comrade Teresio and myself in Toronto, Timmins, Fort William, Moose Jaw, Calgary, Edmonton and a provincial three-week course in British Columbia, we already have the initial result that in these localities our young students have begun to understand the essence of our organization, its work and role in the progressive movement.

I will give you an example from Victoria, B.C. We have a youth branch there. It was inactive. But how everything has changed from the time that the branch sent three young people to the course! At present these young people are the catalysts in our organization. We do not know who has been watching whom, but the elders have also begun working.

Or let us take Vernon. The English-speaking branch there was sleeping. Several times it was reorganized, but all the same there was no change. But when three young people went to the course, the situation improved a great deal. . . .

SOURCE: Mykhailo [Michael] Korol, *Narady i Ukhvaly (Chetvertoho Zizdu 25-29 sichnia 1950)*, 79-82.

14. Statue of Poet-Hero Unveiled at Palermo

The Ukrainian communist leaders were determined to maintain the momentum of growth of their movement. Since the festivals of 1945 and 1946 were so successful, the Third Convention of the AUUC in 1948 resolved to commemorate on Dominion Day in 1951 the 60th anniversary of the life and achievements of Ukrainians in Canada by staging another great national music festival and erecting a monument to Shevchenko. The NEC of the AUUC requested the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in Kiev to initiate negotiations on its behalf with a Ukrainian sculptor for the creation of a statue of Shevchenko. The society undertook to make all arrangements at its own expense. The monument was duly delivered and installed in a park owned by the AUUC near the town of Palermo, near Toronto. The ceremony in connection with the unveiling lasted two days. In spite of the fact that the monument had been sent from the USSR, there were no Soviet representatives at the ceremony.

Since the defection of Gouzenko, Soviet embassy officials had been keeping a very low profile. The honoured guest at the ceremony was Vasyl Pylypiv, son of Ivan, one of the first two Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. The erection of the monument marked the zenith of Ukrainian pro-communist influence and popularity in Canada. Two accounts of the two-day ceremonies follow.

Palermo, 3 July—A white satin sheet, heavy with rain, was pulled off a large statue in Palermo Park on Sunday afternoon and a crowd estimated at over 20,000 members of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and friends, got the surprise of their lives.

The statue, which won the 1950 Stalin award for statuary, depicts the famed Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko, standing erect, book in hand, eyes looking into the distance. . . .

The statue, which was made in Ukraine and weighs approximately 70 tons, is reported to have been a gift to Canada from the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations Abroad. . . .

Rain failed to keep guests from all over the Dominion from attending. Traffic was snarled completely an hour before the unveiling. It was the largest gathering of Ukrainians ever held in Canada.

The Shevchenko statue has been under fire for some time from factions opposing the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, which has been called "Red" and "Moscow inspired. . . ."

The afternoon opened with a parade which marched to the base of the statue to the music of a brass band.

The statue was unveiled by William Pylypiv, 68, son of one of the first immigrants. He spoke in Ukrainian, and his voice broke continually and he was forced to wipe the tears from his eyes.

As the statue was revealed, thousands of people wept unashamedly. But they also cheered, and the choir sang the familiar Ukrainian number, *Zapovit*. . . .

Various competitions were held at the park yesterday. On Saturday an extremely colorful concert was presented at Maple Leaf Gardens.

Approximately 9,000 persons attended the concert at which there were more than 1,200 performers, 2 orchestras, a large choir comprising singers from all over the Dominion, dances, gymnastics and a historical pageant.

The new park at Palermo, on the no. 2 Highway, 27 miles from Toronto, consists of 106 acres. The main part consists of 16 acres and it is in this space that the statue has been erected, together with a small building which eventually will become a museum of Ukrainian culture.

George Kidd

SOURCE: *Telegram*, 3 July 1951.

15. Glorious Sixtieth Anniversary Jubilee

A historic festivity marking the sixtieth anniversary of the life and creative work of the Ukrainians in Canada, of which the initiator, organizer and director was the great Association of United Ukrainian Canadians with the participation of another great organization, the fraternal Workers' Benevolent Association, ... was held with great success amid wild excitement and joy among those who were fortunate to participate in it.

Those who were at the mass concert on Saturday, 30 June, in Maple Leaf Gardens witnessed a cultural manifestation on a scale unequalled in the history of any other, even the oldest, Canadian national group.

This was a manifestation of which all progressive Ukrainian workers and farmers can justly be proud. ...

He who was also at the unveiling of the monument ... was a witness to and a participant in an unparalleled and unforgettable event in the history of Ukrainian Canadians.

This is the first monument to the Great Bard on the whole American continent. ...

Now, after the historic event, all the guests and participants in this national festival, on their return home, will carry their impressions to the people, will tell their friends of the concert and the unveiling of the monument of Taras Shevchenko. Hundreds of thousands, not only Ukrainians, but also other Canadians will learn of the success of the famous 60th anniversary.

The members and sympathizers of the AUUC are returning home from the national jubilee festivity with great new prestige and experience. Their task is to further continue strengthening the AUUC. ...

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 5 July 1951.

16. The T.H. Shevchenko Museum

The great success of the unveiling of the monument to Shevchenko prompted the Fifth Convention of the AUUC, held on 14-17 February 1952, to decide on annual festivals to be held on Dominion Day weekends at Shevchenko Park. That year the festival was linked with the opening of a Shevchenko Museum located not far from the monument. Although the opening was hailed as "the second historic event in the life of the Ukrainian Canadians," it did not attract the large crowds of the previous year. There was an evident decline in numbers, interest and enthusiasm, a decline which was becoming constant and irreversible and was affecting all aspects of the Ukrainian pro-communist movement.

The national festivities connected with the first anniversary of the unveiling of the statue of Taras Shevchenko and the opening of the T.H. Shevchenko Museum, which took place from 28 June to 1 July, will remain forever in the memory of the participants.

The spectators... at the festival-concert last Saturday saw something *new*. With great satisfaction they will tell others that the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians... has entered a new and *higher* stage of cultural activity....

The most important event was the opening of the T.H. Shevchenko Museum on Sunday, 29 June, in Palermo. Actually, with the opening of the museum the Ukrainian Canadians have crowned the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of their presence in Canada....

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 3 July 1952.

Chapter 32. Changing Attitudes Toward the USSR

The decisive Soviet victories over the German invaders and the victorious conclusion of the war opened up what appeared as a new era in the relationship of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations in Canada and the USSR. The establishment of close ties was initially accompanied by frequent eulogies to Soviet achievements designed also to advance the Ukrainian pro-communist cause in Canada. The press abounded in articles glorifying the Russians and praising Soviet power not only as a paragon of all virtue and righteousness, but also as the source of all scientific advances and human progress.

1. The Great Russian People

At the reception in honour of the Red Army commanders which was held on 24 May in Moscow, Marshal of the Soviet Union Joseph V. Stalin proposed a special toast to the health of the Great Russian people.

"I would like to propose a toast," declared Marshal Stalin, "to the health of our Soviet people, and in the first place, the Russian people. I drink to the health, first of all, of the Russian people, because it is the most extraordinary people of all the peoples that form the Soviet Union. I raise a toast to the health of the Russian people because it acquired in this war a general recognition as the leading force of the Soviet Union among all the peoples of our country. I raise a toast to the health of the Russian people not only because it is a leading people but also because it thinks clearly and has patience and a stable character."

These words of Marshal Stalin, the great leader of the peoples of the Soviet Union, express the thoughts of millions throughout the world. There is nothing strange in this, because the Russian people, among the Soviet peoples, stood first like an iron bulwark against the Hitlerite hordes, broke the back of the Hitler war machine and laid the foundations for a final and complete victory of the Allied peoples over Hitler's Germany.

By its gallant struggle the Russian people rescued the freedom-loving peoples of the world from German slavery and the horrors of war. This is why today these peoples glorify the Russian people and pay it such great tribute.

But among all peoples, Ukrainians and Belorussians above all, as well as Poles, Czechoslovaks and Yugoslavs have a feeling of gratitude to the fraternal Russian people. Having taken a stand in defence of its Slavic brothers, the Russian people liberated them from fascist slavery and thereby saved them from perdition. Today an invincible Slavic unity is being forged around the Russian people, which is a guarantee against all future encroachments on the Slav lands by predatory foreign imperialists. All the Slavic peoples see their own glory in the glory of the Russian people. The enemy will never again look down upon the Slavs, never again will he incite Slav against Slav, never again will he have the courage to extend his grasping hand against Slavic lands and Slavic freedom.

Russia is the birthplace of Leninism, the highest achievement of Russian culture, which is of world significance.

In the greatest clash of all times, in the unequal clash of peoples with the enemy of mankind, German imperialism, the Russian people raised high the banner of progress and freedom of all peoples, the banner of democracy and equality of peoples. The star of the Russian people, which made innumerable sacrifices for victory, shines before all mankind, before the whole world.

SOURCE: Ukrainske Zhyttia, 21 June 1945.

2. Russians and Ukrainians

Having first caused a great deal of injury and later having fled from their native land in order to defame it from afar, the Ukrainian nationalists continually wail that there are "Muscovites" in Ukraine.

The fact is that there are many Russians in Ukraine. Why should they not be there? Actually, Ukrainians are very pleased that there are Russians in Ukraine, because otherwise there would be neither Ukrainians nor "Muscovites" there, but only Germans.

Russians and Ukrainians are citizens of the great nation for which they jointly fought and spilled their blood. Had there not been a friendly and generous Great Russian people, there would not be a Ukraine. On the other hand, in Russia there are many Ukrainians. They feel completely at home and occupy important public positions there. But no one has ever heard the Russians complain about why there are so many "*khokhols*"* in Russia.

* *Khokhol*, referring to the traditional Cossack topknot, is a derogatory Russian term for Ukrainians.

With the assistance of the Russians the Ukrainians drove the Germans out of Ukraine. Now, with the aid of the Russians, the Ukrainian people are rebuilding their state. Should not the Ukrainians be grateful to the Russians?

Glory to the Russians in Ukraine, glory to the great Russian people!

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 29 May 1947.

3. Orchard Builders

In October 1945 the Consular Branch of the Soviet embassy in Canada announced through advertisements in the Ukrainian pro-communist press the registration of former residents of Western Ukrainian and Belorussian territories who held Polish citizenship. Many who registered interpreted this as an application to migrate to the Soviet Union. Although only a few were actually permitted to return to their native land, the clamour for permission was quite extensive and persistent.

In the swank banquet room of the Hotel Vancouver, 170 new Soviet citizens sat down last week to eat a \$2.50 dinner of bouillon, roast chicken, green peas, ice cream and coffee.

Then well-fed and smiling, they settled back as Victor Shpihun, a forty-one-year-old shipyard worker, rose. With many a smile and glint of his gold-filled teeth, Shpihun carefully explained why he and the other 169 Canadian residents of many years preferred dictatorship to democracy. It was not that they loved Canada less, said Shpihun, but that they loved Russia more.

They had so decided last November, when Russia offered Soviet citizenship to all former citizens of Ukraine and Russia. Shpihun and some 700 other British Columbians, who had come to Canada twenty years ago, grabbed it. None had ever become a Canadian citizen, few had ever lived in the USSR. Yet now they were filled with a deep yearning to go home and build "an orchard for the people of the USSR."

Shpihun had weighed it all very carefully. It was true that Canada had treated him well. Poor on arrival, he had been fed and housed by relief money when he could not get any of the limited manual labour he could do. Later he had been able to marry and raise four healthy children. For the last six years, Shpihun had worked steadily and earned \$160 a month in a shipyard. His teenage daughter Mary and son Bill had steady jobs also with the Canadian National Railways. They had plenty to eat and a cozy home, had even saved some money. And Canada had made them feel at home, had even encouraged them to keep alive their Ukrainian customs.

But last April Shpihun had been laid off for seven weeks. "In Russia," said he, "it is the responsibility of the government to transfer me to another job." He also thought it would be easier for his son to become a doctor, his daughter

a nurse. "Here she can only become a waitress." As for himself, added Papa Shpihun, he would consider it a great honour to join the Communist Party "if invited."

Meantime Shpihun and his fellow dinner guests had a final request to make of their stepmother country. The Canadian government must help them go to Russia. With shiny new passports in their pockets they still had no idea how or when they were going, or who would pay their fares. The Soviet embassy in Ottawa mumbled: "It is a complicated situation." The orchard builders were becoming impatient. "We want to go soon," spoke up Shpihun. "We don't want to wait too long."

SOURCE: *Time*, 22 July 1946, 43.

4. Soviet Justice

On 13 January 1953 the Soviet press announced the arrest of fifteen physicians of the Kremlin, most of them Jews, who were reported to have confessed to plotting to eliminate Soviet military and political leaders. The physicians, accused of responsibility for the deaths of Andrei Zhdanov and Aleksandr Shcherbakov, former Politburo members, were linked to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which was described as conducting espionage and terroristic and other subversive activities in the Soviet Union. After the death of Stalin on 5 March 1953, the doctors were released (one was reported to have died in prison) and rehabilitated. A Ukrainian pro-communist paper carried the following report on the incident, quoting and paraphrasing Pravda.

As has already been reported, after a precise review, the government of the Soviet Union released and rehabilitated fifteen outstanding doctors falsely accused by members of the former Ministry of State Security of acts of espionage and terrorism.

Individuals who contravened Soviet law, falsely accusing doctors, among them the former Minister of State Security, Riumin, have been arrested and duly charged.

The government of the USSR, having the full support of the people, was not afraid to admit the error of one of its former ministers. Through decisive action the Soviet government rectified the error and openly and directly informed the people. This is how Soviet justice works. . . .

The Soviet people learned with deep feelings of satisfaction that the accusations against a number of outstanding Soviet medical practitioners proved to be completely false and that they were base slanders against honest and respected members of the Soviet state. . . .

According to the report of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR... the members of the former Ministry of State Security were guilty of serious violations of Soviet law, of arbitrary conduct and of improper exercise of authority. Criminal acts of this nature could not remain hidden and unpunished for long because the Soviet government guards the rights of the citizens of the USSR, defends these rights painstakingly and punishes severely those who act arbitrarily regardless of the person or his rank.*

In exposing the shortcomings in state departments... the Soviet government openly and directly informs the people. This indicates the great strength of the Soviet state and the Soviet system. The source of that strength lies in the fact that the government is closely and inviolably united with the people, bases all its actions on the people and firmly and consistently conducts its policies, which reflect the vital interests of the people....

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 16 April 1953.

5. Ousting of Opposition Group from Leadership in the Soviet Union

In June 1957 Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich, who opposed Khrushchev, were expelled from the Central Committee. The move was wholeheartedly endorsed by the Ukrainian communist leaders in Canada.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union ousted from the leadership of the party the factional group of Malenkov, Kaganovich and Molotov which opposed the policies of the party and the Soviet government formulated at the historic Twentieth Congress of the party....

The historic decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union... are designed to further the development of the national economy of the USSR and the raising of the living standard of the Soviet people, to develop socialist democracy, to expand the powers of the union republics and conduct a correct national policy and, in the field of foreign affairs, to conduct a policy of peaceful co-existence in order to relieve international tensions and guarantee peace.

The ousting of the opposition group of Malenkov, Kaganovich, Molotov and Shepilov, which attempted to obstruct the decisions of the Twentieth Congress and to alter the resolved party policy, is a great victory for the Soviet party, for the state policy and for the further progress of the Soviet Union....

* This was before the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, held on 24-5 February 1956, at which Khrushchev described some of the crimes of Stalin from 1929 to 1953.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 17 July 1957.

6. The Miraculous Sputniks

The launching of the first satellites by the Soviet Union on 4 October and 3 November 1957, prompted a Ukrainian communist editor to write the following editorial.

Soviet Sputniks are miracles of science, but their orbits around the earth create various other miracles in capitalist countries. They have revealed that the Soviet Union has surpassed the most advanced capitalist country, the United States, in science and technology....

Capitalist countries... have existed for 300 years; the Soviet Union for only 40 years.... The USSR, beginning with nothing, has overcome unprecedented obstacles by the efforts of its peoples. And still... the Soviet Union has in forty years surpassed capitalist countries which had been developing for centuries. Such is the great superiority of the socialist over the capitalist system....

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 23 November 1957.

7. The Twenty-first Congress of the CPSU

The confidence generated by the successful launching of the satellites was reflected in the mood of the Twenty-first Congress of the CPSU, held on 27 January—5 February 1959, which launched a new seven-year plan to raise productive capacity and to proceed to the next stage of Soviet development—the building of the communist society. The mood of confidence was reflected in the Ukrainian pro-communist press.

Today the eyes of the whole world are turned to Moscow, where the Twenty-first Extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is taking place.... For a majority of mankind the example of the development of the Soviet Union is the bright sun that is lighting the only road to their development....

Now, as the Twenty-first Congress indicates, the peoples of the Soviet Union intend to achieve first place in the world, to surpass the United States (and also Canada) in the next twelve years or sooner in the per capita production of all material goods and to achieve the highest standard of living in the world....

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 4 February 1959.

8. An Historic Achievement

The launching of the first cosmonaut into space by the Soviet Union was greeted by the Ukrainian pro-communist press with new enthusiasm.

The Soviet Union was the first to launch a man-made sputnik into orbit around the earth, the first to orbit a man-made planet around the sun, the first to send its rocket to the moon, the first to launch its cosmic space ship around the moon which photographed its invisible side, the first to send sputniks into orbit around the earth with living animals and the first to land them on its territory and the first to launch a cosmic space station in the direction of Venus.

Bourgeois press organs, especially American, admit that the prestige of the U.S.A. has suffered as a result of the Soviet successes and attempt in every way to minimize the meaning of these successes. But even they admit that the Soviet Union will probably be the first to launch a human into orbit around the earth. The world has waited with bated breath for this to happen.

And now a new date, 12 April, will be recorded in the annals of history. On this historic day the Soviet Union launched into orbit around the earth the sputnik *Vostok* with a person on board and successfully landed it on its territory.

The first cosmonaut is a Soviet person. The famous name of this first cosmonaut, Major Yuri Gagarin, will go down in history.

This is a new epochal triumph of advanced Soviet science and culture, of the Soviet system. For the first time a human broke away from his mother Earth and embarked on a flight into the cosmos, on a flight to the other planets of our solar system.

The English professor, B. Lovell, described the Soviet triumph as "the greatest scientific achievement in the history of humanity."

Opponents of socialism . . . attempt to minimize the significance of this great success of the Soviet Union. In the future the U.S.A. will launch a person into orbit around the earth. But he will follow in the footsteps of others. The world knows that the new epoch belongs to the Soviet Union and the Soviet people.

The whole world greets the Soviet Union on its new success and congratulates the Soviet people.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 19 April 1961.

9. Crime in the USSR

In spite of the enthusiasm generated by the success of the sputniks and the claims of "great achievements," contact with Soviet reality was having a sobering effect on Ukrainian tourists. Criticism of the Soviet Union in Ukrainian pro-communist circles was common, and a letter of criticism even found its way onto the pages of the Canadian Tribune, the organ of the Communist Party.

It was with interest that I read Bert Whyte's article on "Crime in the USSR."

Let me begin by saying that I have full confidence in the competence and honesty of the *Tribune's* correspondent in Moscow. However, having travelled to the Soviet Union on two occasions, I found the situation regarding alcoholism, theft and hooliganism somewhat disconcerting. Furthermore, the causes go deeper than "the heritage of the dark past," or "a residue of the Second World War."

According to Mr. Whyte, there are no crimes arising from economic necessity in the Soviet Union. Yet, I spoke to many workers and collective farmers who told me confidentially that they were forced to pilfer food or raw materials from their places of employment in order to properly feed and clothe their families. One can understand their position if we take into account that the wages of an unskilled labourer average sixty roubles a month while a collective farmer is paid anywhere from thirty kopeks to a rouble a day.

Granted that rents are low and medical care is free but one must take into account that a kilogram (2.2 lb.) of meat costs 2.80 to 3.60 roubles, sugar 90 kopeks a kg., milk 40 kopeks a litre and eggs 15 kopeks each.*

The per capita consumption of alcohol in the Soviet Union may be lower than in many capitalist countries but travelling through the Soviet Union by car and visiting small towns, I was appalled by the number of drunks I found at midday. Speaking to a shop steward from the machine building factory in the Ukrainian city of Chernivtsi, which employs 7,000 workers, I was told that 20 per cent of the work force was absent each day due to drunkenness. The management took this into account by basing production on 80 per cent of the work force.

Arriving in Odessa late one evening I parked my car near the Red Army Hotel and after registering I had a late supper in the restaurant. Halfway through the meal a militiaman made his way to my table and asked me to remove my car to a garage immediately. Taking the militiaman with me I drove to a compound near the Potemkin Staircase on the waterfront. Here I found the compound walled in by a ten-foot brick wall, well lit up and guarded by a watchman with two ferocious German shepherd dogs. Walking

* The author might have added "when they are available."

back to the hotel the militiaman told me that had I left the car on the street overnight I would never have seen it again. It appeared that well organized gangs roamed the streets at night picking up anything that wasn't nailed down. I found similar situations in Kiev and Lviv. Collective farmers selling their produce in the market place in Lviv told of being terrorized by the "Black Cat Gang" and of having to pay "protection" in order to carry on trade.

I don't intend this to be an anti-Soviet letter but I feel that the *Tribune* correspondent should travel in the countryside and give eyewitness accounts rather than relying on stereotyped interviews with officials in Moscow. Unfortunately, many progressive people have to rely on correspondents like Peter Worthington and Mark Gayn for accounts of daily life in the Soviet Union.

I hope the *Tribune* editor will accept this letter in good faith and print it. Today thousands of tourists are travelling to the Soviet Union and too many are coming back sadly disillusioned. I feel that the time has come to admit that problems exist in a socialist country and try to explain them without using vague generalities and worn-out platitudes.

Nicholas Balan, Toronto, Ont.

SOURCE: *The Canadian Tribune*, 6 March 1967.

10. On Permission to Visit Native Villages

One of the complaints members and sympathizers of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations made in connection with their visits to the Soviet Union was the refusal of the authorities to grant permission to visit native villages. Delegates periodically raised the problem at AUUC conventions and instructed the NEC to appeal to the Soviet authorities.

Ivan Dubno, New Toronto. "We are hindered by certain anti-Soviet attitudes of some people who are dissatisfied because they cannot go to their native villages."

SOURCE: *Narady i Ukhvaly (Odynadtsiatoho Zizdu 9-12 kvitnia 1964)*, 12.

V. Yawny, Vernon. "An acute problem for our pioneers and our members is the question of the lack of opportunities to visit native villages in Ukraine. We are confronted with this question at every meeting...."

SOURCE: *Narady i Ukhvaly Chotyrynadtsiatoho ... Zizdu ... 5-8 bereznia 1970*, 8.

Ivan Pavlovych, Toronto. "Refusal of requests to visit relatives in villages creates great dissatisfaction among members and disillusion them, leads to a slackening of work and hinders the development of the organization. . . ."

SOURCE: Ibid., 14.

P. Buzko, Montreal, raised the question of the problems and dissatisfactions which are created in connection with refusals regarding the visiting of relatives in Ukraine. . . .

SOURCE: Ibid., 18.

W. Halina, Vernon, B.C. and M. Vykliuk, Kirkland Lake, Ont., raised the question of visiting villages in Ukraine and introduced a resolution "to the supreme institutions of Ukraine and the Soviet Union" with an appeal for a positive solution of this "painful problem" for the members of the AUUC. . . . An impassioned discussion developed on this question, with complaints and dissatisfaction over the existing situation and demands that steps be taken for a satisfactory solution of this problem. The discussion on this question concluded with a decision of the convention that the newly elected CEC of the AUUC take all possible steps in order that the question of visits by members of the AUUC to their native villages in Soviet Ukraine receive the necessary attention from competent institutions.

SOURCE: *Narady i Ukhvaly (Trydsiat Druhoho Zizdu 2-5 bereznia 1972)*, 28.

11. Petition Regarding Permission to Visit Native Villages

To the President of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR,
Mykola Viktorovych Pidhorny,
Moscow, USSR.

Highly Respected President!

We, the delegates of the Thirteenth National Convention of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, which has convened its deliberations on 12-15 April in the city of Toronto, Canada, address you in the following important matter. . . .

During the Great Patriotic War wide circles of Canadian Ukrainians rendered assistance in any way they were able in order that the Hitlerite aggressors be smashed, that Ukraine be free, that it grow economically and blossom culturally. And just as the war ended, when Ukraine was cleared of

the Hitlerite evil, there emerged among Ukrainian Canadians a deep, wholly natural desire to visit their native land and...their native villages. It is understandable that immediately after the war it was not possible to realize this for the obvious reason that Ukraine was badly devastated by the Hitlerite invaders.

Years passed. The desire of Ukrainian Canadians to visit their native land continually grew both among those who were born there and among their children, who were born in Canada but wished to see the places from which their parents came. Only a very limited number had the great fortune and pleasure to visit their native villages and towns in recent years....

But we emphasize that there were not many such fortunate ones, because the great majority of those who applied for visas to visit their native villages and towns received replies in the negative. In recent years the consulates have refused such visas, although they advise that new application be made in twelve months. Some have applied five and more times and each time received the standard reply: "Make a new application in twelve months, fill out questionnaires, send your biography, attach three photographs." Many people who are advised to wait twelve months are seventy or more. It is true that some of them were sixty when they first applied for a permit to visit their native villages....

It is incomprehensible to us that twenty-three years after the end of the war a person cannot visit his birthplace. No matter what reasons are given, they are not accepted; on the contrary, they give birth to various reflections and interpretations which, understandably, are not conducive to strengthening ties between Canadian Ukrainians and Ukraine....

We are of the opinion that every honest Ukrainian who wishes his people well, regardless of his organizational affiliation, should have the opportunity to visit Ukraine and his place of birth.

For this reason we are addressing ourselves to you, Highly Respected President, to take the necessary steps on your part to solve positively this acute and painful problem.

We believe that a positive solution of this problem will contribute greatly to the expansion and strengthening of the friendship of Ukrainian Canadians with the Soviet Union. This will also deprive many malicious enemies of the opportunity of undermining the good relations between Canadian Ukrainians and the Soviet Union.

We expect and hope that you will react as sincerely to our request as it has been expressed by us in this letter.

W. Harasym, Chairman of the Presidium of the Convention

M. Chachkowsky, Secretary of the Convention.

Toronto, Canada, 24 April 1968.

12. Soviet Reply to Request for Permission to Visit Villages

We favour the development of friendly relations with all peoples, but because of our origin and our cultural and family needs our eyes are first of all directed to the development of ties of our present country with the country of our origin, with the people of our roots, with our relatives and our dear ones, which is natural.

By the way, in regard to this there are many complaints and the laying of blame against the CEC as if it were doing nothing for the improvement of the situation regarding the visiting of relatives in Ukraine. We wish to declare here again, this time in addition to what was elucidated at the last convention, that the CEC did everything in its power regarding this question. At the last convention a letter was written regarding this matter to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mykola Viktorovych Pidhorny, and to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, Demian Serhiiovych Korotchenko.... We can report here that the CEC received a verbal reply through the representative of the Soviet embassy in Ottawa in the name of M.V. Pidhorny which affirmed that actually "some have been refused" visits to native areas in those districts which, for reasons of security, are closed to visitor-tourists and others. It was reported that this matter was considered and no changes are contemplated. Once again the CEC did and is doing what it can in this matter within the limits of its competence. We have nothing more to report, except to add... that the matter is painful, that we are confronted by it in localities on our tours almost at every turn. We receive various types of letters; we can sympathize, offer advice or simply pacify in one way or another, but to resolve the problem of visits of relatives to the places of their birth is not within our competence....

SOURCE: Petro Prokopchak, *Narady i Ukhvaly (Chotyrynadtsiatoho Zizdu 5-8 bereznia 1970)*, 50-1.

Chapter 33. Long Live Soviet Ukraine!

While the Ukrainian pro-communists directed a great deal of their efforts to raise aid for and to glorify the USSR, they also paid special attention to Ukraine, taking up special collections and marking outstanding anniversaries and events with public manifestations. In the darkest hours of Soviet history they had not lost faith in the USSR or in Ukraine as one of its component parts. They felt that the victorious conclusion of the war had vindicated their faith in and support for Soviet Ukraine. Revelling in what they believed would be a great future after the war for the USSR in general and Ukraine in particular, they were anxious to make their contribution by expanding relations and promoting ties and exchanges with Ukraine. As communists they also planned to capitalize on such relations to undermine the influence of their opponents, the nationalists, to advance their own organizations and to further the communist cause.

1. Presentation of Memorial Book of Greetings for People of Ukraine

Toronto, Ont.—On Sunday, 24 October, in the presence of over 3,000 people (over 2,000 were turned away for lack of room), there was a solemn presentation of a memorial book with 20,000 greetings from Canadian Ukrainians for Soviet Ukraine on the occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary. The book was accepted by Ivan Voienko, a representative of the Soviet Embassy in Canada.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 3 November 1943.

2. Celebration of Liberation of Ukrainian Lands

Winnipeg, 12 June—The celebration of the liberation of Ukraine took place yesterday at a great manifestation of solidarity of Ukrainians of Winnipeg and district with their brothers and sisters in Soviet Ukraine.

Over 5,000 participated in the parade from Market Square to the Civic Auditorium. Thousands watched the parade. It was accompanied by three bands. . . .

Hundreds of children, youth, women and men marched in Ukrainian national costumes.

The parade passed the cenotaph, where a wreath was laid.

The parade was led by four mothers, each of whom has two or three sons in the Canadian army, and four women whose husbands are already at the front.

The largest auditorium in the city could not accommodate all the people. . . .

Representatives of the province and the city and the tenth military district spoke at the celebration and greeted the liberation of the Ukrainian lands. Ivan Volenko spoke from the Soviet embassy and Ivan Navizivsky from the CEC of the ACU. The joint choir of the branches of the ACU from Winnipeg and Point Douglas sang. William Kardash, MLA, was chairman.

Greetings were read from the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, M. Hrechukha, the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the mayor of the city. Telegrams of greetings were adopted to Prime Minister King on the occasion of the opening of the Second Front, and to Mykhailo Hrechukha.

This was the largest gathering of Ukrainians in the history of Winnipeg. At the celebration over \$7,000 was collected for Lviv and Chernivtsi.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 14 June 1944.

3. Ukrainian Statehood

On 1 February 1944 the number of Soviet republican ministries was increased to include foreign affairs and defence. This was hailed by the Ukrainian pro-communists in Canada as proof that Ukraine's sovereign powers were being expanded, although the step proved to be an empty gesture.

In accordance with the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Soviet Ukraine, like all other Soviet republics, will have its Ukrainian republican army and its diplomatic representatives abroad.

What does this mean? It means that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a real union of republics with equal rights which have come together for

their own good, but which, within this union, are achieving ever wider sovereign rights.

This also means that Ukraine, developing its state powers, will enter the international arena in order to represent its specific interests and to play an appropriate role in foreign affairs, not through all-union representatives, but directly through its own representatives.

Ukraine, as one of the largest European states, which made a great contribution and probably suffered the largest number of casualties in the struggle against the common enemy of all the United Nations, will be able to enter into direct relations with other European and world powers and conclude separate agreements and pacts with them.

This further means that Ukraine, in forming its own army, will have a larger and direct responsibility for the defence of its territories and its independence, which until now was mainly an all-union responsibility.

For the Ukrainian nation the new changes signify a great step forward. They indicate the full national, political and cultural maturity of our nation, which grew and became tempered in the Great Patriotic War.

But this should also prove once and for all to those Ukrainian individuals and groups of immigrants who still allow themselves to be misled by alien pro-Hitlerite agents that Ukraine could continually develop to its present state magnitude only in fraternal union with other nations of the USSR, in the first place with the great Russian people. Without the guarantee of the invincible union of Soviet peoples, Ukraine would have been helpless. It would have been transformed into a Hitlerite colony and eventually would have become German territory. . . . Not fascist Germany under the leadership of the cannibal Hitler but the Soviet government under the leadership of the genius, Stalin, guaranteed the national existence and state development of the Ukrainian people.

Ukrainians will never forget this fact no matter where they live. While conducting its internal and external state policies and developing its influence in European affairs, in which it is vitally interested, and forming good neighbourly relations with other non-Soviet peoples, the Ukrainian people will never sever its union with the Soviet peoples. On the contrary, it will strengthen its friendship and unite with them even more closely.

Although Ukraine has been destroyed by its enemy, a bright path with a great future is opening up before it. With the assistance of its allies, and of the Soviet states above all, Ukraine will again rebuild and blossom to stand in the front ranks of the most progressive states of the world. As a component republic of the mighty Soviet Union, Ukraine has achieved great successes. As a component state of an even more powerful Soviet Union, Ukraine will achieve even more successes.

4. We and Ukraine

The relations of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations with Ukraine were always as close as prevailing conditions permitted. Ties with Ukraine were an important means of maintaining and extending their influence in the Ukrainian community in Canada. The Ukrainian communist leaders were greatly encouraged in their hopes of expanding their influence among the nationalists with the formation of the Society for Cultural Relations with Ukraine by the former nationalist leader, Wasyl Swystun.

Although the "cult of the individual" made itself felt in the 1930s, the ULFTA and the Ukrainian worker-farmer press continued their ties with the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, though they were limited, in the main, to the exchange of literature and newspapers. Then the war cut off all ties. Immediately after the war, contact was re-established. Peter Prokop, secretary of the NEC, AUUC, travelled to Ukraine in 1946 to become acquainted with the post-war situation in the country, and the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in Ukraine sent its first delegation of cultural representatives to Canada in the persons of Ivan Patorzhynsky, Zoia Haidai, Andrii Malyshko, Semen Stefanyk and Luka Palamarchuk.

After Peter Prokop's return and his report in Canada and in the U.S.A., the AUUC and the American organization launched a big campaign to raise monies to help war orphans in Ukraine, children whose parents were killed during the war and the Nazi occupation. Ukrainian Canadians gave generously of their hard-earned wages to this humanitarian cause. The campaign in Canada netted \$224,000. Under the conditions of the period, this was a huge sum of money. The funds were used to buy the necessary materials in Canada and these were then sent to Ukraine. They were presented to the children through a joint delegation from Canada and the US in the persons of William Teresio, Michael Rakochy and Peter Krawchuk.

It must be stated that during the war Ukrainian Canadians collected hundreds and thousands of dollars to aid refugees in the USSR, for medical aid to the Red Army wounded, as well as medical instruments and equipment for hospitals in Kiev, Lviv, Chernivtsi and Uzhhorod University. . . .

Beginning with the late 1940s, many delegations from Canada visited Ukraine—members of the AUUC and WBA. To Canada from Ukraine came tourist representatives of the cultural and scientific world, workers and collective farmers, women and youth.

During the past twenty years, sons and daughters of Ukrainian Canadians have studied and are studying in the Kiev Conservatory, Choreographic and Pedagogical Institutes, as well as in Kiev University. . . .

SOURCE: Peter Krawchuk, *Address to the Thirteenth National Convention, AUUC,*

12-15 April, 1968, Toronto, mimeographed (n.d.), 10-11.

5. Cultural Ties with Ukraine

From what source can Ukrainians who live beyond the borders of Ukraine, for example Ukrainians in Canada, draw cultural sustenance for their spiritual enrichment? It is possible and necessary to love the cultures of other people, but for this most competent are those who love, know and study the culture of their own people. And the source of the culture of the Ukrainian people is *in Ukraine*.

There are Ukrainians who live beyond the borders of Ukraine, not excluding some Ukrainians in Canada, who think that Ukrainian culture developed only prior to 1917.... How pitiful, how spiritually poor, how uncultured they really are. Actually the opposite is the truth: *Ukrainian culture has experienced unprecedented flowering only since 1917*.

It is necessary to maintain a cultural tie with Ukraine, which is the source of Ukrainian culture.

Gratifying in this case is the noticeable change among Ukrainians in Canada who do not belong to the AUUC, which is indicated by the successful meetings of Wasyl Swystun, the president of the Society for Cultural Relations with Ukraine, in a number of cities in Western Canada.

As a result of these meetings... in some cities initiative committees were formed for the development of cultural ties with Ukraine....

The need to create such committees also exists in Eastern Canada, and one can hope that Wasyl Swystun, whom we congratulate on his successes, will find time to appear at meetings in Ontario.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 8 March 1956.

6. Long Live Soviet Ukraine!

The absolute faith in the justice of the Soviet cause and in the future of the USSR and Ukraine was perhaps most eloquently expressed in an editorial on the thirtieth anniversary of the establishment of Soviet Ukraine.

Thirty years ago, as a result of the Great October socialist revolution and in the conflagration of civil war, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was born, a Ukrainian national state, a socialist worker-peasant country without lords or slaves, without oppressors or oppressed, without exploiters or exploited, free and mighty through the will of its people, through the strength of its union with the great Russian people and all the peoples of the invincible

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

1917–47—what a great period in the history of Ukraine!

During this relatively short but grandiose period of a new social exploit, the Soviet Union has withstood all trials, has overcome all its enemies, having proven the superiority of socialism over all other systems. Soviet Ukraine, as a component part of a free and equal Soviet family, has withstood all trials: two great wars, two temporary occupations, deep wounds of a great ruin, and overcame all its enemies—Austrians, Germans, Magyars, Romanians and their subservient Petliura-Bandera and all other bandit gangs.

Today the united Ukrainian nation, with a feeling of great patriotic elation and unshakable faith in its bright future, is celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the inauguration of Soviet power in Ukraine.

Being a small segment of the Ukrainian nation whom fate has driven far beyond the ocean, we, Ukrainian Canadians, also deeply sense the greatness of this historic date in the life of our first fatherland, our beloved, our distant but also our own and dear Ukraine. With our hearts we rejoice at all the achievements of the Ukrainian people from which no one will ever separate us. We deeply respect Ukraine, our filial love of which no one will ever weaken.

Soviet Ukraine is celebrating. And we here, beyond the ocean, are stimulated by the fact that Ukraine is strong and free and developing as a socialist national state of our people.

Long live Soviet Ukraine!

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 25 December 1947.

7. A Great Historic Event

In 1654, beset by enemies, Ukraine united with Russia on equal terms. Shortly after the signing of the agreement the tsarist government began making encroachments. Some Ukrainian hetmans were forced to flee abroad, others ended up in Siberian exile or in Russian dungeons. In 1764 the hetmanship was abolished and Ukraine became an integral part of the Russian Empire, subject to Russian laws and administered by Russian officials in the Russian language. The Ukrainian communist leaders in Canada, however, have distorted the historical events and proclaimed the Russian state a cherished benefactor.

On Monday, 18 January, it will be 300 years since the Pereiaslav Council, the great historic and memorable event in the life of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples.

Ukraine voluntarily united with Russia, with the consanguine Russian people by a decision of the Pereiaslav Council under the leadership of its famous son, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, and by this means rescued and preserved its existence

as a nation.

This was a turning point in the life of the Ukrainian people at which the Ukrainian people entered a new path, the path of unity which was strengthened by the further joint struggle and friendship of both nations, a path which led to the Great October and with it to the national rebirth and union of all Ukrainian territories into a single Ukrainian Soviet socialist state. . . .

The 300th anniversary of the union of Ukraine with Russia is a great national celebration of the Ukrainian and Russian people. . . .

For us, Ukrainians in Canada, as for Ukrainians in their native free Soviet Ukrainian land, this is a national celebration of great achievements and victories of our people. . . .

Together with our brothers and sisters in the native land, together with honest patriotic Ukrainians wherever they may live, we raise on this day of our solemn festivity the slogan:

Long live the inviolable fraternal unity of the Ukrainian and Russian nations.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 13 January 1954.

8. First Impressions of a Repatriate in Ukraine

The Ukrainian pro-communist press published numerous glowing letters by Ukrainians who had lived in Canada but returned to their native land as evidence of the wonderful life in Ukraine. Some of the letters may have been prompted by Soviet officials; others could have been written by those who wished to ingratiate themselves with the authorities. A small number of repatriates managed with considerable difficulty to return to Canada. Many others, who could not return, voiced their disillusionment to visiting Ukrainians from Canada. The letter below is from a new repatriate from Canada, still under illusions acquired during long years in the communist movement in Canada.

30 May 1955. Dear Comrade Krenz. I am writing about my journey to Ukraine and what I found in my native village. I left Montreal with sixteen other Ukrainian Canadians. . . . Our ship stopped at the port of Glasgow. In the port we were met by representatives of the Soviet embassy in London. . . .

We left Glasgow by train for London where we boarded the Soviet liner *Beloostrov*. . . .

In London a group of single and married refugees boarded the ship. The refugees were from Canada, Australia and England. They all rejoiced that they were able to escape from the promised "heaven" and were going to their native land. They said that their wandering had ended and that they again felt themselves free citizens of their fatherland.

The *Beloostrov* is a fine Soviet ship. It was a model of cleanliness, with good service and luxurious and tasty food. I never saw such cleanliness, service and tasty food on other ships on which I travelled. I was amazed at the extraordinary relations between the crew and the passengers. . . .

We stopped in Leningrad at the *Intourist* hotel. . . . I do not have words to convey to you the beauty of Leningrad. I have never seen such a city. Having arrived in Leningrad, I felt as if I had been reborn. Everything here is new and interesting. People have a feeling of freedom and democracy. All people here are happy and treat all who come here in a friendly manner regardless of their nationality. Believe me, friend, I am writing the truth. Everything here is not like what various liars in Canada write. I also did not see any iron curtain, which reaction in Canada often mentions.

Now, at least a few words about my native village, Tiudiv. It has changed so much that when I arrived I did not recognize it. Only the river Cheremosh has remained the same. The rest is new and more beautiful. The village, Tiudiv, has changed into a model small town. The streets are wide and straight. On both sides of the streets there are fine new buildings with three, four and five rooms and verandahs and store rooms. And what fine orchards beside every house through the whole village. I look and I do not know whether I am in a grove or in heaven.

Seventy-five per cent of my fellow villagers are in the collective. The rest still live on their own private plots. In conversations with them I learned that they will soon also join the collective because they have become convinced that it is better to live in the collective. In the collective all work harmoniously, building a better life for themselves.

Yesterday I visited the village club. The young people had a party there. What fine and healthy youth! . . . The young people sang, danced and enjoyed themselves. And among them I seemed to become rejuvenated. I look at the young people, at how happy they are and feel sorry that my youth was wasted wandering around Canada. If only I had come home to my fatherland eight years ago. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 6 July 1955.

9. The Truth about Ukraine

Although Ukrainian communist leaders continue to write in praise of Soviet Ukraine, the tones are considerably muted in comparison to the 1950s, when they began making regular annual trips to Ukraine and became acquainted with the prevailing conditions. The editorials below were written when enthusiasm for the Soviet system in Ukraine was still at its height.

Enemies of Soviet Ukraine and its people...are attempting to take advantage of the fact that in the Soviet Union the harmful consequences of the Stalin cult have been revealed and steps are being taken for their elimination and for the strengthening of socialist democracy and legality. Nationalist scribblers...have unfolded a new campaign of slander against Soviet Ukraine. They try to eclipse and cover up all the great achievements of Ukraine and to confuse good people by their propaganda about the shortcomings and abuse which prevailed under the cult of the individual. No matter how they prepare their propaganda, even with crocodile tears about M. Irchan, it smells. No matter how these gentlemen try to criticize the cult of the individual and its harmful consequences, which are now being corrected, they cannot cover up the truth about Ukraine, they cannot minimize its great achievements, because the whole world sees them.

The truth regarding Ukraine is that only as a result of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the worker-peasant Soviet government has the Ukrainian nation attained its sovereignty and the possibility of creating of its own volition its own independent state. . . .

Under the Soviet government the Ukrainian people became the sovereign masters of all their lands* and their state, Soviet Ukraine, became one of the great countries of the world, a country with a highly developed industry, agriculture, science and culture. Soviet Ukraine entered the United Nations Organization as a founding member.... These are facts which cannot be minimized by shortcomings and weaknesses which prevailed as a result of the cult of Stalin....

SOURCE: Ukrainske Slovo, 24 October 1956.

10. The Development of Ukraine

A Plenum of the CC of the CP of Ukraine was held recently at which the result of the development of agriculture during the last five years was discussed. . . .

The discussion of the Plenum...revealed that the agriculture of Soviet Ukraine will generally continue to develop rapidly. That this is the result of the great successes of the socialist system and the socialist government, the successes of the Communist Party, which directs the development of the national economy, is undeniable.

With such a rapid tempo of development even enemies do not deny that the nations of the Soviet Union, among which the Ukrainian nation occupies an

* Some Ukrainian territories are not part of Soviet Ukraine. They include the Lemko region, which is part of Poland, the Kuban, Voronezh and Kursk regions, which are part of Russia.

important place, will have in the near future *the highest standard of living in the world*.

As a great industrial nation Soviet Ukraine already occupies one of the first places in the world. In many branches of industry it has already surpassed the leading industrial nations of Western Europe. Soon Ukraine, like the whole Soviet Union, will leave them far behind and will emerge together with the USSR . . . in first place, leaving the U.S.A. behind. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 21 January 1959.

Chapter 34. The National Question

The national question or Russification, the arbitrary imposition of the Russian language and culture on the non-Russian nations in the USSR and the persecution of the national intelligentsia, which caused a serious split in the Ukrainian pro-communist movement in 1935 with the revolt of the Lobay-Kobzey faction, again began to gnaw at the very heart of the movement after the Second World War. While the central government was pursuing this policy, Soviet propaganda was vociferously proclaiming that the Ukrainian language and culture were flourishing in Ukraine and denying nationalist charges that there was any Russification. The Ukrainian pro-communist press in Canada published Soviet propaganda articles and the Ukrainian communist leaders repeated the official Soviet line on the national question. When a prominent Soviet official in Ukraine predicted in an official organ of the Communist Party in Ukraine the rapprochement and merging of languages in the USSR and the nationalists condemned this as official Soviet policy, the Ukrainian pro-communist press in Canada denounced the nationalists and continued to publish articles from the Soviet Union declaring that the Ukrainian language was flourishing freely.

1. Ukrainian—The State Language of Ukraine

... The great October socialist revolution opened the widest scope for the political, economic and cultural development of all nationalities of the Soviet Union.

The Ukrainian language became the national language of the unified Ukrainian nation. It is the language of all the state organs and institutions of Soviet Ukraine, all public organizations of the toilers and also of schools, higher educational institutions, the press, publishing, theatres, clubs and other cultural and educational institutes*...

Now of the total of over 30,000 schools in Ukraine, more than 25,000 are

* For data on Russification in the post-war period, see John Kolasky, *Education in Soviet Ukraine* (Toronto, 1968) and *Two Years in Soviet Ukraine* (Toronto, 1970).

Ukrainian....* In nearly all the 134 higher educational institutions and 635 secondary special educational schools of the republic instruction is also conducted in Ukrainian.... The overwhelming majority of the programmes of the fifteen radio stations in Ukraine are conducted in Ukrainian†....

The forty-year experience of cultural development in Ukraine is clear evidence that the socialist system creates unlimited possibilities for the development of the national cultures of all the peoples and for the development of the languages of all the nationalities which inhabit the USSR.

B. Babiý

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 27 July 1957.

2. Lenin on the Russian and National Languages of Our Country

In the process of the building of communism the rapprochement of socialist nations is intensified. This leads to the ever more frequent appearance of common words, the dying out of local dialects, the increasing role of the Russian language as the language of the strengthening of the friendship of the nations of the USSR.

The process of consolidation of national languages around the Russian language is intensifying in development. It is common knowledge that many national languages of the nations of the USSR have adopted the Russian alphabet and many Russian words.... There is a progressive rapprochement of the national languages of the nations of the USSR, especially of family groups of nations. The process of enrichment and rapprochement of languages will culminate in their complete merging into one world language after the victory of communism on an international scale....

SOURCE: I. Kravtsev, *Radianska Ukraina*, 13 April 1960.

* These statistics were first quoted by Alla Bondar, Minister of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, for 1966-7 for beginning elementary schools with grades I to IV which are located in villages. In the towns and cities the schools are either seven-year elementary or ten-year secondary. Instruction in them as well as in the higher educational institutions is almost exclusively in Russian.

† Most of the broadcasting in Ukraine is in Russian. See W. Veryha, *Communication Media and Soviet Nationality Policy* (New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1972).

3. They are Tilting at Windmills

On 13 April of this year I. Kravtsev, . . . published in the newspaper *Radianska Ukraina* (Soviet Ukraine), an article entitled "V.I. Lenin on the Russian and the National Languages of Our Country" in which, in addition to many correct theses, he expressed a number of incorrect statements regarding the national languages in the Soviet Union. The article was signed . . . and cannot in any way be regarded as government policy or the party line. It was his personal opinion.* Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists on the European rubbish heaps and beyond the ocean, taking individual sentences out of context, began to interpret it in their own way, maintaining that "Russification is proceeding" in Soviet Ukraine. They write that because the article appeared in the organ of the Ukrainian Soviet government and the CC of the Communist Party of Ukraine, it is "official policy."

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are twisting the facts. Articles which are signed by their authors do not always reflect the line of the government or the party. . . . Experience shows that people of the Soviet Union are not ashamed to publicly admit their mistakes, to criticize and condemn them. They support the principle that criticism and self-criticism are the motive force of the development of society.

Selecting some of the confused assertions in the article . . . the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists babble that "in Ukraine the Bolsheviks are conducting intensified Russification." Moreover, with one stroke of the pen they attempt to cross out all the achievements of the national culture in Ukraine which the Ukrainian nation obtained, thanks *only* to the Soviet government.

The Ukrainian nation was socially and nationally oppressed by Russian tsarism. . . . The October socialist revolution liberated the Ukrainian nation from slavery. It transferred the factories and the land to the people. It *and only it* infused the Ukrainian nation with national consciousness. Thanks to the October socialist revolution the Ukrainian nation achieved its statehood. Ukraine became a unified state. . . .

Who can deny that only thanks to the Soviet government the Ukrainians acquired the right to teach their children in elementary, secondary and higher institutions in the native language?

Who can deny the fact that, only thanks to the Soviet government, newspapers, journals and books began to be published in Ukraine in the native language?

* "Personal opinion" on such subjects is not published. This is official state policy. See Kolasky, *Education in Soviet Ukraine*, 161-2.

Who can deny that, thanks to the Soviet government, the national culture, theatres, amateur cultural activities, professional music and art have blossomed to unprecedented degrees?

Who can deny that radio and television, which transmit their programmes in the Ukrainian language, achieved their great development only under the Soviet government?

Honest Ukrainians know all these facts because this is the undeniable truth which everyone who visits Soviet Ukraine recognizes. . . .

Yes, many people in Ukraine, especially in the towns, speak Russian. No one denies this. For this there are justifiable and unjustifiable reasons that developed over a long period of time. . . .

As a matter of fact, a lively discussion is now being carried on in the Soviet press regarding the role of the national languages in the USSR. On this question various people express various opinions. However, they all agree that the national languages . . . should develop and become enriched. . . .

Only the blind Ukrainian nationalists do not wish to see. Finally, one cannot demand that blind people see things in their true form. Night-blindness has not only affected their vision but also their reason.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 21 September 1960.

4. "The Russian Language Predominates"

Denials of Russification did not convince the membership. Too many had travelled to Ukraine and witnessed the almost complete prevalence of the Russian language in all spheres of life in Ukraine. Letters of criticism began arriving in the NEC of the AUUC and the editorial offices of the Ukrainian pro-communist press. One delegate even raised the issue of Russification at a convention of the AUUC. Krawchuk tried to reassure the delegates.

M. Oleniuk, Toronto. "I wish to limit myself to one problem regarding the relationship between the Ukrainian and Russian cultures in Ukraine. We do not face this problem boldly. . . . The Russian language predominates at present in nearly all the institutions of Ukraine. I am a friend of the Soviet Union, but I regard this as a great historical error. It is true that this is not done by force but almost unnoticeably. . . . Such a condition in Ukraine also influences our organization, because this arms our enemies." He demands definite action regarding this matter by our organizations.

P. Krawchuk declared: "Certain mistakes were made regarding the national question in Ukraine, especially on the question of the Ukrainian language. . . . The leadership of the AUUC took a stand regarding the errors in the attitude to the language in Ukraine. . . . The latest declarations of the Soviet leaders

indicate that this question is being examined. . . .”

SOURCE: Narady i Ukhvaly (Dvanadtsiatoho Kraiovoho Zizdu 19–23 bereznia), 1966, 28, 33.

5. Report on National Question of Delegation to Ukraine

While the Ukrainian communist leaders publicly denied the existence of Russification in Ukraine, privately they were shocked by Kravtsev's article. It substantiated nationalist charges of Russification which they had denied, dealt a serious blow to their pride and prestige and marked a turning point in their relations with the Soviet government and party. They suddenly realized that there was an official policy of Russification. The Ukrainian communist leadership, led by Prokopchak and Krawchuk, applied to the NEC of the CPC for permission to send an official delegation from the AUUC to the Soviet Union to raise the problem with Soviet authorities. After discussions in the NEC and negotiations with the CPSU, a party (not an AUUC) delegation was sent, composed of Tim Buck, the national leader; William Ross, the leader of the party in Manitoba; Anthony Bilecki, president of the WBA; George Solomon, provincial secretary of the AUUC in Alberta; William Harasym, national president of the AUUC; and Peter Krawchuk, editor of Zhyttia i Slovo. After three weeks in the USSR the delegation produced a report describing their investigations and conclusions.

Central Committee,
Communist Party of Canada
Comrades:

Your delegation, which was charged by the plenum in January of this year to visit Ukraine on a mission of inquiry and discussion concerning the policy and the experience of the Communist Party and the Government of Ukraine in dealing with the national question, left Canada on its mission on March 29th. . . .

During our first day in Kiev we adopted a program of activity, aimed to make the fullest use of every day that we were in Ukraine. . . . One was intensive inquiry and discussion at the highest level to enable members of the delegation to inform themselves concerning the official policy of the Party and the government on the national question and the way in which the policy is being implemented. . . . The other type of activity decided upon was for the delegation to travel through the countryside, visit cities and villages, industrial enterprises, educational institutions and collective farms, and see for ourselves the state of the national culture of Ukraine, as it is expressed in the lives of the Ukrainian people. . . .

There are problems in Ukraine relating to the national question... The vitally important fact, which impressed itself upon the members of our delegation, is that the problems are recognized and are being dealt with in Ukraine. This was expressed succinctly by comrade Peter Shelest,* first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, when he said in the course of a meeting with our delegation: "Yes comrades, we have had problems, many of them, and we still have problems, but we are overcoming them. . . ."

In various other discussions in ministries of the government, in the Academy of Science and such, we saw evidence that the problem is recognized and, where necessary, changes are being made to facilitate a solution of the problem. As noted above, the work of our delegation contributed to this process. . . .

At the Ministry of Education we were met by the minister, P.P. Udovychenko. . . . We were advised that whereas Ukrainians constitute 77 per cent of the population, 82 per cent of all pupils attending school are enrolled in schools in which all tuition is in the Ukrainian language†. . . .

The Minister of Higher Education, Y.M. Dadenkov, opened his introductory statement with a reminder to us, that, before the October Revolution, Russian was the state language in Ukraine. . . .

The enrollment in the institutions of higher education in the first half of 1967 is 61 per cent Ukrainian, in round figures 451,000; 32 per cent Russian, in round figures 236,000; 3.8 per cent Jewish, in round figures 28,000; 3.2 per cent others, 25,000**. . . .

In this interview, as at the State Planning Commission and several of the other ministries and other institutions that we visited, the delegation asked: "In what language do you correspond with the other members of your ministry and with other departments of the government?" The minister called for the minutes of the regular meetings of his Collegium and for files of correspondence, both current correspondence and old. The minutes of the meetings and the carbon copies of letters were in the Ukrainian language. The same had been the case in the State Planning Commission, and other ministries

* Petro Shelest (1908—), was appointed secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine in December 1962 and first secretary in July 1963. On 26 May 1972 he was relieved of his post, removed to Moscow and placed on pension. After his removal he was criticized for political errors in a book published under his name, *Ukraino nasha radianska* [Our Soviet Ukraine], (Kiev: Vydavnytstvo Politychnoi Literatury Ukrainy, 1970). These included idealization of Ukraine's past, failure to emphasize the influence of Russian culture on the formation of Ukrainian culture, minimizing the role of the party, taking an abstract humanist position in literature and failing to correctly characterize the bourgeois nationalists.

† This applies only to elementary schools, grades 1-4, which are located in villages.

** Ukrainians made up 77 per cent of the population and only 61 per cent of the students in the higher educational institutions of Ukraine; the Russians made up 16.9 per cent of the population in Ukraine (1959), but 32 per cent of the student body.

in which we had asked that question.*

As the delegation concluded the discussion with warm thanks, the Minister said: "those who believe that there is Russification of Ukraine are either badly misinformed or they are denying reality...."

Before our visit to the State Publishing House the delegation had received information about books for use in schools and books published by the Ministry of Culture. At the publishing house we learned that the popular demand for fiction, poetry, the classics, indeed for literature of every type is insatiable. The director told us:

"Virtually the only limit upon the number of books that we publish is imposed by the supply of book paper.... In general, the proportion of books and periodicals and newspapers printed in the Ukrainian language is becoming greater. As an example, the circulation of magazines printed in Ukrainian has increased by 20 per cent since the end of 1965 while the circulation of those printed in Russian has not increased. Children's papers and periodicals printed in Ukrainian have a circulation of over 400,000 per issue, those in Russian have a circulation of only 298,000....

It was natural that, after what we had seen at the State Publishing House, the delegation should be keen to meet some of the Ukrainian writers. We went to the headquarters of the Ukrainian Writers' Union [There is no such organization, it is the Union of Writers of Ukraine.—J.K.] for the evening....

We were met by the secretary of the union, Vasil Kozachenko and other writers, all members of the union executive.

After the secretary's introductory remarks...our delegation asked: "Why is it that writers have been arrested in Ukraine?"

Alexander Korniychuk replied that: "They were arrested because they were engaged in an attempt to distribute anti-Soviet propaganda printed in West Germany, not because of something they had written...."

The delegation visited the Kiev centre of radio and TV broadcasting and discussed the work of the station with the director.... The director gave us a brief outline of the rapid expansion of broadcasting....

"Ninety-five per cent of our domestic broadcasting is in Ukrainian.... We relay new and special items direct from Moscow in Russian during periods which total 10 hours per day. We broadcast in the Ukrainian language for 20 hours per day...."

One member added: "When will you at last start to produce records in the Ukrainian language. People in Canada have been waiting for them until they have grey beards."

"Very soon now," the director replied, "construction of our plant for making records is almost completed. We expect to start production very soon"....

* Letterheads and correspondence in Ukraine are in Russian. See Kolasky, *Two Years in Soviet Ukraine*, 27-40 for photostats of various letterheads and documents. All are in Russian.

It is impossible in a brief report to do justice to the intense and frequently inspiring experience enjoyed by the delegation. . . . This is particularly true of our visit to the Academy of Science and one of its affiliates, the Institute of Social Sciences. . . .

A member of the delegation complained that he had written to the academy's library in Ukrainian and he received a reply written in Russian. The librarian acknowledged that it was wrong to have replied in Russian, particularly when the letter to which the reply was written had been in Ukrainian. He added: "When we correspond with a fellow communist we do sometimes make the mistake of writing in Russian."

The delegation went directly to the Institute for Social Studies, where Academician Bilodid, vice-president of the academy and the head of the institute, introduced us to a large group of academicians and professors who met us in the reception room. . . .

When the delegation asked about the level of development of the Ukrainian language, he replied: "Ukrainian is developing no less than is the language in which Ernest Hemingway wrote. It was never before developed as highly as it is now. . . ."

"As for the question that one comrade asked as to why so many Russians have come to Ukraine? I urge you to consider who is going where and who holds important positions. In our union there cannot be a law against moving from one republic to another. . . ."

Some Conclusions, Differences

It became evident in the course of our discussions that there are real differences in the understanding of and approach to the language question at the various levels of party organization and amongst different leading comrades, even though they all believe themselves to be subscribing to the Leninist national policy. In addition to variations of understanding and attitudes between individuals, we found instances of gaps between declared policy and practice.

There is first of all the attitude, quite common, that the national question has been solved successfully in Ukraine on the basis of Lenin's teachings, that there are no problems of a national character, no pressures whatsoever concerning languages, that the Soviet people are all united by the common aim of building communism and that's what counts. . . . The response of our delegation to that attitude was, and is, that, if no problem exists, if everything has already been resolved, then obviously there is nothing to be done or said. But obviously, there was need for discussion and action.

Secondly, there was the opinion, expressed by the Minister of Education, to the effect that the question of national aspirations doesn't depend on languages. A similar position was advanced by A. Skaba, secretary for ideology in the Central Committee who declared that what is important is that

technique develops, not the language in which the textbooks are published. . . . Our delegation can only assume that this reflected a distorted concept of the language question in relation to the nation. This concept was, however, contradicted by the statements of P.Y. Shelest, member of the Politburo, CPSU and first secretary, Central Committee, C.P. of Ukraine, who declared emphatically that the development of Communist society must permit the fullest and freest economic and cultural development of every nation. . . .

Correction of Distortions

There are many indications that in the recent period there has been some change in the direction of official policy in Ukraine—a correction of previous distortions of national policy.

However, these positive developments do not proceed uniformly and more is required in the opinion of our delegation. . . . For example, we were told of cases of bourgeois nationalism among writers and students but in no instance could we get the specifics of the charges. Bourgeois nationalism was not defined. There has been a tendency in some quarters to brand as bourgeois nationalism or some kind of deviation, demands for the greater use of the Ukrainian language in public institutions. . . .

Similarly, with cases of violation of Socialist democracy and the denial of civil rights. When enquiries were made about the sentencing of Ukrainian writers and others, we were told that they were not recognized writers, that they were not imprisoned for their writings, that they were convicted as enemies of the state. But the specific charges against them were not revealed. Although we do not claim to know what considerations of state security led to the trials of these writers being conducted in secret, we must make the point that such in camera trials never serve to dispel doubts and questioning. . . .

Internationalism

We found a strong emphasis by the Ukrainian comrades on Socialist internationalism, on the fraternal relations between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples. . . . When the Secretary for Culture declares: "We have Russian theatres, schools, papers. There is nothing wrong with that. We have lived 300 years with the Russian people. We have lived 50 years under Soviet power with the Russians. They have never betrayed us. The principle is not to search out what divides us but what unites us," we can certainly agree with such sentiments. But that is not the problem. It's not a question of the right of Russian citizens in Ukraine to use their language, press, schools, etc., but that of the parallel rights of Ukrainian citizens living in concentrated population areas in other republics, along with fullest encouragement for the use of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine. . . .

The Ukrainian Language

In Ukraine as in the other Soviet republics the law permits the parents to choose the language of instruction in the schools. That is why we find schools there in which the language of tuition is Russian, Polish, Hungarian, or Moldavian. We were told, however, by the Minister of Education that in all these schools a non-satisfactory mark in the the Ukrainian language prevents a student from obtaining a pass. There is no demand in these schools to free the students from studying Ukrainian. As a matter of fact we were told in the Ministry of Culture that several hundreds of thousands of Russians living in Ukraine now state that Ukrainian is their language.

However, when asked how it is that there are no schools in the Ukrainian language in Moscow or other cities with large concentrations of Ukrainian workers, the reply received from the Minister of Education was that there are no demands from these workers for the Ukrainian language, newspapers, or schools. No one, he said, forced these Ukrainians in Moscow to go there.

Our delegation is not satisfied with such replies. In what way are Ukrainian workers in other republics different from Russian, Polish and others who desire to continue with their native languages in Ukraine. Are national feelings among Ukrainians weaker than among other Soviet nationalities? Or is it possible that Ukrainians living in Moscow or elsewhere outside of Ukraine, hesitate to request schools in the Ukrainian language lest they be branded as "nationalists?" The answer that there is no demand for the Ukrainian language outside of Ukraine is similar to the answer given years ago that there was no demand among Soviet Jews for the study of and publication in the Yiddish language. Yet the past few years have seen the flourishing of literary creativity among Jewish writers, the emergence of new cultural forces, etc. Not that all problems have been resolved in this area, but these recent developments have contradicted the past answers of years ago that there is no demand among the Soviet Jewish citizens for the greater use of the Yiddish language.

Whether the obstacles to changing this situation regarding the Ukrainian language outside of Ukraine rests with the authorities in Ukraine or with the all-union government in Moscow, or with both, is unclear to us but in our view it definitely requires a different approach by all concerned. . . .

Lessons for Canada

On the whole the results of the visit of the delegation are definitely positive. The trend is in the right direction. . . .

The party and Communists working in the Ukrainian national group field in Canada have to go over to the offensive in describing the processes at work in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and reassert ourselves more forthrightly as champions of the true national rights of the Ukrainian people and of Socialist internationalism. . . .

We have to combat tendencies in our ranks which express themselves in such remarks as—"Unless this question of the Ukrainian language is resolved in the Soviet Union, there is no future for our organizations in Canada." Without underestimating the concern of many Canadians of Ukrainian origin about the development of the Ukrainian language in the Soviet Union, and without ignoring the concern of the progressive organizations for the national rights of the Ukrainian people in the Soviet Union, the fact remains that the vast majority of Ukrainians in Canada are Canadian-born, speak mainly English, and are more and more becoming concerned about Canadian problems. The future of the Ukrainian organizations working in the national group field lies in reaching out into the broad community of Ukrainian Canadians.

Many party and non-party people, many in the Ukrainian organizations, of varied political sympathies, have been anxiously looking forward to hear the results of our Delegation's visit. As soon as possible our report must be made public through meetings, press articles, interviews, etc. It cannot be treated as an inner-party question.

We close with an expression of the Delegation's warm hope that the report on its work will not be limited to our party members alone. The experiences of our Delegation and the lessons that they convey should be publicized as widely as possible through meetings, articles in the press, interviews, all forms of publicity and enlightenment.

Fraternally submitted by the Delegation.

Central Committee Meeting—September 16, 17, 18, 1967.

SOURCE: *Viewpoint*, 5, no. 1 (January 1968), 1-3.

6. On the Delegation to Ukraine

In Moscow the report caused considerable surprise and indignation. Tim Buck was summoned to Moscow and a strong criticism of the report was made from Moscow by the resident correspondent of the Canadian Tribune and former member of the CEC of the CPC, John Weir.

As a Canadian of Ukrainian parentage who devoted over 40 years to the workers' cause and the Communist movement in Canada, including work in the progressive Ukrainian movement and press, I consider that I have the right and the duty to express my feelings and opinions on the Report of the delegation to Ukraine, which is incorrect and harmful.

The delegation was sent to study the experience of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in solving the national problem. The Report of that delegation has been joyfully acclaimed by the enemies of Soviet Ukraine and of the progressive movement in Canada. What

makes me sick at heart is not just the fact of progressives supplying propaganda material to the enemy (although that too reveals an appalling irresponsibility, especially in view of the tense international situation), but that the "report" is simply not according to the truth.

The delegates were provided every facility to study the policy of the C.P.U. and the C.P.S.U. as a whole on the national question and how it is being implemented in Ukraine. The foremost people in public life, culture, education, etc., met with them, answered their questions and provided them with voluminous information. They toured several areas of the Republic and visited various institutions "to see for themselves." Some of that massive data is mentioned in the Report. There is no attempt made by its authors to disprove or deny any of those facts. Yet interspersed throughout the document and concentrated in its concluding section there is enough poisonous innuendo to make reactionaries applaud with delight and honest progressive people to be saddened and confused.

Please allow me to point out some of the errors in it.

The Problem and "Problems"

By its terms of reference the delegation was required to report on whether the national problem of the Ukrainian people has been solved and the experience of the Ukrainian C.P. in carrying out the Leninist policy on the national question.

The Report does not give a forthright reply. It twists and hedges. The national problem has supposedly been solved, it says, but the delegation was told that problems arise, some people sometimes express incorrect views, and that means that the problem has not really been solved. . . .

But that's equivocation based on sheer sophistry!

The truth is that the national problem in Ukraine has been solved, as everything the delegates saw and heard testifies, and the Leninist policy on the national question is being consistently carried out.

Do problems arise from time to time? Do people express divergent opinions on one or another aspect? Are mistakes sometimes committed here and there? Of course! That is true in any field, whether in the Soviet Union or Canada. Such things are inevitable in real life. But to use those petty and passing trifles in order to call in question the fundamental and lasting fact of the solution of the national problems is impermissible for responsible people.

What's brought as "evidence" to in effect deny the solution of the national problem? In a piece in a newspaper a school teacher complained that some of his colleagues don't know the Ukrainian language as well as they should. A writer stated in a speech that sometimes foreign languages were taught better in higher schools than Ukrainian was. While the Supreme Soviet session was conducted in Ukrainian, some of its members were overheard conversing in Russian during intermission(!). Some unnamed person was supposed to have

suggested that Ukrainian wasn't suited for use in science and engineering. . . .

Please, comrades, is that serious?!

Deal With Wrong Problem

Secondly, while it is supposed to deal with the national problem, the Report only touches on it perfunctorily, but deals with the language question, which is only part of—and not the most important—of the national problem.

Foremost in the national question is the right to self-determination, national sovereignty, the right to be master in one's own home, the raising of the economic and cultural level to that of the formerly ruling nation—freedom of national development and the creation of conditions where that freedom can be exercised. In a socialist nation it further means the shedding of nationalist prejudices and isolationism, the building of people's rule based on proletarian internationalism, the nurturing of the socialist content in national forms, the ideological and cultural drawing together of socialist nations and continual strengthening of the Union state.

The language question is important and the delegation would have done well to really study it as regards Soviet Ukraine and basic Communist policy. The comrades then would have understood that while providing freedom, facilities and encouragement for the use and development of the national language, the principled Leninist approach is that no person shall be compelled to use any language.

Communists are on principle opposed to a state language. Yet it sticks a mile out of the Report that that is exactly what its authors were displeased with. They would have been satisfied if everybody in Ukraine were compelled to speak Ukrainian only. Where this type of thinking leads is seen from a question put, according to the Report, by one of the delegates to the effect why "so many" Russians are permitted to live in Ukraine. If that isn't sheer nationalism and separatism, what is?!

Lenin insisted that every government office in Ukraine should be capable of dealing with people in the Ukrainian language, but he never suggested that only Ukrainian be spoken in Ukraine—or only Russian in Russia. The Ukrainian people suffered and fought too long for the right to speak as they wish to now start denying that right to other people in Ukraine! That's why there is no state language, and there are publications in other languages for those who want them, and where there exist compact communities of people speaking another language and the parents want their children to study in that language in the elementary grades, while at the same time learning Ukrainian, such schools in Russian, Polish, Moldavian and Hungarian languages are established.

Back to the "Bund"?

Unable to make a case on the basis of information about Ukraine, although continuing to intimate that there is such a case, the Report turns to something that was completely outside its term of reference—the national policy applied in the Russian S.F.S.R.—and thereby fully exposes its non-Communist approach. If there are Russian schools in Kiev, it asks, why aren't there Ukrainian schools in Moscow? Aha! "Double standard!" "Russian chauvinism!" "Discrimination against Ukrainians!" Those are the suggested conclusions.

It is a pity that the delegation did not really study the national question in the R.S.F.S.R., for it would have learned how many schools in various languages there are in the Russian republic. And it's a pity it did not bother to read what Lenin wrote on that subject for it would not have disclosed either its astounding ignorance or its apostasy of Leninism.

Don't the comrades know that Lenin and the Bolsheviks fought that question out with the Bund and other nationalist groups (and the whole opportunist "cultural autonomy" programme advocated by the Austrian Social Democrats) over 60 years ago? Don't they know that Communists are in principle opposed to splitting up workers according to nationality or language?

Don't they know that in the Russian S.F.S.R. or the Ukrainian S.S.R., children don't go to school according to the nationality of their parents but according to the regional principle, i.e., the people in each area themselves decide what the language of instruction shall be in the school. There is no segregation according to nationality in the school system, just as there are no ghettos and no "apartheid" in regard to residence.

There are schools with many languages in the Russian S.F.S.R. not only in the national autonomous republics and regions (such as Yiddish in Birobidjan) but in smaller areas. There once were Ukrainian-language schools in some districts, but there no longer are areas compactly settled by Ukrainians (not even in Kuban and Zeleny Klin) and there is no demand for them. And of course there are no Ukrainian or any other "Harlems" in Moscow or any other Soviet city. Ukrainians living scattered throughout the city together with people of all sorts of national origins don't want their children to be segregated in separate schools not because they're afraid, as the Report intimates, but because they aren't bitten by the nationalist bug!

How about Russian schools in Kiev? Not only is a considerable part of the population not Ukrainian in origin, but barely 50 years ago all schools were Russian. Now the great majority are Ukrainian and the percentage increases every year.* Moreover, in each Russian (or Polish, etc.) school in Ukraine the children are taught the Ukrainian language, history and culture. Is that

* On the contrary, the percentage of Ukrainian schools in Ukraine has been decreasing. See Kolasky, *Education in Soviet Ukraine*, 52, for elementary and secondary schools and 115 for higher educational institutions.

"Russification"? Ridiculous! But there isn't any coercion and there can never be, since Communists and not nationalists are guiding the affairs of state.

Should Be Considered

I've briefly pointed out three areas of basic error in the Report: 1. the use of petty and passing questions to deny the fundamental fact of the solution of the national problem; 2. the substitution of the language question for the national problem; 3. the smuggling in of the anti-Leninist "cultural autonomy" concept in regard to schools. The list could be extended, including such pertinent questions as interferences in a brother party's inner affairs, uncomradely methods of inter-party discussion, wrong lessons drawn from the application of the national policy in Canada, etc.

I believe that the Report should be reconsidered. The information gathered by the delegation, even that of it that's quoted in the Report, when shed of innuendo based on prejudice and pettifogging, is sufficient for a clear-cut Marxist-Leninist analysis.

I think we should scrutinize the line of thinking behind the errors in the Report. Isn't it logically leading to separatism, to undermining the firm unity of the USSR? Doesn't it lead in the direction of the unspeakable John Kolasky's "opus,"* the counter-revolutionary Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalists, the CIA declared plans to disrupt the socialist camp from within with nationalism as the main weapon? Isn't that why the anti-Sovieteers and reactionaries of all stripes were so pleased with the Report?

And isn't that line of thinking undermining the progressive Ukrainian Canadian movement? Does not it substitute nationalism for internationalism in approach to all aspects of the national question in Canada? Don't Communists always approach national questions from the class point of view? Aren't our efforts, including defence of national rights, always for the purpose of uniting the working people, not dividing them?

The solution of the national problems in the USSR, including Ukraine, is a brilliant victory of the Leninist policy and an inspiration and model (in its essence, not necessarily in the very same forms) for all Communists, for all true democrats and champions of freedom. An unbiased report cannot but come to such a conclusion.

I am sure that on further study and reflection the members of the delegation and the members of our Party as a whole will reconsider that ill-advised Report. And as for the Ukrainian Canadian workers, who for over six decades have held high the banner of proletarian internationalism, I am certain that they will not be swung into nationalist positions, suspicious of and hostile to Soviet Ukraine, but will continue to march as part of the vanguard of the Canadian working class, deserving of the respect and trust they have won both in Canada and in Ukraine.

* The reference is to *Education in Soviet Ukraine*.

SOURCE: *Viewpoint*, vol. 5, no. 4 (November 1968), 20-2.

7. Bourgeois Nationalism?

A Canadian-born Ukrainian who had been brought up in the ULFTA expressed views on the national question that had been propagated as official Marxist theory in the Ukrainian pro-communist movement in the 1930s and were applied in the USSR by the party and government. The article reflected the position of those who supported the prevailing Soviet policies on the national question and was readily published in the party organ. The article is reproduced as it appeared in print.

As a Canadian-born of Ukrainian descent who speaks, writes and reads Ukrainian fluently, I want to say a few words on "language rights" in Ukraine which has been widely distorted and seized upon by nationalists and capitalist propaganda organs to discredit communist ideas.

The Soviet Union has nearly 51 years of progress in completing socialism and now building communism. In this transitional stage, the matter of what language to speak under communism will be considered because the final aim of communism is to do away with national difference, nations and do away with many languages for one language. In fact nations and nationalism are a result of capitalist competition and partitioning of world markets.

Since the Soviet Union is on the road of building communism, language does become secondary to the building of communism. Anyone who places language before building communism is certainly a bourgeois nationalist and raises the nationalist slogan "Language above all."

Therefore when Soviet communists brand them as bourgeois nationalists they are absolutely correct in doing so. Communists must ask themselves what is first—communism or language?

The Ukrainian language and territory is so close to each other one wonders what this nationalism is about. Besides the Soviet Union being a multi-national state and due to its peculiarities Russian has been used as a language of communication and because of this statistics show more people speaking Russian maybe than any particular other language and when it's Russian as evidence shows this must be accepted as a fact of Soviet life.

Anyone who suggests the trend to one language is a "privileged language" and quotes Lenin to criticize it doesn't know what he's talking about. Lenin criticized privileged languages when imposed by one nationality on the other but under communism one language will not be imposed but evolve naturally out of the practical situation of the state building communism.

Artificial language for international use has never been in international use. Esperanto was invented but it never took on but naturally evolved languages

such as French for international diplomatic work and Spanish for international commerce are used. So the Soviet Union being a multi-national state and thereby an international state will have to use one of the natural languages of its states for an international language of Soviet communism. So, if the trend is to Russian then what is wrong with that?

Therefore, anyone who raises the cry that language comes before communism is a bourgeois nationalist and using nationalism to discredit communist ideas and in the Soviet Union such nationalism is punishable by law.

G.K. Timmins, Ont.

SOURCE: *Canadian Tribune*, 13 May 1968.

8. A Canadian Communist Attacks Russification

The controversy over the report was further complicated by a sudden and unexpected development. Barely a month after the publication of the report a book came off the press entitled Education in Soviet Ukraine: A Study in Discrimination and Russification, which completely negated the report's assertions and conclusions that the national problem in Ukraine was being solved. It was based on a mass of Soviet statistics, documents and unpublished materials secretly collected by the author and channelled illegally to Canada while he was a student at the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine from 1963 to 1965. The book was a sensation and was widely reviewed by daily and weekly papers and academic and other journals throughout the English-speaking world. A Toronto daily carried a front-page review.

A Canadian communist has delivered what may turn out to be one of the most damaging body-blows ever to the Soviet Union's internal policies.

There has never been anything like it—an embarrassment to all communists this side of Peking, and which has thrown the Canadian Communist Party into even greater state of disarray than it already is.

It is a sort of time-bomb disguised as a book on Soviet education. It is designed to explode the myth of Soviet impartiality and equality in policies towards minority nationalities of the USSR.

It is especially ironical that it should be the work of a Canadian Communist—who is still, apparently, a party member.

The book—it is more a scholarly indictment—is by John Kolasky of Toronto, who has been a Marxist for more than thirty years. Apparently he became disillusioned with Soviet policies after spending two years in Kiev. . . .

The deceptively innocuous title of his book: *Education in Soviet Ukraine*, published by Peter Martin Associates.

According to Kolasky: "The aim of Russian policy is to maintain a tight control over education in Ukraine and other national republics, to restrict Ukrainians and other nationals from progressing beyond the elementary and general secondary level, to denationalize them . . . to increase, . . . the continuous influx of Russians to occupy posts in government, education, science and other fields."

He says: "The present Russian rulers, although more skilful, more efficient and more ruthless than their tsarist predecessors, are not as honest, nor do they call their policies Russification."

This from a communist! There have been plenty of exposés in the past of Soviet policies by émigrés, defectors, ex-communists and anti-communists. But never has there been such a documented, irrefutable exposure as this work by Kolasky. There is no answer to it.

His source material was, curiously, Soviet statistics. As a member of the Higher Party School, Kolasky had access to hitherto confidential material. He claims in his book that he sent "cartons" of documents back to Canada through "secret channels" before he was caught by the KGB.

Evidently he was expelled from the USSR after some material found in his possession on the national question was "deemed a threat to the security of the Soviet state."

In a nutshell, Kolasky's evidence reveals a premeditated policy to strangle the languages and cultures of the various national groups that comprise the USSR. . . .

Kolasky says in his book: "It was not long before various aspects of life in Ukraine began to trouble me deeply, especially the fact that everywhere the Russian language was dominant."

He goes on: "Everywhere in Kiev there was evidence of pressure to impose the Russian language. . . . Many Russians with whom I came in contact displayed open contempt because I spoke Ukrainian. Occasionally there were even insults."

"Painfully and slowly the realization came that what I had supported as a paragon of justice, was in reality, the worst type of national oppression. The impact of the truth was disturbing and depressing to the point of illness."

He says: "I often lay awake at nights torn with doubts, conflicts and confusion. . . . Russians were everywhere with their arrogant, overbearing attitude, their contempt, sometimes veiled but often overt, for the Ukrainian language, their open display of a feeling of Russian superiority."

As with many communist Party members, there's an atmosphere of mystery and secrecy about Kolasky. . . . He's a part-time teacher in Toronto, and has a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Saskatchewan, a Masters degree in history from the University of Toronto, and a degree in education from the University of Manitoba.

Kolasky says the Soviet programme is in two stages: One, the Russification of Ukrainian schools. Two, the eventual elimination of the Ukrainian language from all schools. . . .

He calls Soviet propaganda which claims a policy of linguistic and cultural equality, "shameless and hypocritical."

Mr. Kolasky says the "non-Russians" of the USSR are fighting Russification "with every means at their disposal." Hence the numerous closed trials and disturbances that have erupted in Ukraine and elsewhere during the last few years. . . .

He adds: "The present Russian rulers and their satraps . . . are frantically merging the non-Russian languages by the forceful imposition of Russian. . . . Is not this policy naked Russian chauvinism? Is this not national oppression, subjugation and domination?"

"Do not these policies spell IMPERIALISM in large ugly script?"

Again, all this is not from an anti-communist fanatic, but from a bona fide Communist Party member in good standing. How long John Kolasky will remain in good standing is another question. . . .

The Party is torn with dissension as a result. And John Kolasky . . . still under considerable emotional strain, remains the one who has produced the first documented study of the Soviet national policies in the schools.

It is his gift—a sort of fiftieth anniversary present—to his countrymen in Soviet Ukraine.

SOURCE: Peter Worthington, *The Weekend Telegram*, 17 February 1968.

9. Public Education in Soviet Ukraine

The new evidence which completely negated the report's contention that the national problem in the Soviet Union was being resolved and the withdrawal of the report placed the Ukrainian communist leaders in a most difficult position. The report satisfied neither their followers nor their opponents and had alienated the Soviet authorities. Their opposition to its withdrawal, which amounted to full acquiescence in Russification, also placed them at odds with the Party. Fearing loss of favour with the Soviet authorities, they began to reaffirm their loyalty. At the Thirteenth Convention of the AUUC in 1968 they declared that "if today we are overly sensitive to some phenomena in Ukraine, it is due to good intentions." In spite of the intensification of Russification in Ukraine they not only ceased raising the national question, but resumed publishing Soviet propaganda that the Ukrainian language and culture were flourishing. Among these was an attack on the author of Education in Soviet Ukraine which appeared as a review of the book in a Soviet school journal.

The peoples of the Soviet Union and all progressive people recently celebrated the half-century jubilee of the Great October Socialist Revolution. . . .

The ideological armour bearers of imperialism are striving to undermine the international prestige of the Soviet Union and slander the achievements of socialist nations by presenting a false picture of our reality. . . .

The troubadours of imperialism launched an especially wild chorus of anti-Soviet howling in connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of Soviet power in Ukraine. This propaganda choir of apologists of imperialism was augmented by the voice of a newly-baked "researcher and specialist in Ukrainian matters" John Kolasky, who wrote and published in English in Toronto, Canada, at the expense of imperialist moneybags* a "jubilee" book *Education in Soviet Ukraine* with the pretentious and slanderous subtitle *A Study in Discrimination and Russification*.

It appears that the "researcher's" itch gave J. Kolasky no peace for some years prior to the half-century jubilee of the October Revolution and he undertook a long journey—to Ukraine. J. Kolasky formally gave the desire to raise his educational standard and "become acquainted with the country of his ancestors" as his reason for coming to Soviet Ukraine.†

In our hospitable country John Kolasky was provided, naturally, with the most favourable opportunity to realize what would seem his laudable aim of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the public, political and cultural life of the Ukrainian people. He studied at a higher educational institution, visited schools, technical schools, higher educational establishments, the libraries in the capital, museums, theatres and cinemas, met with people engaged in culture and education and travelled about the republic.

But J. Kolasky exploited the hospitality of his hosts in a peculiar manner, although one that is, truth to tell, not so unique insofar as enemies of the Soviet people are concerned; he walked about Kiev with a camera, arranged clandestine meetings with "acquaintances" of some sort, pumped them for something, ferreted out and collected various "items of information," which, as he himself confesses, he "secretly channelled to Canada." All these actions, which—to put it bluntly—smell of spying, J. Kolasky shamelessly dubs "dedicated devotion to academic pursuits" of which, don't you see, "the authorities became suspicious."

On the basis of the above-mentioned "methods of investigation" John Kolasky pasted together his book, in which he pretends, first of all, to be "unbiased" and "scientifically objective" in an attempt to conceal the true purpose of his writings.

* The phrase, "at the expense of imperialist moneybags," was deleted from the review in *Zhyttia i Slovo*. The editors probably feared that they might leave themselves open to charges of libel.

† He was sent to Ukraine by the AUUC and the CPC for political training in the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

Flying in the face of historic truth, J. Kolasky claims that Soviet rule was established in Ukraine against the will of the Ukrainian people. . . . Along with this, brazenly falsifying the facts of life, he attempts to prove that there supposedly exists "discrimination" against the Ukrainian people, their language, education and culture in the Soviet Union. . . .

Mr. Kolasky's anti-Soviet writings are directed above all against friendship between nations and proletarian internationalism, against the unity of the Russian and Ukrainian workers, farmers and professional people. That's why J. Kolasky does not even want to see that the land of Soviets has provided a brilliant model for the solution of the nationalities problem. . . .

Mr. Kolasky doesn't wish to see the striking transformations that have taken place in Ukraine as a result of the victory of socialism. He resorts to the lowest kind of devices in an effort to prove the existence of "discrimination" against the Ukrainian population in the sphere of education. Statistics are juggled, false tables are utilized and so on. . . .

It is generally known that our beautiful Ukrainian language never before flourished as it does today in our Ukrainian Soviet state. The national culture and language of the Ukrainian people keep continually growing richer and developing. P. Shelest, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, stressed in 1966: "It is necessary to treat our marvelous native Ukrainian language with care and respect. It is our treasure, our great legacy, which all of us, and above all you, the writers, should preserve and develop."* And yet John Kolasky asserts that in our country "pressure is applied to force national writers to exchange their native language for Russian." Where, when and who in the Soviet country applied or is applying such "pressure?" The author does not cite any instances. That's not an accident, because those "facts" exist only in Mr. Kolasky's sickly imagination. . . .

Isn't it evident that only a person without a drop of civil honesty and conscience can "study" things in this way. It is of such as John Kolasky that the folk saying has it: With lies you can travel all over the earth, but you'll never find the way back.

Experience has convincingly demonstrated that socialism has brought our people everything that they dreamed of for ages: social and national emancipation, a happy and prosperous life, and unprecedented flourishing of culture. . . .

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 10 February 1969.

The review is by O. Dzeverin, O. Savchenko and V. Smal. It first appeared in Radianska Shkola [Soviet School], no. 11, November 1968. It was also published in Ukrainian in Visti z Ukrainy [News From Ukraine], no. 6, 7 February 1969. An English translation by John Weir, from which

* On 26 May 1972 Shelest himself was purged.

the above excerpts are drawn, was later published in the English edition of News From Ukraine and in a separate pamphlet, Public Education in Soviet Ukraine (Kiev, Association for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad, 1969), 3, 5-7, 12, 20, 23.

Chapter 35. Conflict with the Ukrainian Nationalists II

The outbreak of war in 1939 placed the Ukrainian nationalists in Canada in a very unenviable position. Before 1939 they had generally looked to Germany for support in their effort to gain independence for Ukraine. The war in which Germany was pitted against Great Britain, France and Canada, not the USSR, caused considerable consternation in their ranks. However, the Ukrainian nationalists immediately proclaimed their loyalty to Canada and full support for the Allied war effort. But they did not abandon their work on behalf of Ukrainian independence. On 7 November 1940 the Ukrainian churches and nationalist organizations formed the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) to co-ordinate Ukrainian support of the war effort, to serve as the representative of the Ukrainians in Canada and to work on behalf of Ukrainian independence. The German attack on the USSR and the latter's forced entrance into the war placed the nationalists in an awkward position. As loyal citizens of Canada they nominally became allies of their hated enemy, the Russians, toward whom their attitude remained hostile. The Ukrainian communists, whose organization had been banned, their properties taken over by the Custodian and some buildings sold to the nationalists, resurfaced and, after the Soviet Union was attacked, declared their loyalty and full support of the war effort. They seized the initiative to launch a vigorous and venomous campaign against the nationalists, whom they accused of supporting Hitler's Germany.

1. There will be no Pardon for the Criminals

Prior to their withdrawal before the rapid German advance in Western Ukraine, the Russians carried out mass executions of Ukrainians, whom they had imprisoned, and others whom they regarded as hostile. The invading Germans photographed the horrible scenes they encountered and made photographs available to the world press. The Ukrainian nationalist press published them with appropriate comments. The newly founded Ukrainian pro-communist paper in Toronto reacted with the following

editorial.

In Lviv the Nazi hordes organized terrible orgies. Nazi storm troopers forced their way into dwellings, pulled people out, drove them with bayonets—men, women and children—to the courtyard of the police headquarters and there executed them. Drunken fascists tore the clothes off women and raped them amid the laughter of their fellow criminals. The Nazis bayoneted a girl who resisted an officer and fired with machine guns at people who looked out the windows. The savage intruders crowned their terrible crimes by tying the hands and feet of Ukrainian patriots and burying them alive.

Having rounded up people under threat of death, the Nazis photographed their crimes and distributed photos throughout the world, attributing the crimes to the Soviet government. . . . Naturally, as long as the Hitler beast roams our lands the adherents of fascism can circulate this Nazi lie on the pages of the hostile press. But the Hitlerite beast will be smashed. Then the Ukrainian people will also remember their own monsters who disseminated this lie. There will be no pardon for them from the Ukrainian people.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 4 September 1941.

2. An Unwelcome Speech by Mr. Hlynka

On 2 February 1942 Anthony Hlynka, who represented the Vegreville constituency of Alberta for the Social Credit Party, proposed in the House of Commons that representatives of the Ukrainian committees outside Ukraine be invited to send delegates to the various allied conferences to represent the Ukrainian people in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland immediately drafted a press release which was also sent to all Members of Parliament and other public figures.

The speech of Mr. Anthony Hlynka, M.P. for Vegreville constituency, delivered in the House of Commons on 2 February 1942, calling for the separation of Soviet Ukraine from other republics of the Soviet Union, and for the establishment of a Ukrainian government-in-exile is totally contradictory to the Atlantic Charter drawn up by President Roosevelt and Premier Churchill in mid-August, 1941. Mr. Hlynka's speech constitutes a plan for the creation of a quisling government which corresponds to the desire of Führer Hitler and his Axis partners.

With the consent of the National Council of the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland and on behalf of our membership we wish to dissociate ourselves from Mr. Hlynka's unfriendly proposals which do not correspond to the desires of Ukrainian Canadians. . . .

Furthermore, it would be a most unfriendly act for the Canadian government to even participate in, far less originate, proposals for the dismemberment of Britain's greatest ally and friend in the common struggle to save humanity from Nazi barbarism. We are fully confident that the Canadian government will not countenance any such proposals. . . .

Respectfully submitted,

National Council

Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland.

President—Michael Mutzak

Secretary—Michael Dushnitsky.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 26 February 1942.

3. A Dead Dog, the UCC or the UNF?

Since the ULFTA and the Ukrainian pro-communist press had been banned, they could not participate in or publicly oppose the formation of the UCC in November 1940. After the German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941 and the re-establishment of a Ukrainian pro-communist organization and press, the UCC was constantly attacked on even the smallest pretext. The following is an editorial on the occasion of the UCC's public opposition to the lifting of the ban on the ULFTA. The editorial singles out the Ukrainian National Federation (UNF), a founding member of the UCC, because the UNF had purchased some of the ULFTA properties held by the Custodian.

A handful of worthless politically bankrupt rogues whom "alien people" organized into the Ukrainian Canadian Committee awaken from their eternal slumber only when they think they can, in some way, help an enemy of Canada. Up until now the UCC pretended to be the representative of "all Ukrainian organizations" but, recently, having issued mimeographed "materials" against the ULFTA, the UCC tore the despicable mask from its face and revealed that the "UCC" is not the "UCC" but a dead dog or the fascist UNF.

The fact that by their materials against the ULFTA the "UCC" (that is, the UNF) tries to prove that the ULFTA was a communist organization and for that reason the government should not legalize it reveals what fools are these "doctors, lawyers and editors" who pretend to "represent" the Ukrainian people. . . .

In attempting to prove that the ULFTA was a communist organization, the politically bankrupt rogues from the "UCC" forgot one "small detail," that Canada is warring along with and not against communists, but against Hitlerites or Hitlerite agents, that is, against people such as those of whom the

fascist controlled "UCC" is formed.

If the "UCC" is so anxious to do something, why does it not call for the intensification of Canada's war effort? Obviously, there is no need for proof that the "UCC" takes the same attitude to the Canadian war effort and the struggle against Hitler as it does to the ULFTA.

SOURCE: Ukrainske Zhyttia, 20 August 1942.

4. The CEC of the AUC Rejects the UCC Memorandum

According to brief reports of the Canadian press the UNF fascist spokesman, Anthony Hlynka, last week delivered on behalf of the Ukrainian Committee to Prime Minister Mackenzie King an anti-Soviet memorandum in which it raises in a provocative manner "the Ukrainian question" and presents its claims to represent the Ukrainian nation. . . .

In its memorandum the self-styled UCC falsely claims to speak in the name of "80 per cent" of the Ukrainians in Canada. In rejecting the UCC memorandum as a pernicious programme of a small group of people . . . the National Executive Committee of the Association of Canadian Ukrainians sent a telegram to Prime Minister Mackenzie King, to the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Anthony Eden, and to the Canadian under-secretary of External Affairs, M.A. Robertson, in which it exposes the false assertions of the UCC memorandum. A copy of the telegram was also sent to the Soviet legation in Ottawa.

The following is the content of the telegram:

The National Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Canadian Association desires to make a statement regarding a memorandum which was submitted by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to the Canadian government on questions relating to the Ukrainian people in Europe and the independence of Ukraine. Since we have had no opportunity to examine the memorandum in question, we should therefore like to limit ourselves to the following declaration:

(1) The Ukrainian Canadian Association, with 230 branches and with over 10,000 members as well as additional tens of thousands of friends among the Ukrainians in Canada, has nothing to do with the so-called memorandum of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and its representations.

(2) Furthermore, we declare that the Ukrainian Canadian Committee does not represent 80 per cent of the Ukrainian people in Canada and therefore has no right to speak on their behalf. It can only speak for and represent organizations and groups comprising this committee. In addition, within this committee, there are included names of organizations that do not exist and that never have existed.

(3) We submit that within this Ukrainian Canadian Committee there are

organizations whose leaders are Pavlo Skoropadsky and Andrii Melnyk,* two Ukrainian pro-fascists now residing in Nazi Germany and working for a Nazi-fascist victory in Europe. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee consists of open enemies of Canada and friends of Hitler. . . .

The National Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Canadian Association begs your Excellency to take these facts into earnest consideration.

Submitted on behalf of the
Ukrainian Canadian Association
John Horbatiuk, National Chairman,
Michael Dushnitsky, National Secretary.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 8 April 1943.

5. Why Hlynka should be Defeated

Anthony Hlynka is again a candidate of the Social Credit Party in the Vegreville federal constituency in Alberta. In addition to the Liberal and CCF candidates, a progressive Ukrainian Canadian, William Halina, is also running. . . .

Hlynka must be defeated, first of all, because he is a fascist. He has always been associated with pro-fascist elements who regarded him as their spokesman. Today, when fascism is crumbling everywhere and the fascists are scurrying into rat holes, it would be a great shame for Ukrainian Canadians in general and for those of Vegreville in particular if the fascist Hlynka was re-elected in the Vegreville riding. . . .

Secondly, Hlynka must be defeated because he defames Ukraine in the eyes of all the Canadian people and brings shame to all Ukrainians in Canada. He did not defend Ukraine when the Hitlerite aggressors attacked her; on the contrary, he rejoiced at this mad attack. Now, when the Ukrainian nation has freed itself from the bondage of Mr. Hlynka's friends and sent its delegation to the international conference in San Francisco, he, this enemy of our people, shouts with the impudence typical of a fascist that not those elected by the people have the right to represent Ukraine, but he should do this, he, Anthony Hlynka from Vegreville.

* Andrii Melnyk (1890–1964) was a colonel in the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic during the First World War and an active participant in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Western Ukraine. When Ievhen Konovalets (1891–1938), the leader, was assassinated by a Soviet agent in 1938, Melnyk became the leader. He was arrested by the Germans after their attack on the USSR in 1941 and later interned in Sachsenhausen concentration camp. At no time was there a Ukrainian Nazi organization or party in Ukraine. During the Second World War the activities of the Ukrainian nationalists under German occupation were directed toward protecting the interests and welfare of the Ukrainian population and the achievement of an independent Ukrainian state.

Did the electors of Vegreville riding elect Mr. Hlynka to spit on Ukraine, to defame the Ukrainian nation and to bring shame on all Ukrainians in Canada?...

The voters of Vegreville constituency must give their answer on 11 June, federal election day. They will give the best answer if they all vote for a real people's representative, for a person with a fine record of struggle for a better life for the farmers, for a progressive Ukrainian, William Halina....

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 24 May 1945.

6. In the Name of Christ or the Devil?

One of the chief architects of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and its long-time president was Reverend Dr. Vasyl Kushnir (1893-1979). The Ukrainian communists often singled him out for attack because of his position as president and his role and effectiveness in promoting the Ukrainian nationalist cause.

Novyi Shliakh announced that "there is a delegation in San Francisco of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee under the leadership of the Reverend Dr. V. Kushnir from Winnipeg." The delegation came to San Francisco "to present the question of the independence of Ukraine and to underline, in connection with this, the importance of lasting peace in Europe." In reality the whole delegation consists of Kushnir and Solomon.

We have asked the higher circles of the church, the priests and the parishioners of the Greek Catholic Church in Canada in whose name and on whose orders Reverend Dr. Vasyl Kushnir is carrying out completely non-Christian duties. Is Reverend Kushnir carrying out all this work that is harmful to the Ukrainian people in the name of Christ or the devil? Is Vasyl Kushnir performing the duties of a priest as a servant of God or as an Austrian officer? It appears that in his previous activities Reverend Kushnir, as a former Austrian officer, could not reconcile his former officer status with his duties as a Christian servant of God.

It appears very difficult for Reverend Kushnir to reconcile his officer's uniform with his clerical robe, for he still thinks he is an officer and for that reason is "fighting" behind the front to the detriment of Ukraine and his own people, from whom he sprang.

Or perhaps Reverend Kushnir and the bishops of the Greek Catholic Church think that if the Apostle Peter could thrice betray Christ, his teacher, then why could Reverend Kushnir not betray his people even more times?

And one more question: who sent this "delegation" and at whose expense did it go? Whose money is the UCC "delegation" squandering in San

Francisco? There are rumours that this delegation was financed from the church collections for "Saint Peter's Pence." Others say that the costs of the delegation were covered from the donations which the UCC has nominally collected to aid "the refugees, the victims of the present war."

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 24 May 1945.

7. Protest to Prime Minister Mackenzie King

Our country emerged from the war victorious. We achieved this victory only by virtue of the great assistance of our Allies, who brought great sacrifices to the altar of victory. One of these Allies, who destroyed the basic forces of German fascism, was Soviet Ukraine and the other republics of the Soviet Union.

At the time when the sons of the Canadian people and the sons of Ukraine fought shoulder to shoulder against the fascist enemy, in Europe there were traitors of the Ukrainian people who fought in German uniforms in the ranks of the SS Galicia Division, the police and the Gestapo under the command of German officers against the Ukrainian and other peoples who were our Allies in the war. These Ukrainian traitors were the so-called Ukrainian nationalists.

The Ukrainian nationalists were not only in Europe. They were and are here in Canada. Before the war the Ukrainian nationalists openly supported Hitler; during the war they sabotaged national unity in the war effort of our country.

Ukrainian nationalists in Europe who served the Hitlerites were smashed, together with them. The remnants of these fascist bands were dispersed throughout Europe, fleeing with the Germans before the victorious advance of the Red Army. Today these criminals call themselves "refugees" and hide behind various innocent people.

The Ukrainian nationalists in Canada strive to save these Ukrainian-German remnants in Europe at all costs. Simultaneously, they endeavour to renew their fascist movement in order to carry on subversive work against the unity and friendship of nations, against world peace.

In order to establish ties with Ukrainian fascists in Europe and plan their criminal activities, the Ukrainian nationalists in Canada, organized in the so-called UCC, sent the head of their organization, Dr. V. Kushnir, whom our Canadian government granted permission to travel to Europe.

In view of the fact that the pro-German orientation and the pro-fascist activities of the Ukrainian nationalists (UCC) has been and is known to our government, in view of the fact that our government was aware with what criminal purpose the UCC was sending Dr. Kushnir to Europe and in view of the fact that such a trip by the head of the UCC is extremely harmful and directly contrary to those aims to which the representatives of Canada and the

United Nations today aspire, we voice our protest and demand that the government explain the reason why permission was granted to the head of the UCC to travel to Europe and simultaneously demand that the government investigate and put an end to the further harmful anti-national activities of the UCC.

SOURCE: Narady i Ukhvaly (Druhoho Vsekraievoho Zizdu 12 do 15 sichnia 1946), 84-5.

8. Kushnir Defames the Ukrainians of Canada

V. Kushnir, a Catholic priest of Ukrainian ancestry who occupies himself with the "politics" of defaming Ukraine and its great people, splattered mud last week on all Ukrainians in Canada, declaring before the Senate committee in Ottawa that the 250,000 "Ukrainian displaced persons" who find themselves in the camps for displaced persons in Germany could become "better" immigrants than those 306,000 Ukrainians who now live in Canada.

A desecrator of the good name of Ukrainians in Canada, Kushnir made his declaration as the head of the so-called Ukrainian Canadian Committee before the Senate committee which is hearing various delegations in the matter of immigration. With him were Arsenych, Hlynka and other members of the UCC.

Arsenych also defamed the Ukrainians of Canada. He declared that he would like "to be rid of the communists of this country. . . ." Hlynka, for his part, proposed a "method" by which it would be possible "to be rid" of the communists—simply allow "at least a couple of handfuls of intellectuals from among the displaced persons" to come to Canada.

They all defamed someone, but to Kushnir was left the vile task of defaming those people whom he wished to represent, in the name of whom he arbitrarily went to speak before the Senate committee, when he made the "displaced persons," that is, the various tramps and rogues, "worthier" for Canada than the Ukrainians who came here twenty, thirty and more years ago or were born here.*

Only a person for whom fascist deeds are dear can talk thus. Splattering mud on Ukrainian Canadians, Kushnir has proven that he and other leaders of the UCC look upon them as an "ignorant mass. . . ."

Perhaps precisely because the so-called displaced persons aided Hitler's Germany and not Canada or Ukraine, Kushnir places them above the

* According to the verbatim report of the Senate committee proceedings, neither Arsenych, Hlynka, nor Kushnir made any of the statements here attributed to them. The Senate of Canada, *Proceedings of the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour*, Thursday, 12 June 1947, Ottawa, 312-23.

Ukrainians of Ukraine and above the Ukrainians of Canada.

Thus act enemies not only of Ukrainian Canadians but of the whole Canadian nation. For Canada, therefore, it would be much more beneficial to be rid of the various Kushnirs, Arsenyches and the like rather than import into Canada from Germany their friends, yesterday's friends of Hitler.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 19 June 1947.

9. The Class Position of the Nationalists

More than once people have wondered why the Ukrainian nationalists hate contemporary Ukraine so pathologically, more than an inveterate enemy. Why, in their hate, do they go so far that they would like to see contemporary Ukraine swept off the face of the earth?

Not because Ukraine "does not exist" or "there is no" Ukrainian national state, or Ukrainian culture "is not flourishing," but because Ukraine is socialist and is developing its exceedingly rich life: its social order, statehood and culture.

Consequently, an answer to the question why the Ukrainian nationalists hate contemporary Ukraine so ferociously must be sought in their class position. They are a "homeless" bourgeoisie driven out of Ukraine. They would like to see a government of capitalists and landlords in Ukraine. They represent the system of exploitation of man by man which has irrevocably died in Ukraine. Not having an economic base to become a bourgeoisie, they serve other bourgeoisies, formerly Austrian and Polish, not long ago German, and now anyone as long as he is a bourgeois. This is exactly why they crave war, because they prefer to see Ukraine destroyed rather than worker-peasant and socialist without landlords and capitalists.

Their talk about "nation," "statehood" and so on is a thin and already transparent mask. He who loves his nation does not serve others, does not invite interventionists, does not seek new misfortunes for his people. Long ago the Ukrainian nationalists found themselves in the position of the Polish, Yugoslav and Bulgarian lords who have lost politico-economic power in their countries. They are all united by their class position. . . .

And this basic essence of nationalism must be explained to those Ukrainian workers who still allow themselves to be taken in by the bait of the Ukrainian bourgeois elements.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 28 August 1947.

10. Communist Description of the Nationalist Movement

The whole "Ukrainian" nationalist movement in all its forms and varieties, whether settled or "refugee," is a wandering tail of reaction. Not so long ago it was tied by its tail to the German-fascist wagon and its masters in Berlin. Now, in an altered situation, there are new masters and a new wagon with, of course, old squeaky axles. It never had and does not now have its own head. It only had and still has a wide mouth, a long tongue, a hungry stomach and a tail... all that is necessary to hold on tightly to the reactionary rear of anyone's wagon as long as it is going in the direction of war...

SOURCE: Petro Prokopchak, *Narady i Ukhvaly (Tretioho Vsekraiovoho Zizdu 12-15 liutoho 1948)*, 44.

11. The Bandit Bandera has Spoken from his Rat Hole

The name of the super bandit, Stepan Bandera, the "leader" of the OUN, is cursed by the Ukrainian people, especially in the western regions, where he and his gang caused a great deal of damage.

Stepan Bandera with his cutthroats served the German fascists and together with the Gestapo and the police sent thousands of Ukrainians of Galicia, Bukovyna and Volyn to their deaths. The bands of Bandera and the SB (the security service—the Bandera Gestapo) are smeared with the warm blood of Ukrainian women and children.*

After the smashing of the infamous Hitlerite war machine, Stepan Bandera and his henchmen scrambled to Germany and crawled into a rat hole in the Bavarian mountains under the wing of the American imperialists.

Lately, this bandit spoke. Bandera appeals to the Anglo-American imperialists to begin a war against Soviet Ukraine in order that he and his cutthroats could again murder the Ukrainian people, those cripples which the German *Übermensch* did not finish off.

The bourgeois press attempts to create a myth around this weak individual. It wishes to raise him on a shield. The imperialists dream of still making use of his infamous services.

Vain dreams and vain hopes. The Ukrainian people threw Bandera overboard. They drove the remains of his "army" in the western regions out of their hiding places under manure piles and toilets. Bandera and his band will

* Stepan Bandera (1909-59), leader of the OUN in Western Ukraine. In 1934 he was sentenced to death by a Polish court, a sentence which was later commuted to life imprisonment. Released in 1939 after the collapse of Poland, he was arrested and interned by the Germans in 1941 and consequently could not have participated in any military or police actions. Bandera was assassinated in 1959 by Bohdan Stashynsky, a Soviet agent.

roam around the Anglo-American garbage dumps branded as bandits and cursed by the Ukrainian people.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 6 April 1950.

12. Rival Tributes

One of the means by which the Ukrainian communists gained publicity and prestige was by the marking of important Ukrainian anniversaries. In 1956, on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Ivan Franko, Western Ukraine's outstanding poet, they planned to unveil a bust of Franko in Winnipeg, to which they invited Franko's daughter, Anna Kluchko.

On the 100th anniversary of his birth, Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko was doubly remembered in Canada last week. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, representing some 90 per cent of Canada's 500,000 citizens of Ukrainian descent, held a convention in Winnipeg to honour his memory. Immediately afterward, the pro-Communist Association of United Ukrainian Canadians staged a rival celebration seeking to identify itself with the freedom-loving poet by unveiling a bust, singing his folk songs, and opening a Franko museum adjoining the Ukrainian Labour Temple, headquarters for Winnipeg's communist groups.

If there was any doubt about which celebration was the sincere tribute, it was quickly dispelled by an expert witness: poet Franko's daughter, Mrs. Anna Kluchko, 64, a refugee from communism who now lives in Toronto. Invited to both affairs, Mrs. Kluchko attended and spoke at the Ukrainian Canadian Committee meeting, but refused to take part in the Red-sponsored celebration. "Had my father lived," she said, "the Communists would have killed him, as they have killed others, or would have sent him to Siberia, as they did my brother."

SOURCE: *Time*, 16 July 1956.

13. A UCC "Demonstration"

The policy of the Ukrainian communists toward the Ukrainian nationalists is to discredit them by any means. They are described as "enemies" of Ukraine, and any criticism of or opposition to Russian occupation of Ukraine is portrayed as opposition to and hatred of Ukraine and its people.

The Ukrainian nationalist UCC completed its usual attack on Soviet Ukraine and its people (this is the only reason for its existence). UCC demonstrations against Soviet Ukraine and its people, which has chosen for itself the socialist path of state development, were held in Winnipeg and some other towns. What inspired the UCC to demonstrate was the present new anti-Soviet campaign of reaction in connection with events in Hungary.

Actually, this was a demonstration for adventurist military action against Ukraine and its people. The UCC gentlemen want world reaction to do for them what Hitler could not do with his attack on Ukraine and the whole Soviet Union. The world knows how the Ukrainian nation hammered the fascist aggressors who came to Ukraine to introduce the "new order." Today the nationalist "leaders" in the UCC again want to try to introduce from Canada some sort of "new order" in Ukraine. They have not learned anything from history. . . .

The gentlemen from the UCC are free to disagree with the Soviet government, to dislike it, but it is necessary to face the facts and not fantasize. The people of Ukraine have chosen for themselves the socialist road and it is travelling that road. It is not for the UCC in Canada or for anyone else to dictate to the people of Ukraine how they should manage their economy or what kind of government they should have. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 26 December 1956.

14. Offer Co-operation to Build Monument in 1961

When the UCC proposed to build a monument to Taras Shevchenko in Winnipeg in 1961, on the 100th anniversary of the poet's death, the Ukrainian communist leaders, wishing to neutralize the role of the nationalists in the project and to capitalize on the prestige and publicity that would result, declared their readiness to participate jointly in the venture. When they were ignored and the monument was erected without them, they denounced the unveiling ceremony and those participating in it.

Ukrainian Canadian Committee,
722 McIntyre Bldg.,
Winnipeg 2, Man.
Sixth Congress of Ukrainians in Canada,
Winnipeg, Man.
Honourable Presidium of the Sixth
Congress of the Ukrainians in Canada:

The National Executive Committee of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians addresses you and at the same time the delegates to your congress on a matter of particular importance to all Ukrainians, which is on the agenda

of your sixth Congress. This is the second item proposed for discussion in your announced agenda under the heading: *"Building of a monument to Taras Shevchenko and an all-national rally in 1961 on the centenary of the poet's death."*

With this letter the National Executive Committee of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians wishes, first of all, to bring to your knowledge and at the same time to the knowledge of the entire Ukrainian community in Canada that our organization and the Ukrainian progressive movement in Canada which it heads welcome the intention of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee to build in Winnipeg a monument to the brilliant son of the Ukrainian people, T.H. Shevchenko, and to hold an all-national commemoration on the centenary of the immortal poet's death. . . .

As in 1951, when in honour of the sixtieth anniversary of Ukrainians in Canada the first monument to Taras H. Shevchenko on the American continent was built at Palermo, Ont., by the efforts of our organization, at which time we called for a joint all-national celebration, so today, in greeting the UCC undertaking regarding the building of a monument to T. Shevchenko in Winnipeg, we declare ourselves in favour of a joint all-national celebration and declare that this great matter is the business of all Ukrainians in Canada, irrespective of organizational affiliation, convictions or religion. Because, as the saying among Ukrainians has it, "there is only one Ukrainian people and only one Taras Shevchenko."

Holding to this position, the National Executive Committee of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians considers that the commemoration of the shining memory of T. Shevchenko and his great works for the benefit of the Ukrainian people and of all humanity should also be truly all-national; the building of the monument and the projected all-national rally should both be carried out by the combined efforts of all Ukrainian organizations in Canada and with all Ukrainians taking part.

In bringing our general attitude on this matter to your attention, we also want to declare our readiness to work for the realization of the above ends, i.e., to build a monument to T.H. Shevchenko in Winnipeg and to hold a commemoration of the centenary of the poet's death.

With this purpose the National Executive Committee of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians—the organization that is renowned for its forty years of educational and cultural-artistic activity among the Ukrainians in Canada—is prepared to enter into negotiations for the elaboration of the concrete conditions for co-operation in building the monument to T.H. Shevchenko in Winnipeg and in holding a truly all-national rally in 1961 on the centenary of the death of the great poet and revolutionary democrat.

Awaiting a favourable reply from you, we remain,

Respectfully yours,

National Executive Committee,
Association of United Ukrainian Canadians
M. Korol, president
P. Prokop[chak], secretary

SOURCE: *The Ukrainian Canadian*, 1 August 1959.

15. The Monument to Taras Shevchenko in Winnipeg

On 9 July a monument to T.H. Shevchenko, erected near the Manitoba Legislative Buildings in Winnipeg by the Ukrainian nationalist organizations which make up the UCC, was unveiled. This is the second monument to T.H. Shevchenko in Canada; the first was erected by the Ukrainian progressive organizations in Palermo ten years ago. . . .

What is painful and disgraceful is the fact that the leaders of the UCC utilized the unveiling of the monument, as well as the preparations for its construction, to slander Ukraine and the Ukrainian people and for war politics against the Soviet Union, of which Ukraine is a component as a free, sovereign republic. Two priests who spoke at the unveiling of the monument (a third was chairman) uttered filthy slanders against the Ukrainian nation because it chose for itself the socialist system, lives in friendship with the Russian and other nations as Shevchenko taught and is building a new life. They spoke in a spirit completely alien to the ideas of Shevchenko, who propagated brotherhood and friendship among nations.

Prime Minister John Diefenbaker and Premier Roblin spoke in a similar vein. In one breath they extolled Shevchenko and in another attacked Soviet Ukraine, the Ukraine of Shevchenko, which, together with Canada, is a member of the United Nations and is recognized by the whole civilized world as the great state of the Ukrainian people. This was not a solemn commemoration of Shevchenko, but a mockery of Shevchenko.

All honest Ukrainians, who sincerely and honestly respect the great Shevchenko, have nothing in common with those who attempt to use his bright name for base Judas aims.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 19 July 1961.

16. A Provocative UCC Demonstration in Ottawa

A period of relative thaw in the USSR was ushered in by Khrushchev's speech at the closed session of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on 25 February 1956, in which he raised a corner of the curtain on the crimes of Stalin. In the ensuing relatively freer atmosphere there emerged in Ukraine a group of young littérateurs who expressed themselves critically of the past and hopefully of the future, opposing bureaucracy, censorship and, above all, Russification. Among them were two talented literary critics, Ivan Dziuba and Ivan Svitlychny. In the summer of 1965, when news arrived of their arrest, mass protests were organized in the countries of the West. Among these was a protest march in Ottawa, organized by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, to which the Ukrainian pro-communist press responded with the following comments.

On Saturday, 28 May the residents of Ottawa . . . were witnesses of a strange spectacle—a group of about 1,000 people at first gathered as a “protest” near the parliament and then demonstrated “quietly,” as the very same “protest,” near the embassy of the USSR. Who were these people? Against what were they “protesting?”

These were members of various nationalist organizations which comprise the so-called Ukrainian Canadian Committee. They “protested” against the supposed “arrest” and “imprisonment” of two Kiev littérateurs, Ivan Svitlychny and Ivan Dziuba.

In the first place, the following fact testifies that the provocation was calculated and planned on the part of the leaders of the UCC. A day before the “demonstration” the Ottawa press services in the embassy of the Soviet Union in Canada informed the Ukrainian papers in Canada by telephone that a report had been received from Kiev entitled FABRICATION REGARDING THE IMPRISONMENT OF TWO WRITERS IN KIEV, which reads:

SOME PAPERS PUBLISHED ABROAD BY UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS CHARGED LATELY THAT UKRAINIAN WRITERS IVAN SVITLYCHNY AND IVAN DZIUBA WERE ARRESTED AND SENTENCED. THESE RUMOURS ARE WITHOUT FOUNDATION AND ARE PROVOCATIVE IN CHARACTER. THE WRITERS IVAN SVITLYCHNY AND IVAN DZIUBA WERE NEVER PLACED ON TRIAL AND ARE AT LIBERTY.

The false rumours about the imaginary arrest,* sentencing and imprisonment of the writers Ivan Svitlychny and Ivan Dziuba, which originated in various “European sources,” especially in Munich and Switzerland, have circulated for many months and were presented as “information” not only by Ukrainian

* The Soviet press release only denies that they were tried; the editor of the Ukrainian pro-communist paper even denies that they were arrested.

nationalist papers but by English dailies. . . .

The leaders of the UCC organized their provocative demonstrations in Ottawa not out of any "love" for the writers Ivan Svitlychny and Ivan Dziuba or for any "Ukrainian intellectual" or any Ukrainian cultural workers in Soviet Ukraine. Accepting all sorts of false and unrefuted rumours, they organized their "protest" because of their HATRED for the socialist system, for the Soviet government in Ukraine.

This is why this "demonstration," in addition to being clearly provocative, is just as clearly anti-Ukrainian. . . .

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 6 June 1966.

17. Not All Ukrainians

In 1967 Ukrainian organizations outside the USSR formed the World Congress of Free Ukrainians to co-ordinate their work, especially in regard to publicizing the plight of the oppressed Ukrainian nation. The formation of the world congress was a serious blow to both the USSR and its supporters in the free world, especially the Ukrainian pro-communists. On 29 October 1973, prior to the second world congress, which was held on 1-4 November, the Ukrainian pro-communist organization in Canada denounced the congress through a paid advertisement in a Toronto daily.

Toronto will be the site of an international exercise in cold war politics and propaganda in the next few days. This is the essential character and purpose of the four-day gathering that meets here as the Second World Congress of Free Ukrainians.

The congress will surround itself with an elaborate façade of folk culture, arts and exhibits, but its consuming purpose—like its reason for being, is to expand the propaganda war against the Soviet Union and Ukraine. There will be no platform at the congress for friends of Ukraine, nor for advocates of friendship, co-operation and peace. No such groups from the Ukrainian communities will be present at this gathering.

We felt that our fellow Canadians had to be told that this congress does not speak for "all the Ukrainians in the western world," as its organizers claim in their publicity. Far from it. Not only do these people presume to speak for "all the Ukrainians in the western world," but also for what their self interest dictates is best for Ukraine and her people. . . . They speak for a world of their own making, one that is very much unlike the real world, and from which Ukraine and her 50 million people are excluded as a sovereign nation. . . .

The cold warriors have a blind hatred for the social system in Ukraine and their whole thrust is one of extreme antagonism and hostility. They find it impossible—politically unthinkable, to say anything good about Soviet

Ukraine; about the tremendous achievements and successes of the people in a socialist society.

They have little or nothing to say about the fact that the territories of Ukraine have been united under socialism; that illiteracy has been wiped out; that health and education are the rights of its citizens; that its culture and arts are vital and flourishing; that it has grown into a modern industrial society; and that Ukraine is one of the more enlightened nations of Europe....

This is not a congress that represents the best in the Ukrainian heritage. This is not a congress that speaks for all Canadians.*

—National Committee, Association of United Ukrainian Canadians

SOURCE: *The Globe and Mail*, 29 October 1973.

18. They are Fanning War Propaganda

One of the concerns of the Ukrainian nationalist movement is defence of the persecuted dissidents in Ukraine. Such activity was greatly accelerated with the exchange of four Soviet dissidents, among them the prominent Ukrainian, Valentyn Moroz, for two convicted Soviet spies in the United States. The Ukrainian pro-communists could not face Moroz's charges of utter disregard of human rights by the Soviet authorities. Instead they mounted a campaign to discredit him and the Ukrainian nationalist movement.

The Ukrainian nationalists in the United States and Canada... have unfolded a violent campaign in which they brought forward the dissident, Valentyn Moroz, who recently arrived in the U.S.A. With the appearance of Moroz they are fanning war propaganda, acting against the relief of international tension, in their desire to revive the "cold war."

On the invitation of the UCC Moroz came to Canada. Anti-Soviet "manifestations" were organized in Toronto, Winnipeg and Montreal with the participation of various reactionary elements....

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 25 June 1979.

* It is quite true that "not all Ukrainians" supported the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. The editor of the Ukrainian pro-communist paper, Nick Hrynchyshyn, ran in the federal elections in 1979 in Etobicoke Centre as a communist candidate and received 112 votes.

19. Nazi Helper Moroz Lauded*

It was a case of strange bedfellows when Liberals, Tories and New Democrats joined together to embrace Nazi collaborator Valentyn Moroz, who was responsible for betraying his compatriots in Ukraine during the Nazi occupation. Prime Minister Clark greeted the professional anti-Sovieteer with an offer of landed immigrant status. . . .

SOURCE: *Canadian Tribune*, 18 June 1979.

* Moroz was born in 1936. He was five years old when the Germans invaded the USSR in 1941.

Chapter 36. The Ukrainian Refugees

After Poland was overrun and annexed to Germany in 1939 there were about three-quarters of a million Ukrainians in the annexed area. A Ukrainian Central Committee, headed by Volodymyr Kubijovyč, a noted geographer and professor of Cracow University, was formed to represent the interests of Ukrainians under German occupation. As the war continued and the Germans were forced to retreat, Ukrainians, fearful of the returning Soviet forces, fled westward to Germany and other West European states. Among these were Ukrainian nationalists who had consistently advocated and worked to establish an independent Ukraine. The Soviet authorities, fearing the influence of the nationalists, began a virulent campaign of accusations and vilification, branding them as Nazi collaborators and war criminals to discredit them and force their repatriation. The Ukrainian communist leaders in Canada gave full support to the vociferous campaign against the displaced persons, not only as a matter of course. They also feared a possible influx of refugees, many of whom had friends and relatives in Canada even among members and sympathizers, on whom they could exert an influence. The Ukrainian communists joined the chorus against the refugees, republishing Soviet materials in addition to their own. One of the first Soviet attacks was made by D.Z. Manuilsky, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, in a speech to teachers in Lviv on 6 January 1945. The address was translated and widely distributed by the Ukrainian pro-communists in Canada.

1. The Truth about Ukrainian "Refugees" in Germany

Completely separated from their people, the Ukrainian nationalists, step by step, turned into a traitorous band of spies, diversionists, terroristic criminals, to whom no laws, no morals, no rights ever existed. In practically the whole world, there was no foreign counter-espionage in which they would not serve... From 1933, after the German fascists came to power, those criminals fell completely under the influence of the Hitlerite band from which they adopted the fascist ideology which is completely foreign to the Ukrainian people; and in the majority of cases they went over into the service of the German Gestapo...

SOURCE: *The Truth About Ukrainian "Refugees" in Germany*, (Toronto, 1945), 14.

2. Regarding Aid to the "Refugees"

The plight of the Ukrainian refugees was first publicized by Ukrainians serving in the Canadian armed forces. Realizing their predicament, the Ukrainian nationalists took steps to render them aid. The Ukrainian communists in Canada attacked the humanitarian venture.

The Ukrainian nationalist and pro-fascist press in Canada and the United States has again renewed its clamorous appeals for money for the so-called Ukrainian refugees in Europe. They are seasoning their appeals with various sensitive sauces that "thousands of Ukrainians, especially children" will starve to death if they do not receive immediate assistance from Ukrainians in America, that such aid can be provided "exclusively" by Ukrainians on the North American continent, and so on. The nationalist press has announced that for this purpose "relief organizations" have been formed in Switzerland, France and Belgium, while on the American continent "relief committees" have been organized which are collecting money.

"Extend a helping hand to our brothers," shouts the nationalist press.

For Ukrainians who remember the nationalists' "silence of the grave" during Hitler's temporary occupation of Ukraine, their present "moving" appeals appear boringly ludicrous.

Whence, may we ask, this sudden "feeling?" Why did they not reveal it when the Hitlerite hordes were tearing Ukraine apart? Why did they not appeal for funds to aid the Ukrainian people in their heroic struggle against the German intruder? Why do they not appeal for funds now to help Ukraine rebuild itself?

Because for them "Ukraine" and the "Ukrainian nation" are the refugees, those who do not wish to return to Ukraine, those who are fleeing from the Ukrainian people, those who served the Germans in oppressing, plundering and pillaging Ukraine.

Everything is clear. The betrayers of the interests of their people in Canada wish to rescue the traitors of the Ukrainian people in Europe from just punishment for crimes against Ukraine. That is why they appeal so vociferously and so dishonestly for money for the so-called refugees who can no longer seek refuge under the wings of Hitler, Goebbels, Himmler or Rosenberg.

But he who donates money for this purpose will be helping war criminals to escape just punishment, will be opposing the vital interests of Ukraine and will be an accomplice in the further betrayal of his own people.

The answer of Ukrainians to the appeal of the pro-fascist clowns should be: Not a cent to assist the betrayers of our people!

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 5 July 1945.

3. An M.P. Withdraws his Signature

Ukrainian Members of Parliament, especially Anthony Hlynka, were also busy on behalf of the Ukrainian refugees. By the Yalta Agreement, signed on 11 February 1945, nationals of the USSR and the U.S.A. in Europe were to be repatriated without delay. Since Soviet citizens did not wish to return home, they were repatriated arbitrarily. Twenty-five members of the House of Commons signed a petition to Prime Minister Mackenzie King to use his influence to halt forceful repatriation. So convincing was the propaganda denouncing the refugees disseminated by the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations that three of the signatories, D. MacIvor, R. Moore and W. Little, whose letter to the NEC of the Ukrainian Canadian Association follows, withdrew their signatures.

Dear Sirs;

Thanks for your booklet in connection with "The Truth about the Ukrainian 'Refugees' in Germany."

After reading this booklet and the information contained therein... I wish to state the following:

When I was approached to sign a declaration to the Honourable Mr. King in respect to these so-called displaced persons I had no idea as to who these people were, so I naturally felt it was my duty to ask our government and other Allied powers to do everything possible to assist such Nazi victims.

I have now finally reached the conclusion that these war refugees are, and were, supporters of the Hitler regime and voluntarily offered their services in his aggression against humanity.

In view of the fact that my signature to that declaration has been used in certain newspapers, especially the Ukrainian nationalist newspapers, with the view of influencing public opinion in support of the efforts of the Canadian Ukrainian Committee, to bring these people to Canada or give them support in any other way, I wish now to emphatically declare publicly that I dissociate myself from that declaration.

I would, therefore, ask that you please convey this information to my friends, the members of the Ukrainian Canadian Association in my constituency and your people in Canada in general.

Yours very truly,
Walter Little.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 27 January 1946.

4. Dangerous Proposal

Even newspaper editors were influenced by the communist-inspired propaganda against the Ukrainian refugees in Europe.

The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, one of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations operating in Canada, has recently submitted a request to the dominion government which calls for careful scrutiny. It asks that Canadian Ukrainians who have relatives among displaced persons in Europe be permitted to bring them to Canada upon proper guarantee that they will not become public charges.

This request might seem harmless enough, but it has dangerous possibilities. Of the hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians who were in Germany and Central Europe when the war ended, the vast majority are loyal citizens of the Soviet Union, who were deported by the Germans for forced labour. These people naturally want to return to their homes and most of them have already done so. The remaining group, the true "displaced persons," are those who are unwilling to return to Ukraine at all.

The causes of this unwillingness no doubt vary with individuals. In a great many cases, however, these people are afraid to go back because, during the war years, they collaborated with the Nazi invaders. Some even carried their collaboration to the extent of serving in the German army. Our own troops in France and Italy found Russian and Ukrainian traitors fighting in the enemy ranks.

If these men return to their homes, they face punishment for treason. Naturally they are anxious to find a refuge somewhere, and they will jump at a chance to settle in this country.

The fact must be faced, therefore, that any attempt to open the gates to "displaced" Ukrainians could certainly result in an influx of Nazi collaborationists. As immigrants, these men would be wholly unacceptable. Their fascist, pro-German taint would prevent them ever becoming good Canadian citizens. And, having betrayed their own country in its hour of peril, what guarantee is there that they would not prove equally faithless to Canada? Whoever may undertake that they do not become public charges, no one can guarantee that they will not become a threat to the peace and unity of the dominion.

SOURCE: *Edmonton Journal*, 2 January 1946.

5. Ukrainian Communists before a Senate Committee

On 29 May 1946 representatives of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, headed by Rev. Dr. W. Kushnir and including Rev. Dr. S. Sawchuk, J.R. Solomon, and Flight-Lieutenant B. Panchuk, MBE, presented a brief to the Senate Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour in favour of admitting Ukrainian refugees from Europe. John Boychuk and Stepan Macievich, representing the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations, opposed the admission of refugees. However, the senators were not easily swayed by communist propaganda against the refugees, especially since sharp differences had been developing between the USSR and the Western Allies. Igor Gouzenko had defected, uncovering a Soviet spy ring in Canada, which ushered in the "Cold War" with its suspicion of and hostility to the Soviet Union and the communist movement. After presenting his brief, Macievich was subjected to some sharp questioning by the senators.

... Apart from the above statement... we further wish to present some information and our opinions on the specific question of Ukrainian immigration as it stands at the present time.

1. There is little likelihood of any large-scale immigration from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic into Canada, apart from individual cases of relatives bringing over some of their kin to live with them. It is more likely that the opposite tendency will prevail in the coming months and years; the return of some Ukrainians from Canada to Ukraine. Many letters received by Ukrainian Canadians from their relatives are urging them to return, and it is likely that from among those Ukrainians who came to Canada in the period between the two world wars, leaving their families behind, and who have not acquired Canadian citizenship, some will re-immigrate to Ukraine.
2. The other source of possible Ukrainian immigration is to be found in the "displaced persons" camps, cared for by UNRRA, in various parts of Germany, Austria and Italy. These constitute some thousands of Ukrainians who have hitherto refused to be repatriated to their homeland after the millions of Ukrainian slave labourers, war prisoners and war refugees have already returned to Ukraine. We urge the Canadian authorities to reject any proposal that immigration from this source be considered in terms of "asylum" for "political refugees" as wrong in fact and prejudicial to the interests of Canada.
3. This group of Ukrainian so-called displaced persons in Europe is constituted of roughly three categories: (a) war criminals; (b) former collaborators with German occupational authorities in Ukraine and (c) a small group of people who have been beguiled into believing that they can escape the hardships of post-war restoration in their war-shattered native land by immigrating to Canada.
4. This group is further characterized by the fact that there are very few

workers or farmers among them... They are nearly all professional politicians, lawyers, doctors, teachers, and even priests who would not practice their professions in Canada, and some businessmen without capital, and students who have not finished their studies. We submit that immigration from these occupation groups would in all probability soon constitute a serious problem and possible burden to the state.

5. We urge the Canadian authorities not to permit entry into Canada of persons in the war criminals and German collaborators categories, people who served in the Gestapo, organized the Ukrainian S.S. Division "Galicia" as part of the German army and served the Hitler regime against their own people and the United Nations. We urge the Canadian authorities to reject the pleas that these people be treated as "political refugees" in need of "asylum." We submit that to permit these people to come to Canada and to give the appearance that former war criminal and collaborationist records are viewed favourably by the authorities would create sharp discord and enmity within our country in general and the Ukrainian Canadians in particular.

6. We propose that this same rule be applied to the participants and partisans of the so-called Ukrainian Rebellion Army,* a band of terrorists still operating on the section of the border between Ukraine, Poland and Czechoslovakia, burning villages, looting and massacring peaceful inhabitants. We urge categorical rejection of the claim being made that this band of fascists of many nationalities, led by escaped German officers, is a Ukrainian "patriot" army, and that its terrorist activities are "justified" because they presumably are hindering the amicable and peaceful solution of the national minorities problem between Poland and Ukraine by the voluntary exchange of minority populations as agreed upon by the two states.

7. We further urge that the greatest caution be exercised in considering applications from Ukrainian would-be immigrants, lest war criminals and collaborationists gain entry into Canada under false pretences, change of name, falsification of records, donning the robes of priesthood, etc. . . .

8. In considering applications on behalf of other than direct war criminals and collaborationists, we urge that claims that these be considered as "political refugees" be not allowed, since the government of Ukraine has repeatedly extended amnesty to all with the exception of those who are directly on the war criminals list and who would be required to stand trial for their crimes.

9. We deeply deplore the propaganda which has been permitted in the "displaced persons" camps in Europe to influence them against repatriation to their homeland either by intimidation or by false promises that they would be

* The translation generally used is "Ukrainian Insurgent Army." It was formed in 1942 from local armed self-defence groups whose initial purpose was to frustrate German transport of Ukrainians to Germany for forced labour. That it fought both the German and the Soviet armed forces has now been acknowledged by a Soviet writer, V. Davydenko, in a series on the army published in the newspaper *Radianska Ukraina* (Soviet Ukraine) in December 1988.

brought over to the "green pastures" of Canada and the United States and avoid the hardships connected with reconstruction of the war-torn economy of their native land. We further suggest that people influenced by such considerations are hardly of the calibre required in Canada.

10. Finally, we urge that caution be exercised in considering these applications to avoid immigration under false pretences in regard to occupation qualifications as well. . . .

Hon. Mr. Crerar: Flight-Lieutenant Panchuk gave rather a moving and, what I thought was an accurate picture of the condition he found in Germany and in countries west of Germany of those people who were moving westward and who love freedom and liberty, who built churches and endeavoured to educate themselves. Would you favour bringing those people to Canada?

Mr. Macievich: Well, sir, it is like this, even German collaborationists go to church and are doing all sorts of work. . . .

Hon. Mr. Crerar: I am bound to say to you as a witness that I prefer to take the judgement of the Flight-Lieutenant rather than your own. He was present and saw the conditions there.

Mr. Macievich: I would not want to cast reflections on any of the members of the other delegation, but I would suggest that political considerations sometimes might be the basis of that appeal. . . .

Hon. Mr. Aseltine: Are these organizations which you represent communistic?

Mr. Macievich: They are not communistic, they are labour-farmer organizations that in the main are in sympathy towards Ukraine, and not inimical as some of the viewpoints of other people here in Canada and also among the displaced persons in Europe. . . .

Hon. Mr. Crerar: May I ask you this question, because the work of this committee is very important. Did you support Canada's effort in the war in the first year or two?

Mr. Macievich: Yes. I am sorry I was sick in 1939 and 1940 with typhoid fever. I am a member of the organization that did take part in that effort. . . .

Hon. Mr. David: As you know Russia insists that all Russians . . . who are today in occupied countries be sent back to Russia, and, therefore, Russia insists that Ukrainians be sent back to Ukraine. We know that Ukraine will not allow immigration. Where are we standing?

Mr. Macievich: On the question of Ukraine we are not standing on anything very positive. What did you want as an answer?

The Chairman (Hon. Mr. Murdoch): I will tell you what we would like as an answer. We would like to know what is in the back of your mind, and in the minds of those for whom you speak. There seems to be some particular influence that this committee has not been given the benefit of, I think. . . .

Immigration and Labour, Wednesday, 29 May 1946 (Ottawa: Edmund Cloutier, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1946), 43-9.

6. You Will Reap What You Have Sown

The Ukrainian communists continued their vituperative campaign against the Ukrainian refugees even after the Canadian authorities had decided to admit them into Canada as immigrants. Their press published articles written here or sent from the USSR. The following are two characteristic attacks.

The above popular saying came to mind when I read an editorial in *Buduchnist Natsii* [Future of the Nation] of 14 August entitled: "Starvation among the Ukrainian Refugees in Vienna. . . ."

These gentlemen have become refugees . . . because they have a heavy sin regarding the Ukrainian people on their consciences. In every Ukrainian village, in every city the Hitlerites hanged people, burned or buried them alive. Someone betrayed these people. . . .

So you are suffering now? You say that . . . the Austrians are reproaching you for consuming their food. . . .

Oh, it is not only a question of food. When the Red Army was approaching Vienna and the population of Vienna rose up against Hitlerism, the international press services reported that the Gestapo, and with them the Banderites, were shooting Austrian workers in the streets of Vienna. Do you think these deeds have been forgotten?

We agree that among the refugees there are some who have been confused and frightened by Hitlerite rogues. There are among the refugees subconscious criminals and known inveterate criminals. At least three-quarters of them could even now freely return home without fear.

But there are people on both sides of the ocean, that is, among the refugees and in Canada and the United States who are conducting "refugee politics," attempting to harness it to atomic politics. . . .

There is only one solution to this refugee question: advise them all to return home as millions have already done. Those who are innocent have no reason to be afraid.

Those who have the blood of their own people on their hands do not deserve assistance or mercy.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 4 September 1946.

7. Bandera and other War Criminals

There is no name more hated by the Ukrainian people than that of the cursed German spy and murderer, Stepan Bandera. He is now in Munich under the protection of the military occupation authorities, parading as a political refugee. In reality, he is not a refugee but a real criminal whose hands are smeared with the blood of thousands of women and children murdered in Lviv, Lutsk, Ternopil, Rivne and many other towns and villages of Soviet Ukraine.

Another criminal, the bloody associate of Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko,* who is also well remembered in the western regions of Ukraine, has also found refuge in the camps for displaced persons in the western zone of Germany. This is the same Stetsko who headed the punitive expeditions of the Hitlerites against Ukrainian peasants, who did not wish to submit to the German authorities but wished to see Ukraine free and prosperous.

During its long history the Ukrainian nation traversed a thorny road. However, not one traitor who served foreigners in the past caused his native land as much woe as did Bandera, Stetsko, Melnyk and their like. . . .

SOURCE: Supposedly written by Liudmyla Shevchenko, granddaughter of the poet T.H. Shevchenko, senior overseer of the Republican Historical Museum of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev. Published in Ukrainske Slovo, 30 July 1947.

8. Fascist DPs Use Bombs, Knives

Ukrainian refugees began arriving in Canada in 1947. Confronted with the scurrilous attacks upon them by the Ukrainian pro-communist press, they began to challenge the Ukrainian communist leaders. At public meetings sponsored by the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations, they inundated the speakers with barrages of questions which the latter could not answer. In some cases the confrontations took on a more serious character, as described in the following reports. These are undoubtedly exaggerated, but the refugee practice of confronting the communist speakers caused the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations to discontinue holding open public meetings.

Citing a list of violent attacks against Canadian Ukrainians by fascist DPs in several parts of the country, the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians

* Yaroslav Stetsko (1912-86), Ukrainian nationalist leader in Western Ukraine. He was named prime minister when the OUN proclaimed Ukrainian independence in Lviv on 30 June 1941. Interned shortly afterwards by the Germans, he spent most of the war in a death cell in Sachsenhausen concentration camp and could not have "headed punitive expeditions." After the war he played a leading role in the formation of the World Anti-Communist League and the European Freedom Council and headed the ABN and the OUN.

has lodged a strong protest with the federal minister of justice.

John Horbatiuk and Peter Prokop for the AUUC urged Ottawa "to take all necessary measures for the preservation of the law and order and to protect the democratic rights of our Canadian citizens by meting out stern punishment, not excluding deportation, to all those DP immigrants who have imported their Nazi tactics of terrorism and are attempting to root it in Canadian soil and in our Canadian people."

Incidents of violence were reported to the minister as follows: "On 29 October, in Saskatoon, an organized group of DPs invaded a public meeting which was being held under the auspices of our Association. They disrupted our meeting and threatened physical violence to William M. Teresio, national president of our Association. It became necessary to summon the local police to restore order. . . .

"On 7 November, at Edmonton, an organized group of DPs invaded a public meeting called by our Association in the Gem Theatre, and did everything to disrupt our meeting. . . .

"On 20 November, at Spedden, Alberta, a body of men led by a known DP physically attacked the person of William Hluchaniuk, business manager of the *Ukrainian Word*, a Ukrainian newspaper, tore his clothes and inflicted bodily injury to him. . . .

"May we respectfully submit that it is not so much ignorance of our Canadian laws, as training in the sadistic methods of Nazi and fascist ideologies that is responsible for these outrages."

SOURCE: Canadian Tribune, 27 December 1948.

9. Marauding Nazi DPs on Loose

Timmins—The violence and terror of fascism was let loose in this city on Sunday, 11 December. As in Winnipeg eight weeks ago, more than 100 DPs launched an organized assault on the local hall of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians. Similar assaults were attempted in Sudbury and South Porcupine.

Bricks, rocks and big chunks of ice were thrown through the windows of the Timmins hall into the midst of a meeting of Ukrainian Canadians—among them women and children.

The DPs used a sixteen-foot stair railing to smash down the doors of the hall. They seized Tom Kremyr, one of the leading members of the AUUC, threw him down the steps and put the boots to him. Kremyr is now in hospital with broken ribs and possible internal injuries. Seven others, including a bystander by the name of Mackenzie were injured. Mike Klapushchak required hospital treatment. . . .

The AUUC meeting had been called to hear Peter Krawchuk, editor of the Ukrainian-language newspaper, *Ukrainian Life*, who was reporting on a recent tour of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. . . .

In Sudbury on 7 December, twenty-five DPs began a similar organized attempt to disrupt an AUUC meeting, but a dozen police expelled them. In South Porcupine on Sunday afternoon a well-organized fascist DP gang tried three times, unsuccessfully, to break up an AUUC meeting. The DPs were finally dispersed by the police. . . .

SOURCE: *Canadian Tribune*, 19 December 1949.

10. A Gratifying Phenomenon

Violent public confrontations between the Ukrainian pro-communists and the refugees eventually subsided. The newcomers became part of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Canada and were treated as such by the Ukrainian pro-communists. Out of curiosity a few sometimes attended a concert or Soviet film sponsored by the Ukrainian pro-communists. Although communist hopes were never realized and not one newcomer ever joined any pro-communist organization, the occasional presence of a refugee at a communist event and the fact that unemployment was rising encouraged the Ukrainian communist leaders to believe that they were exerting an influence on the refugees.

In the post-war years several tens of thousands of so-called displaced persons of Ukrainian ancestry came to Canada. These are the so-called DPs or refugees. Basically these are workers, who today are working in mills, factories, mines, forests and elsewhere. Very often they work under difficult conditions and for a lower wage than the Canadian workers.

However, among them are also some who, although today they work physically in various enterprises, continue to regard themselves as political immigrants, expecting "to return home soon" and saddle the Ukrainian people. There are few of these in comparison to the number of others.

And it is they who are conducting a furious propaganda against the progressive movement and are serving Canadian reaction. They strive to gain control over all newcomers and to stifle any manifestations of the latter's attraction to the labour movement.

But life has its own laws. The newly arrived Ukrainians who work hard and receive low wages naturally turn where they can find defenders of their interests. They are increasingly joining trade unions, participating in strikes and going out on picket lines. They are also beginning to read the progressive press. They can be seen in ever larger numbers at various events in the Ukrainian Labour Temples at concerts and theatrical productions. . . .

We see a definite and sharp turn among the newly arrived Ukrainians. The Ukrainian progressive community in Canada must welcome this turn and create all the conditions necessary to make the newly arrived Ukrainians feel at home at concerts and theatrical productions in the Ukrainian Labour Temples.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 12 November 1953.

Chapter 37. The Famine Controversy Revived

Although the question of the famine in Ukraine had somewhat subsided, it was sparked again by commemorative meetings sponsored by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in 1963 on the thirtieth anniversary of the famine. The reaction of the Ukrainian communists was to attack the nationalists and deny the famine.

1. "Famine" for Dirty Politics*

The nationalist UCC with a variety of nationalist rabble carried out another anti-Soviet "manifestation" against Soviet Ukraine. "Manifestational meetings" were held under the sponsorship of the UCC on the thirtieth anniversary of "the organized famine in Ukraine" fabricated by the nationalist bankrupts. . . .

Their press reports about that imaginary famine in Ukraine clearly illustrate what "authoritative information" the UCC gentlemen used in their "manifestations." *Kanadyiskyi Farmer* reported that 8 million died, but *Ukrainskyi Holos* reported that "5 million died." The difference, as you can see, is 3 million. Obviously, they have compromised themselves with these millions, not having come to an agreement, although both editors sit in the same UCC.

It is only proper to point out that when Ukraine was bleeding because of the barbarian Hitler aggression, when the Hitlerites were killing and torturing Ukrainians, among them women and children, ruining and burning the cities and villages of Ukraine, the UCC did not protest, did not organize protest manifestations. . . . And now, when Ukraine has healed its wounds of war, when Ukraine is blossoming, progressing daily, the UCC protests, organizes "famine protest manifestations," throws mud at Ukraine.

* The style of the above editorial appears to be that of Mykola Hrynchyshyn (1914–), the editor. In 1962–3 he was a student at the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in Kiev. The compiler of these documents was in Kiev when the issue of *Ukrainske Slovo* with the above editorial arrived. A prominent Kiev citizen, who had known Hrynchyshyn, was amazed. "He was here a whole year, did he not learn anything?"

The gentlemen of the UCC are disconcerted and some are simply raging because there is a certain improvement in international relations with the conclusion of an agreement between the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain regarding the banning of nuclear testing. They are not pleased that Canada sold wheat to the Soviet Union, which also promotes the improvement of relations between Canada and the USSR. And so these gentlemen with their insane anti-Soviet policies decided to organize a "manifestation on the famine in Ukraine" in order to hinder the development of better relations between Canada, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union.

No serious person paid any attention to the UCC manifestation. . . . This means that the invented UCC famine does not move the hearts and souls of the people. And it cannot move them. People are not allowing themselves to be misled; they understand the UCC slander against Ukraine. . . .

Ukraine is blossoming and developing for the benefit and fame of the Ukrainian people while the UCC gentlemen are wallowing and croaking in the mud—like frogs.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 23 October 1963.

2. Nazi Big Lie about Ukraine gets Bigger

The famine controversy was revived with increased intensity on the fiftieth anniversary of the event. The Ukrainian nationalists held large, well-publicized meetings and rallies to commemorate the occasion. The first to react was the "vanguard of the proletariat" with a denunciation by a Ukrainian Communist Party official in the party organ.

Any lie can be expected from individuals who betrayed their own people and went to serve the Hitlerites. Such riffraff does not hesitate to insult the people it betrayed. But why would spokesmen from "all three political parties" (i.e., Conservatives, Liberals and NDP in the Ontario Legislature) join in such a despicable exercise?

On 29 May, an anti-Soviet cabal calling itself "Ukrainian" organized a demonstration in Toronto to "commemorate a famine" which was supposed to have happened in Soviet Ukraine 50 years ago.

In 1933 Hitler came to power in Germany. Many counter-revolutionary Ukrainians, who had gone into service for various imperialist powers, after their defeat by the socialist revolution in Ukraine, began offering their services to Nazi Germany. Hitler, with his rabid anti-communism, seemed to offer the surest and quickest path to recapture lost positions in Ukraine, so they thought.

To justify their collaboration with German imperialism which had gone through Ukraine with blood and fire at the end of World War I, after the

socialist revolution of 1917, these "Ukrainians" began to spread stories of famine in Ukraine, caused by the Russians. Fifty years ago they were referring to thousands of starving Ukrainians. By 29 May 1983 in Toronto's Nathan Phillips Square, the figure had grown to no less than seven million.

According to the *Toronto Star's* John Ferri, Yuri Shymko (P.C. for High Park) said Ukrainians were reduced to the level of "animals" at the height of the famine. "Parents ate their children, children ate their parents." This outrageous slanderous charge of animal behaviour and cannibalism hurled at a heroic people who, more than once, proved in the course of history, its moral, humanist, self-sacrificing character in the face of overwhelming odds, could only come from the mouths of the most despicable servants of the most reactionary imperialists. Fifty years ago they did it to serve Hitler. Today they do it to serve Reagan and his gang of nuclear maniacs.

I was in the Soviet Union, including Ukraine, during 1930-31. That was the period of the first Five Year Plan. It was the period when the movement for co-operative farming was born, known as collective farming. It was met by ferocious opposition on the part of the rich peasants, the kulaks. Co-operative farming meant the end of kulak economic domination over the scores of millions of poor peasants. The kulaks stopped at nothing, including arson and murder to intimidate the new collective farmers. Their most grievous crime was the deliberate mass slaughter of their cattle herds. The kulaks had the herds. The poor peasant was lucky to have a single cow. In a short time there was a state-wide shortage of meat—it was something that could not be overcome in a hurry.

Shortage of meat is not pleasant, but it is not starvation either. Grains, vegetables, fruit, fish and fowl is not the worst diet.

Contrary to what unnamed witnesses say, implying that Ukraine was robbed to make Moscow a show place, the situation was the complete opposite. Coming from Canada, living near the Niagara fruit belt, it was obvious to me that Moscow's 1930 supplies of vegetables and fruit were very limited in quantity and supply. I was understandably amazed when I went to Ukraine and saw the vast quantities of all kinds of fruit and vegetables for sale. In August of 1930 I was in the city of Dnepropetrovsk, a major steel city. On International Youth Day I saw thousands of horse-drawn carts loaded with grain fill up the huge city square. The farmers listened to short speeches, then they drove off to the grain elevators, while the square filled up again with more carts loaded with grain.

The square was filled up with carts three times during my presence. The peasants with their carts of grain were in a jovial mood. The grain was mostly from the new collective farms which were delivering agreed-to amounts to the state for a fixed price. That spelled the end of kulak influence and their exploitation of the labour of poor peasants. The kulaks' rage knew no bounds. They caused considerable damage but their days were numbered.

While in Ukraine I asked how come there was so much fresh fruit and vegetables in Ukraine, and so little in Moscow. Couldn't some of it be shipped to Moscow, I wondered. I was 19 then and it seemed like a simple solution. Everybody agreed with me. There was only one hitch. The railroad refrigeration, at that time, for all practical purposes, was non-existent. Fruit would rot before reaching Moscow and more distant cities.

Storage facilities were hardly any better in Moscow itself. There was no shortage of grain or bread anywhere. Moscow had a fair supply of staples like potatoes, cabbage, beets, onions, all grown in the Moscow region. However, because of refrigerator problems, the Russian part of the Soviet Union had for many years a diet that was more restricted than in the other republics of the Union.

David Peterson, Liberal opposition leader in the Ontario Legislature who addressed the "Ukrainians" is quoted as saying: "This is a human tragedy that has yet to be recognized by the perpetrators." The tragedy took place not in Ukraine but in Toronto when Peterson willingly associated himself with the Nazi big lie.

SOURCE: Peter Boychuk, *Canadian Tribune*, 6 June 1983.

3. To the Toronto Board of Education

The Ukrainian pro-communist organizations became involved in the famine controversy after the nationalists began applying to school boards to include material on the famine in the history courses in high schools. The AUUC sent the Toronto Board a protest letter which was published in a Toronto community monthly. The authors do not deny the famine, as has generally been the case with communists and apologists for the Soviet regime.

We have noted in the December 1983 issue of the *Mosaic* and the Christmas 1983 issue of the *Villager* that your Board has agreed to the preparation of a teaching unit for Grades XI-XIII on the 1932-3 famine in the Ukrainian SSR.

We find such a decision, a half century after the event, incomprehensible. It is obviously motivated by political axe-grinding, witness Trustee Chumak's statement alluding that famines are the result of a particular social order which he characterizes as "the brutal tyranny of totalitarian regimes." In our opinion, the purpose of such an approach is patently suspect as serving to further the aims of international tensions and the cold war. We suggest to the members of the Board that your decision requires a more careful and all-sided consideration as to the need and purpose at this time.

It has been widely known that there were serious food shortages in Ukraine in 1932-3 caused by inclement weather conditions and aggravated by the

social upheavals of that period in the history of the Soviet Union. It should be noted that at the same time, there were serious food shortages in other parts of the world, and that, unfortunately, many famines have occurred before and since.

It should be noted that those difficulties and hardships experienced by Ukraine were by and large overcome despite an almost totally hostile surrounding world at that time, followed by the catastrophe of World War II. Finally, we maintain that if there is any academic value in a study of famines, then such study should surely encompass all such tragic crises including current reports of starvation right here on the North American continent, not to mention the critical food supplies in many third world countries. To do otherwise and to single out any one nation or people is inconceivable in any democratic society.

To select one, and in this case Ukraine and the Ukrainians, sets a dangerous precedent which could very well alienate Canadians of Ukrainian descent from the rich and proud heritage of their forefathers—a most precious asset in Canada's multicultural life and cultural expression.

We of the AUUC, an organization with over six-and-one-half decades of service to the Canadian community, on behalf of our members, participants and supporters, in the name of our children, grandchildren and generations to come, protest your decision which makes possible, on partisan grounds, the gross twisting and distortion of history which, in turn, will poison young minds with suspicion and animosity. What is needed today is education for peace through mutual understanding, respect and peaceful co-existence.

For these reasons, we respectfully request that your decision to prepare such a teaching unit be reconsidered and, we trust, rescinded.

P. Krawchuk, President

W. Harasym, National Secretary

SOURCE: *The Villager*, February 1984.

4. Ukrainians in Uproar over Kardash's Remark on Famine

Because there was a Ukrainian communist on the Winnipeg School Board, communist opposition to the inclusion of information on the famine in the high school curriculum was aired at two school board meetings in an atmosphere of considerable tension and animosity.

Winnipeg school board trustee Mary Kardash ignited an emotional outburst from Ukrainians at a board meeting last night when she called them "uncultured people."

The incident occurred when the board had adjourned for a coffee break after hearing several Ukrainian interest groups lobby to include courses on the 1932–33 Ukrainian famine, saying it was caused by food shortages manipulated by the Stalin-led Soviet government of the time.

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee wants the controversial famine, in which an estimated seven million Ukrainians died of starvation, taught in junior and senior high schools as an example of mass murder.

Kardash, a veteran school trustee and member of the Communist Party of Canada, opposed the anti-Soviet political slant to a chorus of jeers from some 60 Ukrainians jammed into the small public gallery.

Ukrainian Canadian Committee spokesman Lesia Szwaluk told the board: "We are dismayed by the public denouncement by one of your members (Kardash) who has pronounced judgement upon our brief—adding her political outlook, rather than intellectual scrutiny."

After the delegations were finished, the board broke off for coffee and the delegations started to file out.

Kardash left her seat and moved toward the exit door to speak to someone she knew. As she moved toward the door a man called to Kardash in Ukrainian asking to speak to her. Kardash put up her arms and said in Ukrainian: "I don't speak to uncultured people."

The remark brought an immediate outburst with one man insulting Kardash in Ukrainian. The man later translated the word to a reporter as meaning "pig" in English. Several women screamed insults at the trustee. . . .

In an interview, Kardash said she is against teaching of the famine as a political act. "The issue should be studied, but a conclusion shouldn't be drawn. The truth should be sought as it is with all issues," she said.

The delegations were at the meeting to re-emphasize that the famine was a political act initiated by the Soviet government to weaken Ukrainian independence.

Making presentations were Bishop Myron Daciuk, vicar-general for the Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy in Winnipeg; the Right Rev. Bishop Vasyly, of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church; and Szwaluk of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee.

Daciuk said it is an undenied fact that more than 50 years ago the Soviet government deliberately created a famine which destroyed more than seven million Ukrainians. He said scholars such as Malcolm Muggeridge made the atrocities known at that time.

He compared the famine with the Jewish Holocaust and said it should be taught to young people so they would always be aware of the misuse of power and stand in defense of human dignity and freedom.

Szwaluk told the board there is no doubt about the famine as an act of genocide. She quoted associate professor George Knysh, of St. Paul's College at the University of Manitoba on the issue. Knysh said in a letter to the UCC

that recent literature concludes that there is a weight of historical evidence that the food shortage was engineered by the Soviets under Joseph Stalin to weaken Ukrainians.

As well, Szwaluk said the Toronto school board has placed the "famine-genocide" on the Grade 11-13 curriculum. . . .

The board voted to send the issue to the Department of Education for study. Kardash voted against the motion.

Meanwhile, Tony Yaremovich, national executive director of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, said yesterday his group is lobbying school boards throughout Canada.

"Based on information now available, there is no doubt that the famine was man-made in Ukraine in 1932-33," Yaremovich said.

"Our opinion is that we should teach about the tragedy which affected the lives of millions of people. It is not a case of altering history, but of revealing the long, deliberately concealed facts."

But Kardash earlier yesterday accused Yaremovich's group of distorting history to promote hatred against the Soviets. "There's a lot of evidence to show there was no such Ukrainian famine-genocide," she said.

SOURCE: Ritchie Gage, *Winnipeg Free Press*, 15 February 1984.

5. For the Rejection of the Malicious Propositions of the UCC

On 13 December 1983 the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which is composed of Ukrainian nationalist organizations, presented a brief to the Winnipeg schools of the so-called Ukrainian famine-holocaust in 1932-3 as a course in history.

Together with this brief the UCC presented the members of the school board with two brochures written by Oleksa Voropay and Volodymyr Dushnyk. The brochures can only be characterized as hate literature with a caustic anti-Soviet content. Member of the school board, Mary Kardash, a representative of the Labour Election Committee, made a motion to postpone this question to the end of January 1984 to give other organizations and individuals an opportunity to express their opinions. She demanded that actual facts be presented about this period. But her motion was defeated. It was decided to turn the brief over to the administration of the school division with the provision that it make a recommendation. . . .

On 24 January the special session of the school board received five briefs which called for the rejection of the proposals made in the UCC brief. The briefs were presented by the Provincial Committee of the AUUC, the Manitoba Peace Council, the Winnipeg branch of the Canada-USSR Society, Murray

Zelig of the United Jewish Peoples' Order and Mykhailo Gidora. There was not a word about these briefs in the Winnipeg daily press.... Such is freedom of the press in Canada.

In the AUUC brief it was pointed out that "The materials in the UCC brief and the brochures presented by the UCC are not substantiated by facts, are not accurate and objective and are saturated with hostility to the Soviet Union. They can hardly be a healthy basis for the study of history by our young people...."

At the regular meeting of the school board on 7 February the administration made a recommendation that all the briefs be turned over to the department of education for study.

Mary Kardash, a member of the school board, announced that she could not support such a recommendation because she thought that the whole question of the so-called famine-genocide in 1932-3 is a perversion and distortion of historical facts, that the whole tone of the UCC brief is directed to inciting hatred and "cold war" propaganda which would be directed at the young people if the UCC proposal was accepted. M. Kardash fully supported the briefs of the delegations which called for the rejection of the UCC brief.

M. Kardash said that "the materials presented in the UCC brief were not historical facts. This was the same as the case of the teacher, Keegstra, in Alberta, who told his students that there had not been a holocaust. Do we really want to introduce such material into our teaching of history?"

It is obvious that the extremely reactionary elements of the UCC, who determine its anti-Soviet policies, will continue their disgraceful actions of inciting hysteria of the "cold war" against the Soviet Union, concentrating its attention on means of poisoning the minds of children and young people in our school system with hate literature such as they presented to the Winnipeg School Board....

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 5 March 1984.

6. For Whom and For What is this Necessary?

In connection with the fiftieth anniversary of the famine, Ukrainians in Canada formed the Ukrainian Famine Research Committee, headed by Professor Wasył Yanishevsky, dean of the Faculty of Electrical Engineering, University of Toronto. The committee's most important undertaking was the production of a documentary film on the famine, Harvest of Despair, produced by Slavko Nowytski and Yuriy Luhovy. The film won many awards, among them first prize for best documentary at the Houston International Film Festival and the Chris Statette Award. The Ukrainian pro-communist paper published a sharp denunciation of the film

and its producers.

Since the establishment of the Soviet government on the territory of the former Russian Empire, piles of large books and myriads of newspapers and magazine articles have been written, hundreds of "artistic" and quasi-documentary films have been produced, countless words have been broadcast in various capitalist countries. All have been directed against the state which rid itself of capitalists and landlords and began constructing a new society, a socialist society.

Agencies have been created in various capitalist countries for anti-Soviet propaganda, which specialize in the most vile lies, slanders and fabrications. Those agencies have been staffed by hostile people, mainly by those who were expelled from the Soviet republics, by those who escaped from there or by those who collaborated with the Hitlerite aggressors during the Second World War and committed serious crimes against their own people and for that reason could not return home. That is why they have hired out to new paymasters....

In the last four or five years after the administration in Washington passed into the hands of Ronald Reagan, the international situation has been significantly aggravated, the arms race sharply intensified, American rockets and Pershing 2 missiles have been placed on the territories of some countries of Western Europe and a programme of "Star Wars" is being increasingly developed. All this is done because there exists a "Soviet threat," although for all thinking people it is abundantly clear and evident that it is precisely the Soviet Union that is persistently making one proposal after another regarding the cessation of the arms race (atomic and conventional), the liquidation of the atomic arsenals and the final destruction of atomic armaments.

But in order to sow distrust of the USSR, to completely disregard its peaceful proposals, anti-Soviet propaganda is being organized ever more often in campaigns of fantastic fabrications, painting the Soviet Union in the worst colours. For this all means of defamation, distortion and falsification are used. The authors of those fabrications, it appears, remember well the words of the former minister of propaganda of Nazi Germany, Joseph Goebbels, who said that the bigger the lie and the more often it is repeated, the more people would be misled by it. That is why they do not stint but spread great lies generously and often.

To that category of propaganda can be added the film *Harvest of Despair*, which was shown on CBC TV on 5 September. The film was pasted together by grasping businessmen of the so-called Ukrainian Famine Research Committee.*

* The venture was a Ukrainian community undertaking supported by all Ukrainians except the small group of Ukrainian pro-communists. Those that worked on it did so at considerable sacrifice. None was a businessman.

What sort of film is this? It is the compilation of fragments of various films from different years, tendentiously manipulated to create the idea that it is a documentary filmed entirely in Ukraine in 1932–3. But people who are acquainted with events of those years can easily see that it is an artificial paste-up put together from scraps of film taken in various countries at different times. There are shots which were taken during the Second World War, shots taken in Vinnytsia during the Hitler occupation. It is quite possible that shots were also slipped in which were specially filmed in laboratories, because with modern filming and photography techniques it is possible to create falsifications which an ordinary person will not even discern through a magnifying glass whether it is genuine or false.

In addition to Ukrainian “living witnesses” (appropriately rehearsed), the grasping businessmen of that concocted creation recruited to assist them “experts” of various nationalities from different countries: from West Germany, the dissident, Lev Kopelev,* from England, Malcolm Muggeridge, two “professors” (Sovietologists) from the United States. But those entrepreneurs are completely compromised by two “witnesses,” “former German diplomats,” Andora Henke and Johann von Herwarth. If anyone should maintain his silence in this filthy affair, it should be these “diplomats,” because it was the German government that was preparing at that time the terrible bloody slaughter of the people of Europe and especially of the Ukrainian people. . . . † And how do these “former diplomats” dare speak as “defenders” of the Ukrainian people? Who gave them that right?

The Ukrainian nationalists have been speculating for many years regarding the events of the difficult years 1932–33, which were the result of three factors: drought, the stubborn opposition to collectivization of the kulaks and excessive administrative measures. . . .

SOURCE: Zhyttia i Slovo, 23 September 1985.

* Lev Kopelev (1912–), a major in the Red Army’s Political Department during the Second World War. He was arrested in 1945, charged with “bourgeois humanism” and sentenced to the Gulag for protesting the inhuman treatment of the civilian German population as the Red Army advanced into the territories of the Third Reich.

† The Germans made those preparations with the assistance of the Soviet government. By agreement between the two powers in the 1920s, contrary to the Versailles Treaty, the Germans built facilities in Russia to manufacture various war matériel and to train pilots and army officers who later formed the backbone of the Nazi armies. In return the USSR received manufactured goods and technology.

Chapter 38. Organizational Work

The revival of the Ukrainian pro-communist organization and its press after the German attack on the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 was accompanied by vigorous campaigns to extend its influence, expand its membership and increase the circulation of its press. This was achieved by various drives, tours, conferences and meetings.

1. Campaign of ACU in British Columbia to Recruit New Members

To the Branches of the ACU and Individual Members in British Columbia.

At the first Provincial Convention of the Association of Canadian Ukrainians on 20 December 1942 in Vancouver, many important decisions were made to strengthen the organizational work of our association, which must be realized. One of the important decisions was to increase the membership of our branches by 500. . . .

At present in British Columbia there are a large number of Ukrainians who work in shipbuilding, the aviation industry, mines, lumber camps, on railroads and farms. A large number of these workers are not members of our association. We must make every effort to recruit them into our ranks. Our members spend a great deal of time in assisting the war effort financially but pay too little attention to recruiting new members into the ACU. In the next three months we must work sincerely and devotedly to strengthen our association with new members. . . .

Someone from our ranks should explain the purpose and tasks of our association and appeal for new members at every event organized by our branches.

The best means of recruiting new members is by visiting the workers in their homes. We must use this method in the current campaign because only in this way will our branches be able to achieve the quota of new members assigned by the Provincial Conference of the ACU. . . .

Quota of new members for each branch: Vancouver—285; Vernon—30; New Westminster—36; Prince Rupert—26; Princeton—10; Port Alberni—10;

Haney—10; Beaconsfield—10; Steveston—10; Kimberley—7; Mount Cartier—7; Revelstoke—5; Burnaby—5; Canyon—4. Altogether—445 new members; 55 are to be recruited in localities where there are no branches yet, but the Provincial Committee has made plans to organize them.

The Provincial Committee of the AUC,
D. Zubyk, Secretary.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 3 March 1943.

2. Two Thousand New Ones

At the beginning of the November-December press campaign of *Ukrainske Slovo* we issued an appeal for 2,000 new subscribers. *Today we inform all our readers that the appeal has been fully realized. . . .*

Two thousand new readers is not a border which one must not cross. We have already crossed it. As these lines are being written there are several dozen new subscribers "on this side of the border. . . ."

Today we greet our 2,000 new readers warmheartedly. We wish them good health and success in their work. We call upon them to accept what they read in *Ukrainske Slovo* as sincerely as it was written. And we wish that all our new readers were not only readers but also builders. . . .

We urge all our subscribers, both old and new, to get new subscribers for *Ukrainske Slovo*. Build your people's progressive newspaper.*

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 23 February 1944.

3. District Conferences of the ACU, ULFTA and Ukrainske Slovo in Alberta

Conferences will be held in the following districts in which the branches listed below should participate by sending their representatives.

Innisfree: Sunday, 18 November at 1:30 p.m. Branches—Stubno, Manville, Hillock, South Ranfurly, Buchach, Lavoy, Vegreville and Mundare. W. Halina, secretary of the Provincial Committee, will be present.

Myrnam: Sunday, 18 November at 1:30 p.m. Branches—Zoria, Gratz, Lac Bellevue, Lake Eliza and Ranok. M. Alexiewich, provincial organizer, will be present.

* *Ukrainske Slovo* merged in 1965 with *Ukrainske Zhyttia* to form *Zhyttia i Slovo* because of declining circulation and the inability of both papers to replace editors who had passed away.

Spedden: Sunday, 18 November at 1:30 p.m. Branches—Stray, Goodfish Lake, Downing and Hamlin. Ivan Klybanovsky, Chairman of the Provincial Committee, and William Hluchaniuk, administrator of *Ukrainske Slovo*, Winnipeg, will be present.

On Sunday, 25 November there will be conferences in Andrew, Lanuke and Smoky Lake. The conferences will begin at 1:30 p.m.

Andrew: Branches—Ukalta, Shandro (Sunland), Kedron and Willingdon. M. Alexiewich will be present.

Lanuke: Branches—New Kiev, Warwick, Shepentsi, Foisy, Musidora, Hairy Hill, Plain Lake and Ispas. W. Halina and William Hluchaniuk will be present.

Smoky Lake: Branches—Pakan, North Bank, North Kotzman and Bellis. Ivan Klybanovsky and M. Shatulsky, editor of *Ukrainske Slovo*, will be present.

After the conferences there will be mass meetings in every locality in the evenings. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 7 November 1945.

4. Effect of War on Ukrainian Pro-Communist Movement

With the conclusion of the war the Ukrainian pro-communist movement was faced with a series of new problems as outlined in the following report to the second convention.

The first and main internal organizational task in the post-war period must be *the consolidation of our organizational forces*, those forces which we already have in our ranks. They are composed of old forces, brought up in the ULFTA, and new forces which supplemented the first in the ACU during the war. Why does the consolidation of our forces stand in first place?

During the war and as a consequence of wartime conditions we achieved significant organizational successes. . . . In this period our organization and our influence among Ukrainian Canadians as well as among all Canadians greatly increased in comparison to the pre-war period. Our organizations became larger in number of members. The ACU grew to over 300 branches. Our movement always had close ties with the general Canadian labour movement. During the war we widened our contacts significantly, established contacts with various public institutions. . . .

However, at the same time we must admit another fact. As a result of the concentration on the war effort, as a result of conducting many and frequent campaigns, as a result of even the temporary suspension of our activities in 1940 and the beginning of 1941 and then as a result of the fact that many of our active members, mainly teachers and others, volunteered for the army or

work in the war factories, our educational activity declined considerably and we did not succeed, so to say, in consolidating our positions as our organization grew. In addition, during the war, we did not have the opportunity to train new forces, the war itself introduced a certain negative influence regarding organizational discipline and here and there emerged the germ of indiscipline and passivity. . . .

SOURCE: Stepan Matsievych, *Narady i Ukhvaly (Druhoho Zizdu 12-15 sichnia 1946)*, 39-40.

5. Resolutions on Organizational Tasks and Problems

The Second National Convention of the AUC promoted promising younger members into leadership positions, embarked on a campaign to organize the Canadian-born and young people and resolved on a number of steps to improve the general state of the organization, among which were the following:

In order that the membership meetings of the AUC be more interesting for the members and sympathizers and that they thus become massive and popular, the Second Convention of the AUC proposes to modernize the branch meetings so that there are fewer administrative matters and dry inconclusive reports with which the executive itself should deal and only present to the meetings for ratification, and instead discuss general community problems of the given locality, give lectures on popular themes, show films and so on. . . .

Because up to now in each branch of our organization those concerned carried on its administration and bookkeeping as best they knew and in various record books, it is suggested that the CEC take steps to introduce a uniform system of administration and bookkeeping and supply the branches with the necessary note and record books.

That the CEC prepare for the branches rules for conducting executive, membership and general meetings so as to eliminate controversy over this among the members. This is necessary for new branches, new members and future new branches. . . .

In view of the need to organize the Canadian-born Ukrainians, who communicate better in English than in Ukrainian, and also in view of the fact that it is necessary to inform the general Canadian community about Ukrainian matters, the next CEC of the AUC should assist in the publication, at the earliest opportunity, of a Ukrainian paper or journal in the English language. . . .

The CEC should organize this year a two-, three- or four-month teachers' course, one in the West and one in the East (Edmonton and Toronto).

In order to extend our association among Canadian-born Ukrainians, the convention resolves to organize separate branches of the ACU composed of Canadian-born Ukrainians where conditions warrant it. . . .

SOURCE: *Narady i Ukhvaly (Druhoho Zizdu 12-15 sichnia 1946)*, 85-6.

6. Delegates to the Second Convention

Anna Melenko, a delegate from East Windsor, presented a report on behalf of the credentials committee. Having examined the credentials of the delegates, the credentials committee reported that the following number of delegates by province participated in the convention:

Nova Scotia—1; Quebec—7; Ontario—52; Manitoba—60; Saskatchewan—19; Alberta—25; British Columbia—8; from the CEC of the ACU—4; organizers of the ACU—5; from fraternal organizations—2; from *Ukrainske Zhyttia*—2. Altogether—185.

SOURCE: *Ibid.*, 6.

7. Resolution on Ukrainian Language and Ukrainian Schools

An important aspect of the cultural activities of the AUUC (and its predecessor, the ULFTA) was the organization and maintenance of Ukrainian schools where children studied the Ukrainian language, literature and history along with music and folk dancing. Classes were held after regular school hours and on Saturdays. The Ukrainian pro-communist press continually emphasized the importance of the schools and the conventions passed resolutions on the question of Ukrainian schools and the study of the Ukrainian language.

The maintenance of the Ukrainian language in Canada is important for the better transmission of our heritage—the cultural achievements of the great Ukrainian people. It is a very important means of communication between the various generations of Canadian Ukrainians and between us and our brothers and sisters in Ukraine. . . .

The Eighth Convention of the AUUC greets the establishment of Faculties of Slavic Studies and courses of Slavic languages, including Ukrainian, in a number of universities, the teaching of the Ukrainian language as a subject in the high schools of Saskatchewan, and joins the demands of Ukrainian parents and organizations to introduce the teaching of Ukrainian in the public schools in areas with high concentrations of Ukrainians.

We will strive for joint action with all Ukrainians in this matter of maintaining the Ukrainian language in Canada. We will also endeavour to expand the network of children's schools through our own efforts, as we have been doing from the very beginning of our organization.

This convention calls upon all branches and committees of the AUUC to review the possibilities of organizing new Ukrainian schools in localities where an adequate number of Ukrainians live who wish to have a Ukrainian school and are prepared to send their children to it, where there is proper accommodation for such a school (a Ukrainian Labour or Farmer Temple or other building or domicile) and where there are prospects for supporting such a school and a teacher by one or by a number of neighbouring areas. If there is no possibility of supporting or getting a teacher, it is necessary to make use of local people who are more proficient in Ukrainian and who will agree to teach children voluntarily or for partial remuneration. If it is difficult to organize a year-long school in a locality, then a four- or six-week course for the teaching of Ukrainian during the holidays should be organized. . . .

SOURCE: Narady i Ukhvaly (Vosmoho Zizdu 23-26 sichnia 1958), 74-75.

8. Important Conference of the AUUC

While the conventions of the AUUC were held every two years (since 1972, every three years), the National Executive Committee and the Consultative Council met annually to assess the work of the organization and make further plans. An example of such deliberations was the conference in 1957.

On Saturday and Sunday, 2 and 3 February 1957, the annual plenum of the National Executive Committee and the Consultative Council of the AUUC was held in Toronto. Representatives of the National Executive Committee of the WBA and the editors of the Ukrainian progressive press participated in the conference. . . .

The treasurer of the NEC, John Boychuk, reported on the work of the AUUC. . . . Since the last convention the AUUC has recruited 439 new members into its ranks. . . .

Through the efforts of the AUUC large commemorations were held last year throughout the whole country on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Ivan Franko, crowned by a large national festival, the opening of a memorial museum and the unveiling of a monument to Ivan Franko in Winnipeg.

As we approach the Eighth National Convention, which will be held at the beginning of 1958, we should carry out the decisions of the last convention: to strengthen the AUUC with new members, to direct special attention to the

English-speaking sector and to develop promising young cadres.

The annual conference devoted a great deal of attention to a discussion of the fiftieth anniversary of the national press. . . .

As a result of the two-day discussion it was decided:

To immediately begin preparations for the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Ukrainian national press.

To recruit 2,000 new readers—1,000 for the *Ukrainian Canadian*, and 500 each for *Ukrainske Zhyttia* and *Ukrainske Slovo*.

To conduct a campaign from March to 1 July for the recruitment of new members and for the collection of the organizational fund. . . .

The AUUC greets the thirty-fifth anniversary of the WBA in October and will co-operate in the commemoration of its anniversary.

The NEC of the AUUC, in consultation with the provincial committees of the AUUC, should examine and attempt to resolve the question of organizational cadres by the next (eighth) convention.

It was resolved for a number of reasons not to conduct a Higher Educational Course in 1957 but to hold a series of provincial, district and local courses for the training of young cadres.

It was decided to publish a short history of the Ukrainian national press in Ukrainian and English, an anthology of materials from the Ukrainian national press, and to publish special jubilee issues of *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, *Ukrainske Slovo* and the *Ukrainian Canadian*. . . .

Before the conclusion of the conference, Peter Prokopchak, the secretary of the NEC of the AUUC, delivered an informative address on the work of the delegation of Ukrainian Canadians which was invited to participate in the Franko commemorations in Ukraine. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 9 February 1957.

9. A Plan of Work for the Fall Season

While the organizational plans and the quotas originated in the National Executive Committee of the AUUC, the basic work was carried out through the branches. Following is a report of the plan of work for the 1959 fall season of an average branch with its own hall.

St. Catharines, Ont.—On Sunday, 21 September, after a summer rest, we held our monthly meeting of the branch of the AUUC. After a long discussion, an organizational plan of work for the season was adopted as follows:

On Saturday evening, 24 October, a film, "Bahato dorih" [Many Roads], will be shown. The admission will be articles for the bazaar.

On Sunday afternoon, 25 October, there will be a joint meeting of the branches of the AUUC and the WBA.

On Friday, 30 October, there will be a farewell evening for Mykola Bokhenko, who is leaving for permanent residence in Ukraine.

On Sunday afternoon, 1 November, there will be a conference of readers of *Ukrainske Zhyttia*.

On Friday and Saturday, 6 and 7 November, there will be a fall bazaar.

It was decided that on Saturday evening, 14 November, the branches of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and the Federation of Russian Canadians would jointly commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the union of Ukrainian and Belorussian lands with the Soviet republics.

Beginning in the middle of November, educational work will be conducted every Sunday morning from 10 to 12 o'clock.

All this will take place in the Ukrainian Labour Temple in St. Catharines.

At the end of the meeting delegates were elected to the district conference of the AUUC which will take place on Sunday, 11 October in Welland.

The local council of the branch of the AUUC in St. Catharines appeals to all members of the AUUC and the WBA, readers of the *UZh* and all people of good will to participate in mass in all events.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 21 October 1959.

10. Organizational Report, Cooksville, Ontario, 1958

Some branches, especially those that had performed well during the year, reported on their work to the press. Following is a report of a small branch that did not have its own hall but had several very active, aggressive and responsible members who organized and directed the work.

On 4 January the annual meetings of the branches of the Association of Ukrainian Canadians and the Workers' Benevolent Association were held.... A report was made for both the branches of the AUUC and the WBA, because in our locality they work together....

The fortieth anniversary of the AUUC went very well here.... The first task of our organization was to respond to the call of the Canadian Peace Congress. Here we collected \$45.... In May we reorganized the AUUC executive, which gave an impetus to organizational work on a broader scale. The dues were collected to the end of the year and four new members were recruited....

We achieved the organizational fund for the AUUC in full. The committee for the swimming pool in the Ukrainian camp at Palermo worked very well, collecting \$120. For the striking members in Sudbury we collected and

transmitted \$50. . . .

The fortieth anniversary of the ULFTA-AUUC on 9 November was commemorated very successfully by a great concert in the Orange Hall. . . .

We recruited three new members to the WBA, so that this branch now numbers forty-eight members, all of whom paid their dues to the end of 1958.

In November and December we conducted a press campaign for *Ukrainske Zhyttia*. On our assigned quota of \$150 we collected \$273 and obtained three new subscribers. We do not have any subscribers in arrears. . . .

At present we are working in a campaign for the Peace Congress and it appears that it will be as successful as last year. We are also conducting a campaign for the *Ukrainian Canadian*. . . .

The executive and the committees met regularly and on time. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 24 January 1958.

11. The AUUC in Regina

While the activities of the AUUC have drastically declined in the last two or more decades, a few branches, especially Regina, Edmonton and Calgary, have continued to carry on at a considerably high level owing to the leadership of able and dedicated individuals. Following is a report from Regina, where the work is directed by Anna Lapchuk, one of the ablest women in the Ukrainian pro-communist movement.

The Saskatchewan AUUC does not enjoy a large membership, but despite this we have had some success in certain aspects of our work, especially in the cultural field.

Regina's AUUC school of performing arts has the largest enrollment ever of youngsters, teenagers, young adults and adults. Our instructors are former students of the one-month choreography workshop in Kiev held in July of 1974.

Saskatoon's cultural forces, under the direction of Jean Swityk, have broadened their activities to include the Kobzar Male Chorus, the children's folk dancing group, classes in Ukrainian language, and instruction on the mandolin.

Regina and Saskatoon cultural forces have received many well-deserved plaudits through their fine performances at Mosaic 72, 73 and 74. The dancers and orchestra of the Poltava Ensemble have included in their travels such centres as Vernon, Calgary, Saskatoon, Estevan, Weyburn, Yorkton, Moose Jaw, and Winnipeg. Countless performances were held locally by special request and one in particular was advertised as a command performance by the Poltava Folk Dancers of the AUUC at the annual "Military Tatoo" held in Estevan.

We speak proudly of the film "Poltava," which endeavours to trace the history, growth and development of the Regina AUUC Dance Group and Mandolin Orchestra. The production of the film was made possible through a grant of \$3,900. The grant was given to one of our dancers and a current young filmmaker, Norman Sawchyn. The grants were issued from the Secretary of State and the Saskatchewan Department of Culture and Youth.

The *Leader Post* covered the film and wrote a very favourable review in its daily publication. There was an excellent response from representatives from both levels of government at the premiere of "Poltava." This film is in continual use by organizational groups and individuals in Regina and Saskatoon. Three weeks ago an inquiry was made by the Ontario Folk Arts Council, Windsor branch, about the rental or purchase of the film.

Irrespective of the pros and cons of the film, the fact remains that, for the first time in Saskatchewan, a film was made of an AUUC cultural group. It was a recognition of the contribution by the Poltava Ensemble and for that matter the AUUC in Regina and the organization as a whole.

Since the thirty-second convention, the Saskatchewan AUUC has received five grants totalling \$6,376. Grants were earmarked for local, provincial and interprovincial performances and for costuming, for the development of the performing arts and for travel. Of these five grants, four were received by Regina, totalling \$5,876. Included were grants from: Secretary of State, \$1,600 in 1972, \$2,276 in 1974; Dept. of Culture and Youth, \$1,500 in 1973; Carling's Foundation Community Fund, \$500 in 1973.

The Saskatoon Kobzar Male Chorus also received a \$600 grant from the Carling's Foundation Community Fund for travel costs to Winnipeg Festival, \$100.

As in the past, the Provincial Committee and Ukrainian Centre receive numerous requests for material relating to Ukraine and Ukrainians in Saskatchewan and Canada. For example, we received a request from a school in Regina for all 1974 issues of the *Ukrainian Canadian*, including the special anniversary issues. This request was met. Similar material was also forwarded to Pikesville High School in Baltimore, Maryland.

With some fine [public] relations work on the part of our cadres, the Provincial Library recently purchased music albums from the Provincial Committee and also subscribed to the *Ukrainian Canadian* for its six libraries in the province. As of now, twelve libraries, public and university, receive our monthly journal. . . .

Our weakest link in policy-making is the absence of youth and cadres, who should be concerned with the future of the AUUC.

At the pre-convention conference much of the discussion centred on the building of the AUUC with young people—young adults. Participants in cultural activities in Regina are mainly young people who are active, responsible for the *Ukrainian Canadian* campaigns, responsible for costuming,

silk screening, craft exhibits, and are the backbone of our concert performances.

In Saskatoon the opposite exists. The adults are the main forces in the AUUC.

Although young people and adults play a vital role in Regina, only one-third are members of the AUUC. Outside these two cities we have no youth, no young adults in our branches and groups. . . .

SOURCE: Anna Lapchuk, *Narady i Ukhvaly* (Trydtsiat Tretioho Zizdu 27-28 liutoho i 1-2 bereznia 1975), 66-69.

12. Character of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organization

There was often a divergence of opinion regarding the character of the AUUC. The older members wished to continue the traditions of the ULFTA. The Canadian-born were more inclined to turn their backs on the past and on the purely Ukrainian in favour of a merging of the Ukrainian with Canadian culture. The latter view often found expression in discussions and at conventions.

Our work should have a Canadian character because we live in Canada. We and only we and not the Ukrainian nationalists have become the representatives of the Ukrainian people in Canada. Maintain the ties of our organization with the Canadian institutions formed during the war. Direct all our work into practical daily Canadian life. Our buildings should become public for use not only by Ukrainians but by all people. . . .

SOURCE: Summary of discussions, *Narady i Ukhvaly* (Druhoho Zizdu 12-15 sichnia 1946), 20.

13. The Need to Reflect Canadian Reality

Karl Kobylansky (Vancouver) thinks that we are not adapting ourselves to Canadian reality. He says that our artistic-cultural work does not reflect Canadian life, that we are becoming specialists in the culture of Ukraine. But there are people who can do this better; these are the "Ukrainian Ukrainians." We have not yet learned to reflect correctly Canadian life in our organizational life and in our press. As a result of this approach we have isolated ourselves from the general population. If we are going to act and not only talk about those questions that we have raised, we have a chance of drawing young people into our ranks.

SOURCE: *Narady i Ukhvaly (Odynadtsiatoho Zizdu 9-12 kvitnia 1964)*, 19.

14. Public Participation by the AUUC

In addition to cultural work, the AUUC and individual members participated in activities outside the confines of the Labour Temples and the AUUC. This was made easier by the fact that the Ukrainian pro-communists had broadened their contacts with wider circles of the Canadian community during the war, and more and more members were Canadian-born and better acquainted with and integrated into the Canadian community than their elders.

In Toronto, branches of the AUUC participated in the national festival in the Art Gallery, which attracted an audience of 33,000 and in which our association played a prominent role.

In Port Arthur our English-speaking branch participated in a public campaign and collected \$500 in the name of the AUUC for the furnishing of part of the local hospital.

In Newcastle our association initiated a house-to-house collection, for which a public skating rink was built.

In Edmonton our association purchased a bus and the Edmonton orchestra toured the province with concerts, appearing before thousands of Ukrainian Canadians. The Edmonton orchestra and its conductor, Mykhailo Budnyk, have earned recognition for their wonderful work.

In Edmonton and Calgary our youth built skating rinks.

In Transcona Joseph Povadyk was elected school trustee and in Edmonton Vasyl Khmiliar received more than 4,000 votes in the elections.

In Toronto our former school trustee, John Boyd, received over 7,000 votes in recent elections.

The president of our English-speaking branch in Calgary, Ivan Kuzmir, is a high school teacher. In Innisfree Mykola Hrynyk is a high school principal and a public figure.

In Vancouver our young men and women conduct outstanding public work in city elections, against high prices and in cultural activities. Our association is recognized as an outstanding public organization in East Vancouver. The English-speaking branch grew from 20 to 80 members.

In Timmins events of the AUUC sponsored by the English-speaking branch occupy first place in town, for example, the Ukrainian festive supper, to which non-Ukrainians also came.

In the Montreal district the AUUC organized a very successful sports meet which was attended by over 3,000 people...

SOURCE: Mykhailo Korol, *Narady i Ukhvaly (Tretioho Zizdu 12-15 liutoho 1948)*, 74-74.

15. The Activities of the AUUC and its Future Tasks

We also participated in a number of campaigns regarding democratic and human rights: for democracy in Greece, amnesty in Spain, justice for Angela Davis; we participated in the work of the Canadian Peace Congress, Congress of Canadian Women, Voice of Women, Canadian Council of National Groups, in ratepayers' and student movements and many others. . . .

On the international arena Michael Korol, a member of the NEC, participated in the Budapest Assembly for Peace; Mary Kaludjer, a member of the NEC, has just returned from Paris from the World Assembly for Peace and Independence of the Peoples of Indochina; Larry Prokop, a member of the National Youth Council, represented the AUUC at the World Youth Conference for Solidarity with the Youth of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia which was held in Santiago, Chile. . . .

SOURCE: William Harasym, *Narady i Ukhvaly (Trydysiat Druhoho Zizdu 2-5 bereznia 1972)*, 41-42.

16. Grant for AUUC to help Publish its History

In addition to their other activities the leaders of the AUUC undertook to write a history of their movement. Early in 1973 they applied to the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State for a grant of \$16,000 toward the cost of publication. Following is a report on the project.

The National Executive Committee of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians has been notified that the Minister of Multiculturalism in the federal government, the Honourable Stanley Haidasz, confirmed a grant in the sum of \$3,500 for the NEC of the AUUC to assist in the publication of a *History of Canadian Ukrainians*.

In the application for the grant the NEC of the AUUC described the planned publication of the book as a project for the publication of the history of Ukrainian workers and farmers in Canada with an elucidation of the role of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and its predecessors. It is planned to publish at least 3,000 copies of the book of 600 pages. The cost of the book is estimated at \$37,000. The book will be prepared by an editorial board headed by Mitch Sago, editor of the journal, *The Ukrainian Canadian*. The editorial board includes Peter Krawchuk, Peter Prokopchak, Michael Korol and

William Harasym and thirteen other members from Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Regina, Edmonton and Vancouver, who will assist in the collection of materials and in research work.*

The publication of this book, which is one of the main projects of the AUUC in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Winnipeg, is planned for the second half of 1975.†

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 8 October 1973.

* According to the application, the thirteen others on the editorial board were Mary Skrypnyk and Nick Hrynchysyn of Toronto; Michael Mokry, Anthony Bilecki, Kost Kostaniuk and William Kardash of Winnipeg; Anna and Alex Lapchuk of Regina; George Solomon and Nick Alexiewich of Edmonton; John Chitrenky and Hannah Polowy of Vancouver; and Roy Semak of Montreal.

† To date, the book has not been published. However, a history of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations appeared independently: John Kolasky, *The Shattered Illusion*, Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1979.

Chapter 39. Differences with the Communist Party of Canada

The relations between the CPC and the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations underwent considerable qualitative change during the post-Second World War period. For a time the Ukrainians still formed a large part of the membership, contributed a disproportionate share of the party funds and faithfully followed the party line. However, there was no longer the tight party control of the pre-war period. Eventually sharp differences began to develop on major international issues.

1. A Letter to Tim Buck*

When Khrushchev described some of the crimes of Stalin at a closed session of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956, the Canadian Tribune published the secret speech.† The Ukrainian pro-communist press failed to do so. When the Soviet newspaper, Pravda, attacked the Polish party for proclaiming an independent course and the CC of the CPC sent a telegram of support to the Polish party and another one of censure to the CPSU, the Ukrainian Subcommittee of the NEC of the CPC sent the CC of the CPC the following protest.

At a meeting of the Ukrainian Subcommittee of the NEC of our party held on 23 October it was unanimously agreed to convey the following opinions of our committee to the national committee of our party:

We vigorously protest the assumption by the party's national executive of the powers to issue and make public statements, presumably on behalf of the party as a whole, which are contrary to the policies of our party as adopted at our conventions and elaborated at sessions of its national committee, particularly the 22 October telegrams to the Polish United Workers' Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published that same evening in the

* It was requested that the contents of the letter be made public.

† The speech appeared in the 18 June 1956 issue.

capitalist press and over the radio, which constitute presumptuous interference in the affairs of fraternal parties.

While welcoming the broadest development of discussion in the party of the lessons of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU... on the liquidation of the harmful consequences of the cult of the individual, we vigorously protest the opening of the doors under this pretext to attacks on the principles of Marxism-Leninism directed towards splitting and ultimately liquidating the Canadian workers' party of scientific socialism and towards the destruction of the internationalism of the proletarian movement.

SOURCE: Canadian Tribune, 29 October 1956.

2. Statement of the CEC of the CPC on 1967 Buck Report

When the report of the delegation to Ukraine led by Tim Buck was interpreted publicly by the press and critics of the USSR as evidence of Russification in Ukraine, the members of the CEC became alarmed at the possible ramifications of such an interpretation and issued a statement denying the allegations.

Ever since the Communist Party delegation visited Soviet Ukraine and published its conclusions, the capitalist press has attempted to distort it to suit its cold war, anti-Soviet purposes. This distortion is particularly evident in the false claim that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has deviated from a principled Leninist position on the national question and is pursuing a policy of Russification.

These claims are completely false. The triumph of socialism has also brought with it a flowering of culture of all the nationals inhabiting the Soviet Union. This is not to suggest that mistakes are not made in the course of building a system of society free of exploitation of man by man. But neither is it to deny that where and when mistakes are made, they are corrected and socialist democracy ever extended. This is a continuing democratic process inherent in a system of society which has the means of self-correction, growth and development.

Those who now try to build up an anti-Soviet campaign will not succeed in the face of the great advances made by the Ukrainian people, materially, in art, culture and science; and the Soviet Union's indefatigable struggle for world peace and friendship amongst all peoples.

SOURCE: Canadian Tribune, 4 March 1968.

3. Canadian Reds Back Down

The Ukrainian party leaders also took steps to mollify the Soviet leaders and pacify the disturbed members of their organizations. On 21 May 1968 the NEC of the AUUC expelled from its ranks the author of Education in Soviet Ukraine, in which he had described in detail the processes of Russification in Ukraine. In the meantime Peter Krawchuk attempted at a closed membership meeting of the AUUC to reassure the concerned members.

While Canadian Communist Party boss William Kashtan was faithfully echoing the Soviet line at the Budapest conference last Sunday, Ukrainian Communists in Toronto were attending a special, by invitation-only meeting.

The topic: The question of discrimination in Soviet Ukraine and what to do about the apparent Soviet policy to "Russify" the Ukrainian language and culture.

The result of the three-hour meeting, according to those who were there, was a backing-down of the party's previous hard stand on the Ukrainian issue.

The situation was not so bad after all, said party brass, and it would soon be even better.

Most of the talking—and explaining—was done by Peter Krawchuk, an editor of the Ukrainian newspaper, *Zhyttia i Slovo*, who is on the national executive of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians.

He explained there is really nothing much to worry about in Ukraine and he read Soviet press clippings to support this contention.

In January the report of a six-member delegation headed by Tim Buck which visited Ukraine last April, criticized Kremlin policies and actions in Ukraine in the strongest language the Canadian party has ever used on the Soviet party.

The delegates were "not satisfied" with some of the answers they got from Soviet authorities with regard to discrimination against the Ukrainian language.

They found there were "gaps between declared policy and practices."

The report was something of a bombshell and it rocked the Communist Party of Canada as nothing has done since the disclosures that Stalin was a bad guy and not a god.

About half the Communist Party membership is comprised of those of Ukrainian origin.

Within a month of the original Central Committee report the *Canadian Tribune* (Communist) had begun to backwater and was reiterating its "solidarity" with the Soviet Union.

It said that all problems in Ukraine are being "met and solved."

The meeting at AUUC headquarters at 300 Bathurst St. last Sunday went even further. Doubts and apprehension expressed by members were soothed with the explanation that what few problems yet remained for Soviet

Ukrainians would soon be solved.

Mr. Krawchuk's assurances were greeted with some skepticism. He was a member of the original Central Committee delegation which was "not satisfied" with what it saw last April. However, he returned with two other members in January to attend the 50th anniversary celebrations marking Ukraine joining the Soviet Union, and presumably found all to be well.

In between visits he was awarded the Soviet Order of Halan for literary merit, which carries with it a cash award.

The award is named after Yaroslav Halan, an impassioned Soviet propagandist who attacked Ukrainian nationalism and the Roman Catholic Church with unbridled enthusiasm. . . .

At the Sunday meeting questions were also raised about a recent book by a long-time Communist Party member which condemns the Soviet Union for its Ukraine policies.

The book is *Education in Soviet Ukraine* by John Kolasky who spent two years in Kiev attending the Higher Party School of the Central Committee.

There he gathered much classified material which he smuggled out and used to reveal an official policy to crush the Ukrainian language and culture.

Sources who attended the meeting said Mr. Krawchuk refused to discuss Kolasky's book, and said he hadn't read it. . . .

Today the Ukrainian Communists—members of the AUUC and the Workers' Benevolent Association—are in a dilemma.

The attempt to soften the Central Committee report and to backtrack, fails to convince many members.

SOURCE: Peter Worthington, *The Telegram*, 8 March 1968.

4. CPC Withdraws Report

The Soviet authorities in Moscow applied strong pressure on the CC of the CPC to withdraw the report. Heated discussions were carried out over the report in the CC, with the Ukrainians categorically opposing any withdrawal. To mollify the Russians the report was finally withdrawn. A rift developed between the party leaders and the Ukrainians, who felt bitter and betrayed by the party. Below is the statement of withdrawal, which was not carried in the Ukrainian pro-communist press.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada decided to withdraw, as party policy, a report of a party delegation in the spring of 1967 to Ukraine, often referred to as the "Kiev Report," and will continue discussion on it. The text of the resolution reads as follows:

The Central Committee withdraws the report of the party delegation to Ukraine as an official document of the party.

Decides to undertake a thorough-going review of that report, including a discussion on the national question, with the aim of deepening our Marxist understanding of the national question and proletarian internationalism, and strengthening the unity of the party.

Warns against any attempt to turn the discussion into one of personal recriminations. The Central Committee will not permit it.*

SOURCE: *Canadian Tribune*, 15 October 1969.

5. Statement of the CEC, Communist Party of Canada

While the debate was going on over the report, reforms were being introduced in Czechoslovakia to give socialism a "human face." The party and the Ukrainians welcomed the reforms with enthusiasm. The invasion of Czechoslovakia on 20 August was both shocking and surprising. The NEC of the CPC, in the absence of Tim Buck, but with the full support of the Ukrainians, issued the following statement on 21 August.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Canada is deeply disturbed by the fact that a situation has developed in Czechoslovakia which five parties of the Warsaw Pact judged to constitute a threat of counter-revolution and to necessitate military intervention, and have declared that this intervention was undertaken at the request of the majority of the presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; and that both this judgement and declaration were at variance with the estimation and declaration of leading bodies in Czechoslovakia.

In our view there were involved in the Czechoslovak situation not only intrigues of enemies of socialism, but—facilitating these—the presence of unsolved problems of socialist development and socialist democracy, efforts to deal with which we warmly greeted in the decision of our April 1968 Central Committee meeting.

The CEC of the Communist Party of Canada strongly urges that all concerned should act to ensure the consolidation of socialism in Czechoslovakia, the unity of the socialist countries and their communist parties, the early withdrawal of all foreign troops from Czechoslovakia, the upholding of her sovereignty and independence, pursuit of the policy deepening and extending socialist democracy embarked upon by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in its decisions of January 1968.

Arising out of the events in Czechoslovakia, a situation has developed enabling the forces of imperialism to launch a political ideological offensive

* The warning was for the Ukrainians who opposed the withdrawal of the report.

against the countries of the socialist world—a campaign of anti-Sovietism with which we refuse to associate ourselves in any way whatsoever.

We call upon our party, the labour movement and all democratic Canadians to do all in their power to combat all efforts aimed at diverting the struggles of the Canadian people for peace and social advance.

SOURCE: *Canadian Tribune*, 21 August 1968. The statement was also published in a Ukrainian translation in *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 7 September 1968.

6. Czech Invasion Splits Canadian Comrades

The statement of the CEC of the CPC was not accepted unanimously by the party members. The strongest opponents of the invasion were the Ukrainians. Their attitude to the USSR had undergone considerable change since 1956, when they supported Soviet intervention in Hungary. At a general party meeting in Toronto on 5 September 1968, there were sharp exchanges between supporters and opponents of the invasion. When a supporter called the Czech opponents of the invasion "hooligans," one of the Ukrainian leaders retorted: "You are a hooligan," and branded the invasion "Russian aggression." A Toronto daily carried the following incomplete and belated report of the meeting.

The Communist Party of Canada is apparently undergoing a "crisis of conscience" over the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

There are reports from within the party of rifts and divisions over the invasion, and the membership is expected to undergo another drop—just as it did after the revelations in 1956 that Stalin was a bad guy after all.

At a general members' meeting 10 days ago to discuss the Czech crisis, comrade was pitted against comrade.

Those who staunchly supported the Russians were, according to those who were there, party chairman William Kashtan, Misha Cohen, an executive with the *Canadian Tribune*, and Bruce Magnuson who won 416 votes in the Windsor-Walkerville riding in the last general election.

Among those who vehemently opposed the Soviet attack and sided with Czechoslovakia, were Phyllis Clarke, chairman of the Metro party, Peter Krawchuk, editor of the pro-Soviet Ukrainian newspaper, *Life and Word*, and Joshua Gershman, editor of the Communist-Jewish newspaper.

In supporting the Soviet action Mr. Cohen reportedly said that after 50 years of socialism "the Soviet Union knows what it is doing." It was not too enthusiastically received.

Mr. Magnuson seemed mainly angry that the French Communist Party had condemned the Soviet action, and he wholeheartedly approved of the invasion—as did Mr. Kashtan.

Mrs. Clarke chaired the meeting, and according to those who attended, did an excellent job and delivered an impassioned protest on behalf of Czechoslovakia. Her husband and party bigshot, Nelson Clarke, tried to see both sides but leaned with his wife.

Mr. Cohen reportedly called the invasion a "crime," while Mr. Krawchuck, who is also a wheel in the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, which is communist, condemned what he called "Russian" aggression.

Anyway the party is split—especially among those members of Ukrainian and non-Russian origin.

It has strange relevance to the case of John Kolasky who...criticized what he called "Russian Imperialism" towards the Ukrainian language and culture....

SOURCE: Peter Worthington, *The Telegram*, 26 September 1968.

7. Statement on Czechoslovakia of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Canada

A month after Soviet troops entered Czechoslovakia, a meeting of the full Central Committee, with Buck present, issued a statement, over the strong opposition of the Ukrainians, rejecting part of the statement of the NEC of 21 August.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada holds the view that the entry of the Warsaw Treaty troops into Czechoslovakia was in the interests of world socialism and the preservation of world peace and security. It rejects those aspects of the Central Executive statement on 22 August which gave expression to the false position that the entry of the Warsaw Pact troops into Czechoslovakia was not in the interests of socialism. This position did not correspond to the real situation in Czechoslovakia where the socialist gains, the political power of the working class and the leading role of the Party, that is the very foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat, were threatened by counter-revolution.

Every day that passes makes clear the correctness of the measures taken by these countries, measures made necessary to strengthen socialism and democracy in Czechoslovakia and peace and security in Europe.

This CC meeting solidarizes itself with these measures whose results constitute a severe rebuff to imperialism and for West German revanchism in particular. It solidarizes itself with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in recognition of the necessity for decisive measures to normalize the situation following the Moscow agreements and considers that such steps will lead to securing and consolidating the gains of socialism in Czechoslovakia and

therefore the vital interests of the socialist community and of the anti-imperialist forces of the world. These actions will likewise facilitate the carrying through of the decisions taken by the January meeting of the Central Committee of Czechoslovakia...

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada is confident that as more and more facts come to light, doubts and uncertainty about events in Czechoslovakia which found their reflection among some Communists and progressives will disappear and give way to recognition of the difficult but correct course taken by the 5 Warsaw Treaty countries in a very complex situation. These countries and their Communist Parties showed themselves equal to their collective and international responsibilities, the defence of socialism in Czechoslovakia and peace and security in Europe.

On the basis of this statement the Central Committee calls upon the CEC to undertake a deep going clarification of the events in Czechoslovakia within the Party, the labour and democratic movement, using the press and other means for doing so.

SOURCE: *Canadian Tribune*, 9 October 1968. The statement was also published in a Ukrainian translation in *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 21 October 1968.

8. On Dealing with Differences

The Ukrainians never came to terms with the invasion of Czechoslovakia in spite of the CC statement of support for the action. This and the withdrawal of the report on the national question caused continuous tension and friction between the party and the Ukrainians. Voices of opposition to the invasion were often raised, as in the case of a Ukrainian delegate to the twentieth convention of the party.

The main question I want to raise, which bothers me particularly as a delegate to the convention, is on such events as in Czechoslovakia.

I'm convinced that action had to be taken in Czechoslovakia. I'm not convinced that it had to be *military action*. I want to raise some questions that in my opinion have not been answered in relation to Czechoslovakia and hope that answers are given, before votes are called for.

The main arguments I gather so far re Czechoslovak events are that: revisionism had the upper hand, counter-revolution was threatening, the Party lost much of the control and socialism in Czechoslovakia was threatened.

The extent that these arguments were correct is hard to confirm, as many of the facts given in the pamphlet "On events in Czechoslovakia" have even been discounted by authoritative Czechoslovakian people, including professors formed into a commission investigating the contents. If members of the government in Czechoslovakia, commissions, etc., that disagree with at least

much of the contentions issued by the Soviet Union are themselves under revisionist and alien influences that is something that is still to be made clear. In any event we are placed in a position of choosing between positions of Communists in different countries.

But be that as it may. I'll take for granted that all that was said in the pamphlet, statements issued, etc., is correct. In my opinion there is still a lack of indications that justify such a drastic step as *military* action. Steps were needed, but why with arms? The Party leadership in Czechoslovakia today is almost the same as before. So is the government, with few exceptions; the majority is the same. They had a good disciplined army and large police force. Why could the Warsaw Pact countries not come in, using the state apparatus of Czechoslovakia, close off the German-Austrian borders and say to the Czech comrades: "You could not bring order yourselves, we'll now do it together."

I may be oversimplifying things. But let's consider the dangerous precedent.

If revisionist, traitorous elements in control, etc., justify military action, then who is to be the judge when and where military action is needed?

Take one case for an example. "Soviet revisionist renegade clique—No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism—on which he (Nixon) pins the best hope" and further: "...its (Soviet Union's) counter-revolutionary features...the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique lost no time in pinning its hopes on support from the new American imperialist chieftain in a futile effort to redivide the world through U.S.-Soviet collusion..." Many more similar and even worse attacks can be quoted. And it is not difficult to guess their source. The Chinese news media is full of such tripe. But they say this in the name of Marxism-Leninism, as a "socialist" state, in fact endowed with the mission of "saving" the clarity of Marxism-Leninism under Mao's thought.

Reading some of the Chinese material would be funny if it was not tragic.

The tragedy lies in the fact that millions of Chinese are being convinced by them, worked into a frenzy under the false accusations of "revisionism in the Soviet Union." Although they cannot justify their actions by pointing at Czechoslovakia, nevertheless it does serve their purpose. And perhaps the present Chinese provocations were inspired by Czech events. At least the latter did not help to keep Chinese adventurism in check. A horrible fact of life unfolds. And what if the Chinese say: if the Soviet Union can do it in Czechoslovakia then why can't we do it in Mongolia, on lands we claim to be ours in Siberia, or call for a march on Moscow? The Chinese position would be that they are extending a hand of help to peoples under "traitorous," "revisionist" governments and leadership and must be "liberated."

Yugoslavia is another example. Isn't it a parallel? If action is justified in Czechoslovakia, isn't similar action justified in Yugoslavia? Then, where shall it stop?....

SOURCE: M. Mokry, *Convention 69: Discussion Bulletin of the Communist Party of Canada in Preparation for the 20th Convention*, no. 4 (25 March 1969), 27.

9. John Boyd's Letter of Resignation from the CPC

Although there was sharp criticism of and strong opposition to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the Canadian party's support of the USSR on the issue, there were no defections from the top ranks of the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations. However, a prominent Ukrainian in the party leadership resigned from the party. He was John Boyd (Boychuk), who had worked in the Youth Section of the ULFTA in 1930-2 and later as an organizer of the YCL and editor of its organ, the Young Worker. In 1936 he joined the CPC, in which he held a number of top posts, among them member of the Politburo and for eight years (1958-67) editor of the party's organ. From 1967 to 1969, he was in Czechoslovakia as Canadian representative on the editorial board of the international communist theoretical organ, the World Marxist Review. He was in the country when Czechoslovakia was invaded. Disillusioned with what he saw and experienced, Boyd resigned from the party after his return to Canada. His letter of resignation is included among the documents relating to the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia which Boyd has turned over to the University of Toronto Archives. Following is the text of the letter:

Toronto, Ont.,

Feb. 18, 1970.

Alf Dewhurst, exec. secretary,

Communist Party of Canada

24 Cecil Street, Toronto, Ont.

Dear Alf:

Yes, I have dropped my membership in the Communist Party. After long and careful consideration I came to the conclusion that I cannot belong to

(1) A party that condoned and continues to condone the terrible injustices and crimes that were committed and are *still being committed to this day* in Czechoslovakia—all in the name of "Marxism-Leninism," "democratic centralism" and "proletarian internationalism."

(2) A party that condones the distortions of socialist democracy and socialist legality that have been taking place and are continuing to take place in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries *since* the 20th Congress of the CPSU—likewise in the name of "Marxism-Leninism," etc.

(This conclusion is based not only on information from sources that are available to everyone but also, and mainly, from what I learned from a score or so Soviet Communists and foreign Communists who had lived in the Soviet Union with whom I worked in Prague, as well as a few I met in Moscow;

some of them were old-time members of the CPSU, some new; all of them highly knowledgeable [sic] in their fields). They described the situation much more sharply and much more harshly than I do. (Significantly, most of the information given to me by these Soviet persons was given individually, when alone, very seldom when there were two or more present).

(3) A party whose leadership remains silent when anti-Semitism is used to advance a particular policy or interest—as, for example, in the propaganda seeking to establish that counter-revolution had gained the upper hand in Czechoslovakia.

(Why did not anyone in the leadership of the Canadian party denounce, or criticize, or even seek to correct, the lie—one of a dozen, at least—in Dyson Carter's own version of a "white book," *"Whatever Happened in Czechoslovakia?"* that Jiri Hajek was a Jew whose real name is Karpeles? Why didn't the *Canadian Tribune* publish—as the *London Morning Star* did—the statement Hajek issued denouncing the canard, which first appeared in *Izvestia*, and its slimy purpose? Was it because it happened to be at the same time "grist for the mill" of the "official" line? And hasn't the same attitude of silence been taken towards, or a mealy-mouthed, tightrope-walking effort to "explain," the ill-disguised efforts recently in Czechoslovakia, and earlier in Poland, to exploit anti-Semitism in the party's inner struggle by concocting charges of "zionism" against devoted and dedicated life-long veteran Communists?)

(4) A party (and this is true of most other Communist parties today) in which a small group at the top—often influenced strongly by one or two individuals, and even more often by the top clique of the party of another country—is the sole and final arbiter of who in the party is a left-sectarian dogmatist and who a right-wing revisionist.

Strangely enough, in spite of constant references to "two dangers" (regardless of which is the greatest at any given time) there doesn't seem to be any record of anyone in the party ever having been denounced or disciplined, much less expelled, for left-sectarianism or dogmatism. Even as in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, after the November 1968 plenum resolution proclaimed the need to fight both dangers, to this day no one has as yet been denounced or disciplined for left-sectarianism or dogmatism. But the screws sure have been turned against anyone even suspected of leaning toward the so-called revisionists. Is it all, perhaps, because those doing the labelling and categorizing and denouncing and hounding and expelling (in Canada and Czechoslovakia) are the real left-sectarians and dogmatists?

(5) A party in which members who gave years of selfless devotion and work for the cause, and have not abandoned their dedication to socialism, can be treated by their life-long colleagues almost as "class enemies." Simply because they strongly uphold views (views they sincerely believed in) on certain important issues. And their only recourse, apparently, under the present

arbitrary and "convenient" interpretation of democratic centralism, is to "clam up" and conform—or get out. (This is also true in most other Communist parties).

Appropos to this last point, I have recently had some personal experiences that would appear to be relevant:

- (a) A top executive officer of the party told me on my return that I could not express to my fellow-members in the party my views and feelings about what I saw and experienced in Czechoslovakia because this would be "in contravention of the convention decisions" and thus "harmful to the party." (Well, I haven't worked in the YCL and party for over 40 years to have my mind and my conscience muzzled that easily!)
- (b) A party member, holding a responsible post, told a member of my family, while I was still in Prague, that I am "an imperialist agent" because of my views about what happened in Czechoslovakia.
- (c) A highly-placed responsible member (I went to some trouble to find out who) informed a *Toronto Telegram* reporter, after I had declined to stand for the central committee, that I'm "flirting with the Trotskyists." A deliberate lie. Why? (I hold absolutely no brief with the Trotskyists. While I consider the overwhelming majority of them every bit as sincere in their desire for socialism as are most members of the Communist Party, I also find they are every bit as sectarian, as dogmatic, as cliché-minded and as irrelevant to the real Canadian scene as are all too many members of the Communist Party. If they have a "plus" it is the fact that they have been able to attract a large number of young people to the struggle for socialism.)
- (d) A responsible leading member felt it necessary recently to peddle the story that the job I now have had been "arranged" for me even before I left Prague. Since this is an outright lie, what purpose could it have other than to discredit me among my friends?

I realize that these latter charges involve the actions of individuals and not the party as a whole but I find this readiness to brand as an "enemy" anyone who holds a sharply different view on a major issue, or issues, all too symptomatic of an attitude throughout the party. (The last convention was a good example of this.) So is the manner in which those who are now in the "driver's seat" in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia are dealing with those who don't agree with their "official" policy—likewise what they did to the opposition (including good veteran Communists) to get into that "driver's seat."

Let me make one thing clear: in spite of all the above, I have not given up my ideals—the ideals for which I worked all my life. I still believe in socialism—but genuine socialism, "socialism with a human face," as the Czechoslovak Communists in 1968 so aptly described it—with all that that implies.

However, I do not see how the Communist Party of Canada, as it is now constituted, with its present policies—and above all its *methods*—can be instrumental in advancing the Canadian people to socialism. I believe that somehow, eventually, the coming generation, or generations, of revolutionaries and forward-looking and thinking people will achieve that goal; but only as they are able to rid the present movement (and the regimes in the socialist countries) of most of the present injustices, weaknesses and evils: dogmatism, sectarianism and, above all, bureaucratic elitism, which is such a damper on the potential in the socialist world today.

While I have had criticisms of, and reservations about, some of these injustices, weaknesses and evils in the past (those I knew about) I was willing to rationalize, to overlook them in the interests of the greater common goal, to see them as flaws in the movement and in the socialist world—flaws which eventually could and would be fought against and eliminated. My two-year stay in Czechoslovakia, what I saw there, what I learned from the many representatives from other parties and most of all from 15 or 20 Soviet Communists with whom I worked and whom I got to know intimately and whose confidence I gained—all this convinced me that it is a pretty frustrating hope.

Certainly in the party in Canada it is. Were I in the Italian, Spanish or British party (to name a few), no doubt I would still be a member, for I find myself in agreement with their policies, their approach and their thinking, as I know them from the documents and articles I read, even more from conversations I had with their leading people. I find that the leaders and members of these parties share the critical views that I have and they hope to fight through for them. But there is no room for these views in the Canadian party—and, unfortunately, as yet in too many other Communist parties. . . .

In reply to your letter, I have tried here, for the first time, to briefly outline some of these reasons. But I have no desire to get into any discussions, polemics or debate about them. With this letter, therefore, I consider the matter closed.

Sincerely yours,
John Boyd.

SOURCE: University of Toronto Archives, not catalogued at the time the document was consulted.

Chapter 40. Dissension and Opposition in the Ranks

It was not long after the revival of the Ukrainian pro-communist movement in 1941 that internal dissension began to develop. It seems that Reverend Cependa continued to work with the revived Ukrainian pro-communist movement in the organization of new branches of the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland and in the collection of aid for the Soviet Union. However, tension soon developed, and Reverend Cependa was apparently not the easiest person to work with. Some even questioned his integrity, especially when it came to finances. He became irritated because of the withdrawal of support for his paper and the refusal to support a tour, apparently to collect money, which he proposed. He began to hurl charges in his paper against the Ukrainian communist leaders of misappropriation of funds collected for aid to the Soviet Union and Ukraine. One of these charges was directed against Ivan Navizivsky.

1. On the Question of Holos Pravdy and the Tours of M. Cependa

To all branches of the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland
30 December 1941.

Dear Friends:

In this letter we wish to discuss the matter regarding the paper, *Holos Pravdy*, and its publisher, Reverend M. Cependa. You are probably aware that M. Cependa has announced a national tour. Many branches of the UAAF have written to the National Council asking whether this tour is organized with the understanding of the National Council. . . .

Holos Pravdy is an anti-fascist paper. . . . It is also true that it is published by a private person who, with the exception of his church, has nothing in common with any movement. Therefore, one must regard this paper as a private enterprise . . . over which neither our association nor the Ukrainian progressive movement has any control. As a matter of fact, *Holos Pravdy* and the publisher appear uncontrollable.

We advise the branches of the UAAF not to send any more money to the Reverend M. Cependa because he is conducting a private enterprise for which our association is not responsible. . . .

This paper has based itself on a section of the Ukrainian people which today basically belongs to the UAAF. When an individual or a group wishes to enrich itself at the expense of our people, on us falls the responsibility not to allow this and to inform everyone how matters stand.

Regarding the tour of Reverend M. Cependa, the matter is the same as with the paper. . . . The National Council advises its branches and all interested people that our association did not organize such a tour and does not take any responsibility for it.

The National Council advises its branches not to organize meetings of local councils or branches of the association or mass gatherings for Reverend Cependa. . . .

National Council,

Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 15 January 1942.

2. An Open Letter

Mr. Ivan Navizivsky:

During the campaign for the collection of funds for Soviet Ukraine you were in Spedden, Alberta and had a mass meeting there in connection with aid for our brothers and sisters.

Being aware of the terrible condition of our people . . . I donated \$50 to aid our hungry brothers and sisters.

Yesterday I had the opportunity to look through the so-called commemorative book which you . . . published. To my great sorrow and to your and your associates' shame I did not find my name nor my \$50 there. In addition to this money, I donated still more in other places, but that is not recorded there either.

So, what happened to my money? Where is my photo? You promised that the photos of those who donated \$50 in aid of our hungry brothers in Soviet Ukraine would appear in the memorial book. I beg you, Mr. Ivan Navizivsky . . . make a report of the collection and tell the donors how much you profited from this collection.* It is not a matter of the photo, which did

* Whatever may be said regarding the political integrity of the Ukrainian communist leaders, they certainly cannot be accused of misappropriating organizational funds to enrich themselves. None of the full-time functionaries had at that time become affluent. This appears to have become somewhat

not appear in the book, but the fact that you and others with you performed quite the swindle and hushed it up. It required a fighter for the truth, *Holos Pravdy*, to remind you of this and to ask for justice.

A Donor.

SOURCE: *Holos Pravdy*, 19 March 1946.

3. Letters to the AUUC National Executive Committee

Navizivsky's reaction to Reverend Cependa's charges against him was to sue the latter for \$10,000 damages. In the meantime, the barrage of charges by Reverend Cependa caused a considerable stir in the ranks of the AUUC. The charges had a greater negative influence on the Ukrainian pro-communist movement than the 1935 Lobay-Kobzey revolt, which was based on sound criticism voiced by honest, ideologically motivated men. Many members drifted away and some branches declined, especially in Alberta, where Reverend Cependa's influence was strongest. Members of two branches in British Columbia even questioned the NEC of the AUUC.

Vernon, B.C.

20 March 1947.

We, the undersigned, three committee members, were elected unanimously at a mass meeting in Vernon on 16/2/1947 by members of the local organization of the AUUC and the Federation of Russian Canadians as well as a large number of donors. Those present empowered the elected committee to look into the matter of the collection of money for Soviet Ukraine. We, the committee members, decided at a meeting on 15/3/1947 to apply to the Provincial Executive and the National Executive Committee for exact reports as to:

1. How much money was collected for Soviet Ukraine during all the campaigns?
2. How much were the expenses connected with these campaigns?
3. How much money was sent to the Soviet Union and how much of that to Soviet Ukraine?

A large number of larger and smaller donors in Vernon together with the elected committee demand that the provincial and the central committees make a complete report of all the campaigns... because, after a short investigation, the committee concluded that as of today, there has been absolutely no report. What there was is not a report. The fact is, according to the statement of the

altered in the case of some of them *after* the establishment of Ukrainska Knyha and Globe Tours. If any became affluent it was from these business ventures and not by misappropriating funds of the organization.

centre in Toronto, that over half a million dollars was collected. . . .

For the committee,

S. Babiy, L. Baziv, A. Rodych.

Dear friends of the executive committee:

We are a committee for investigating the collection of money for Soviet Ukraine, elected by the people at a mass meeting on 9 February this year (1947) in New Westminster, B.C. We are instructed to look into the question of the collection of money for Soviet Ukraine. At our meeting in Haney on 16 March 1947 we decided to write to the National Executive Committee.

For some time *Holos Pravdy* has been writing about the 20 per cent mirror but you, as leaders, forget to reply on the pages of *UZh* and *US* and thus make possible disunity. We, members of the committee, are not in favour of disuniting the labour movement but of strengthening it. In order to unite the workers we beg you, dear friends of the National Executive Committee, to answer four questions:

1. In order to unite the workers should we not demand how much money was collected for Soviet Ukraine?
2. In order to unite should we not demand what the expenses were in connection with all the collections?
3. Are we only to make donations but not know how much money was sent to Ukraine?
4. Do you guarantee that there are not any errors in the memorial book?

Respectfully yours,

Nykolai Hrekul, chairman, New Westminster, B.C.

Pavlo Maisel, secretary, Haney, B.C.

SOURCE: *Holos Pravdy*, 10 May 1947.

4. Reply of the AUUC National Executive Committee

Toronto, 1 April 1947.

S. Babiy, Vernon, B.C.*

Dear friends:

We received your letter of 20 March signed by three persons. In reply we say to you that we are absolutely not obliged to reply to you because the National Executive Committee is responsible for all its work to its organization and its membership at a national convention and not to Cependa's committee. If there was a stamp of the Vernon branch on your letter we would then be obliged to reply to your questions.

* A similar letter was sent to Pavlo Maisel in Haney.

However, for your information we wish to say to you that you will regret having allowed yourselves to be misled by a type such as Cependa. We will also say that the case of Cependa has already gone to court. At one time he wrote that comrade Navizivsky collected money which is not recorded in the memorial book. . . . That abnormal man should be placed where he ought to be.

Greetings,
I. Boychuk.

SOURCE: Ibid.

5. Statement by the AUUC National Executive Committee

The replies did not answer the questions raised and consequently did not allay the growing suspicion and dissatisfaction that had been aroused by Reverend Cependa's charges. The NEC of the AUUC then issued a lengthy and detailed reply to the charges.

For some time . . . a baseless campaign of slander has been conducted against our organization and especially against its leadership.

This campaign was started and is conducted by the most holy priest, M.N. Cependa, who is the editor of a paper named *Holos Pravdy*. The materials which the priest, M.N. Cependa, uses are from the book, *Canadian Ukrainians Aid the Nations of the Soviet Union*, which was published early in April 1943. This book includes reports of the two campaigns to aid the nations of the Soviet Union in which our association participated, namely the campaign of the Canadian Red Cross for Medical Aid to the Soviet Union and the Canadian Aid to Russia Fund.

And here, in connection with these two campaigns . . . the most holy Cependa . . . makes indecent charges orally and in print, including fabrications about the "evaporation" and the "disappearance" of money in connection with the publication of the reports. . . .

If the NEC of the AUUC makes a statement here regarding this matter it does so, firstly, in order to indicate to the whole community the absurdity of Cependa's fabrications and, secondly, to satisfy the wishes of those individuals who now and then inquire why the NEC does not refute Cependa's lies. . . .

The first campaign . . . was conducted by the Red Cross. . . . Our society . . . joined this campaign. . . . The branches handed over to the local or provincial committees of the Red Cross all the money from this campaign, with relatively small exceptions. . . . To the NEC they sent written reports. . . . On the basis of these written reports, sent in by the branches, with the addition of those which were sent directly to the centre of our organization together

with money, the NEC prepared a general report for the individual localities....

The second campaign was conducted by the Aid to Russia Fund.... Our association was then called the Association of Ukrainian Canadians (AUC).... Branches of the AUC worked closely with the local committees of the Canadian Aid to Russia Fund.... The money collected was turned over to the local committees, sent directly to the central office of the Canadian Aid to Russia Fund or to the NEC of the AUC.... These general reports of the second campaign the NEC included near the end of the book in the same general form as it received them and only of those branches which sent them before the book was dispatched to the printer....

The priest, M.N. Cependa, confused the reports of the two campaigns and then began to subtract. Taking province by province, locality after locality, he cites the figures of one campaign (the Red Cross for Medical Aid to the Soviet Union) and alongside cites the figures from the second campaign (Canadian Aid to Russia Fund) and then subtracts one figure from the other, and as a result of the false manipulation, declares that so and so many dollars have "evaporated," so and so many thousands of dollars have "disappeared." And bringing together his false mathematical manipulations from all the provinces, he declares that \$87,822.72 "disappeared...."

For example, in *Holos Pravdy*, 14 January 1947, he makes a report on Alberta:

	Report pp. 5-6	Report p. 63	Disappeared
Edmonton	\$3,270.84	\$1,600.00	\$1,670.84
Calgary	\$2,993.74	no entry	\$2,993.74

In this manner he went through all the localities of every province, subtracted the smaller sum from the larger and in cases where the report of the second campaign was not entered in the books, for example, Calgary, he unceremoniously announced that the whole sum collected in the first campaign "disappeared...."

We will allow ourselves to add briefly that the priest M.N. Cependa not only confused the two campaigns here discussed, but also others which were conducted later and the reports of which were published in *Ukrainske Zhyttia*. The figures of these reports he also adds to the figures in the memorial book and asks why they are not in the book (he does not explain how it is possible to include what was collected after the book was published) and unceremoniously enters them in the column "disappeared...."

In *Holos Pravdy*, 28 February 1947, he includes a reproduction of a receipt to Petro Kalyn from Port Arthur for \$100 which was issued by the secretary of the branch, I. Kipin, and asks why neither his donation nor his photo is in the book. What happened to his \$100? The most holy priest Cependa wants donors who donated in 1944 to be included in a book which was published in 1943.

It is true that Petro Klyn donated \$100, but in the campaign for hospitals in Chernivtsi and Lviv which was conducted in 1944. This donation is listed in *Ukrainske Zhyttia* for 14 September 1944...in the report from Port Arthur....

National Executive Committee,
Association of United Ukrainian Canadians
William Teresio—President,
Peter Prokopchak—Secretary,
John Boychuk—Treasurer.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 22 May 1947.

6. Good Bye!

The reply of the officials of the AUUC did not deter Reverend Cependa. He continued to make new charges. In the meantime, Navizivsky's case against him was pending in the courts. Twice the case had been postponed at the request of the plaintiff. It was finally to be heard on 17 March 1949. The outcome, as noted in the following editorial by Reverend Cependa, only confirmed the suspicions of many Ukrainians that there was some basis for Cependa's charges.

For two years the readers and sympathizers of *Holos Pravdy* have been asking: "Is the court case of Mr. Naviz* over? If it is please be good enough to write about it in *Holos Pravdy*, especially about who won, because the readers of the Naviz press and members of the AUUC are wagering with us that Gapon's† printing presses are as good as gone to pay the ten thousand dollars damages for the defamation of the honour of Mr. Naviz, that the case is as good as won."

In addition, we very frequently received letters, some signed and others not, in which the poor subjects of the AUUC called us criminals, liars and threatened us. Some offered advice in advance as to what we are to do when comrade Naviz takes away our presses.... As to how the matter stood, we reported and are doing this once more for the last time. The case of Mr. Naviz is over. The case was to come up for the third time on 17 March, but Mr. Naviz did not wait to the seventeenth. On 15 March he discontinued his action.

* When writing in English, Navizivsky shortened his surname to Navis. Reverend Cependa shortened it in Ukrainian to Naviz, which means animal fertilizer.

† The communists referred to Reverend Cependa as Gapon (a Russian priest who organized labour unions controlled by the tsarist police before 1905).

This means that Mr. Naviz has withdrawn his case for TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS which he wanted from the editor of *Holos Pravdy* for his honour.

In addition, of course, Mr. Naviz is to pay all the court costs.... This means that for two years they were "fixing Cependa" and finally it is over. Let him who has a headache because this has somehow turned out badly buy himself an aspirin....

SOURCE: *Holos Pravdy*, 26 March 1949.

7. A Paid Agent of Canadian Reactionaries

The Ukrainian pro-communist movement experienced attacks from numerous ex-members. Among these was John Hladun, a former party member and teacher in the Ukrainian Labour Temple in Kenora, who had spent several years in the early 1930s at the Lenin School in Moscow, the Communist International's training centre for world communist leaders. He returned disillusioned, defected shortly thereafter and began publicly to voice his disenchantment with the USSR. In 1948 he made a Canadian speaking tour during which he condemned the communist movement. The Ukrainian pro-communist press reacted with a sharp personal attack on Hladun.

John Hladun, a traitor of Ukrainian ancestry, called upon Ukrainian Canadians not long ago at a meeting in Toronto to become enemies of Ukraine because they do not have "any benefit" from friendship with their people, but from enmity they can obviously "profit" as he himself has "profitted." Hladun measures his love for his native fatherland and to his people in dollars, the more dollars the less love. By such a yardstick Hladun assesses his conscience and proposes that honest people follow his example.

Hladun is a paid agent of Canadian reaction. His price is \$35 for each unscrupulous appearance. Hladun himself admits that he is on a tour organized for him by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, that is, by big businessmen, and that he has made 300 such appearances. Hladun "earned" over \$10,000. This is not the same as being on organizational work in Kenora, Ontario. This is quite a chunk of rotten sausage.

What "commodity" is Hladun selling? He is obviously a born liar. He receives \$35 each time for attacking Ukraine, the Soviet Union, the labour movement in Canada. In his vile attacks Hladun appears as a "specialist," because at one time he was allegedly also a member of the labour movement.

Fortunately the labour movement in general and the Ukrainian in particular have very few such "specialists." It would be a good thing if Hladun admitted in what he "specialized" in the labour movement and why he was expelled from it, although this would not bring financial rewards. Up to now he has not

given an accounting. There are people who remember this well. For them Hladun is a weak figure of the polecat variety.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 10 June 1948.

8. To my Brother

Among the nationalists who adopted a pro-Soviet stand during the Second World War was a Toronto shoemaker, Mykhailo Sribniak, a member of the Ukrainian National Federation. He wrote articles for the Ukrainian pro-communist press and, since he dabbled in poetry, occasionally contributed short poems. Eventually, as tourists began bringing back reports on the conditions in Ukraine, his support for the USSR began to wane. He became particularly disturbed by the policies of Russification. In December 1968 he wrote an allegorical poem which was an implied criticism of Russian hegemony over Ukraine. The assistant editor, who apparently did not understand the poem's meaning, accepted it for publication. The result was a sensation in the Ukrainian community in Canada. A free translation of the poem is given below.

Listen, brother, I wish to speak
Of that which has weighed on my heart,
Because it is time to solve the problem
That troubles our souls and irritates our wounds.
Ivan, do you understand what father* said
When he was preparing for his last journey
And set down the fatherly advice in a document
So that you would not wrong us after his death?
"Look, my son," father said to you,
"There should not be any oppression of the smaller ones.
Let everyone carry on as is his custom
In his own land as I have laid down."

And you, fanatic, pay no attention to father
And still hold us in thrall.
But we are already adults. Your tutelage
Weighs like a stone, as Taras† would say.

Where in fact is that equality
Which father has given us on paper?

* The reference is to Lenin.

† Taras Shevchenko.

There is only coarse brutality.
And freedom, brother, you have retained for yourself.

Although we have a house on our land
You, brother, maintain hegemony there.
It is high time that we were shod
In our own high boots according to our custom.

And we are adults and quite cultured
And can maintain order in our house.
Your orders are becoming unbearable,
We want at least to have our freedom.

I ask you, brother, how long will you
Keep us younger brothers in submission?
We also have the right to live as people
Without your interference, as father ordered.

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 23 December 1968.

9. Regarding Publication of one Poem

The Ukrainian communist leaders were embarrassed and compromised by the publication of the poem, especially in the eyes of the Soviet authorities in Moscow. They hurriedly published the following explanation. Sribniak became completely alienated, stopped writing for the Ukrainian pro-communist press and left the ranks of the AUUC. The author of the poem, who went to the heart of the problem in Ukraine and condemned Russian hegemony, was complimented in letters from some readers.

On 23 December last year, a poem by Mykhailo Sribniak, *Do brata* [To My Brother], was published in *Zhyttia i Slovo*. This poem evoked a reaction from a section of our readers; some read it literally, others saw an allegory in it; some praised it, others condemned it.

The very fact that the poem provoked such a reaction among our readers indicates, in our opinion, that it was a mistake to publish it in *Zhyttia i Slovo*.

The editorial board of *Zhyttia i Slovo* hereby declares that a month before the publication of this poem, Mykhailo Sribniak brought a similar version to the editorial office. However, after reading it, co-worker of *Zhyttia i Slovo*, Petro Kravchuk, did not accept it for publication because it was not suitable

for our paper because of its form, and more so, because of its content. Mykhailo Sribniak, as it now appears, altered somewhat the poem in question and presented it to Mykola Chachkowsky.*

In connection with the publication of the poem, *Do brata*, several readers sent letters (complimentary and critical) which they wished to have published in the paper. After this explanation the editorial board considers it neither expedient nor beneficial to unfold a controversy around this question on the pages of the paper.

The editorial board categorically declares that, in the light of the above explanation, it was an error to publish the poem in question.

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 27 January 1969.

10. Convincing Documents

Perhaps the most serious single dissenter in the ranks of the AUUC was John Kolasky, a former teacher who had been sent to the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine by the party and the AUUC for political training. After his return in 1965 he condemned Soviet nationality policy in Ukraine in a book entitled Education in Soviet Ukraine, which was published in 1968 (see review, pp. 337-40). This was followed in 1970 by a second book, Two Years in Soviet Ukraine. The weekly Ukrainskyi Holos wrote an editorial which greatly irritated Krawchuk and prompted him to write a scurrilous attack on the paper, the editor and the author of the book. Both articles follow below.

Even the most determined Ukrainian communist in Canada, including Krawchuk himself, cannot read the new book by John Kolasky, *Two Years in Soviet Ukraine*, without a feeling of deep indignation and anger against those Moscow satraps who conduct the Russification policies in Ukraine if there remains in him the tiniest bit of national honour and dignity.

Kolasky has not really uncovered anything sensational. It was generally known that Moscow is endeavouring to Russify the non-Russian nations and to achieve "the merging of nations," obviously merging with the Russian nation. But Kolasky deserves credit because during his stay in Ukraine he collected numerous documents which confirm beyond all doubt that in the "SOVEREIGN" Ukrainian SSR there is no sovereignty, that the Ukrainian language is not the state language there, that it is discriminated, that it is being ousted from the Kiev ministries and various institutions by the Russian language. . . .

* A member of the editorial staff of *Zhyttia i Slovo*.

Every honest communist who picks up Kolasky's book and reads it will see how the various Moscow-communist supporters have dishonestly and shamefully deceived him when they fed him the nonsense about the free development of the Ukrainian language and culture. . . .

There is no doubt that new rage and hatred will be showered on Kolasky's head. . . . But this rage will be in vain because in Kolasky's book there are over twenty-five copies of various Soviet documents from Ukraine in Russian which should be in Ukrainian if the Ukrainian people had its own state.

Let us look at some of these documents. Here is one releasing the author from hospital—in Russian; a letter from the Kiev post office to the author—in Russian; tickets for the ferry and the bus—in Russian; the State Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR; the Melitopol Vorovsky Machine Building Works; the Union of Architects of the Ukrainian SSR and similarly with all other copies of documents.

Kolasky's book should open the eyes of the Ukrainian communists who blindly believed their leaders. It is not too late for them to return to their people to stand courageously in defense of the rights of their people on their own territory.

SOURCE: *Ukrainskyi Holos*, 17 June 1970.

11. My National Consciousness and Dignity is not your Business

Ukrainskyi Holos is one of the oldest nationalist papers in Canada. In addition to being an apologist for capitalism and a propagator of reactionary Ukrainian nationalism, it is known as a refuge for various renegades, especially those who left the Ukrainian labour-farmer movement. They scribbled for many years in the pages of this paper.

Although they opened whole pages in *Ukrainskyi Holos* for these "opuses" and expected that this would inflict great blows on the "Ukrainian Bolsheviks," they were greatly mistaken because all this scribbling was (and is) like throwing pebbles at a wall.

Ukrainskyi Holos not only attracts renegades, it also acclaims those who oppose the Ukrainian progressive movement, the communist ideology and the Soviet Union.

Ukrainskyi Holos is probably the greatest advertiser of the scribbling of John Kolasky. He and his "opuses" are seed on a manure pile for the blind chicken from *Ukrainskyi Holos*.

Well, let it rejoice over such a discovery because, as the saying goes, "tweedledee has met tweedledum."

Singing praises to John Kolasky and his latest "opus," a scribbler from *Ukrainskyi Holos* in an editorial, "Convincing Documents," began to dig his filthy claws into my national consciousness and dignity.

In reply to these scribblers I can say that I do not need a label from the Ukrainian nationalists as regards my national consciousness and dignity. As I have already written, it was formed and stabilized already in 1927-8; it never underwent any changes, although I was often subjected to provocations on the part of similar scribblers.

As regards Kolasky, he is neither my "advisor" nor "tutor." In his presence, before 300 people, I said what I thought of him and his conduct. After all, he even implies in his book that I asked him to leave the editorial offices after he returned to Canada, long before the appearance of his first "opus."

With respect to his second "opus," I can say that his justification of the criminal deeds of the UPA (pages 129-30) indicates his true colours.

Your "appeals" that members of the progressive organizations desert their ranks because John Kolasky has "enlightened" them are in vain. Neither the Stechishins, Lobays, Volynetses or Mykhailuks justified the hopes of the scribblers of *Ukrainskyi Holos*. The Kolaskys and other renegades will justify them even less.

As to my "national consciousness and dignity," it is not your business. Who, after all, gave you the right to issue "certificates" of national consciousness and dignity? You had better think of your own dignity. A paper which provided an orphanage for the organizers of the shameful and infamous SS Division "Galicia" has no right to speak of someone else's national consciousness and dignity. The authors of the articles under discussion should, first of all, consider their own dignity.

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 29 June 1970.

12. A Plan to Reorganize Globe Tours

After tourist travel arrangements were established between Canada and the USSR in 1959 the Ukrainian communist leaders organized a private company, Globe Tours, with branches in several cities, as the official representative of the Soviet travel agency, Intourist, and obtained a Soviet monopoly on all group travel from Canada to Ukraine. In 1971 the Policy Committee decided to reorganize and establish a new federal company in place of the provincially incorporated branches. The general manager and vice-president, Ray Dowhopoluk, and the branch managers met and proposed the following plan of reorganization.

GLOBE TOURS—1066 BLOOR STREET WEST—TORONTO
173—ONTARIO

25 June 1971.

To all Members of the Policy Committee

Dear Friends:

On the 16-17-18 of this month, a meeting of branch managers took place in Toronto for the purpose of discussing a business program for our company for 1972. . . .

I briefly reported to this meeting the decision of our Policy Committee taken on 4th June to close off the financial books of this Company August 31 of this year, sell *Ukrainska Knyha* to the Winnipeg shareholders in this Company and establish a new Federal Company for the purpose of carrying on with the present travel business. . . .

All the managers felt that now is the time to make decisive moves, decisions and advance ideas which can be implemented during the process of reorganization of the Company that would strengthen the Company in terms of Executive, administrative and sales personnel. . . .

For example: the president, 1st vice-president, 2nd vice-president, secretary and treasurer should be active participants in the business and assume direct responsibility for the administrative aspect of the company and constitute the policy making body for the new company.

The meeting immediately acknowledged that such goals can only be realized if the present branch managers and certain other qualified personnel establish the base of owners of the new company. Otherwise they cannot be considered for such functions if their role in the new company will be that of faded administrative partners. . . .

It seems that manager-owners with no hang ups in "the drive for productivity" are treated much more seriously and in a businesslike fashion and they carry much more weight behind their actions, decisions and proposals. This is a much needed ingredient in the growth and development of the individual and the company. . . .

Concretely these discussions could be summed up as follows:

1. The present branch managers and select qualified personnel establish sole ownership of the new company.
2. As long as this company exists it shall meet all its commitments for which it was set up.
3. In addition to the above, the company shall also assume full responsibility to provide wages for certain individuals presently associated with the company. We have in mind such people as Mike Mokry, Peter Prokop and others.*

We should not become either deaf or indifferent to these suggestions. Indeed, we should treat them very seriously and proceed to translate them into action before any final decisive legal steps are taken to finalize the formation

* Mike Mokry was the provincial secretary of the AUUC in Manitoba; Peter Prokopchak was the national secretary of the AUUC.

of the new company. Both logic and facts clearly call for full support of these proposals.

Hoping for your immediate attention, I remain,
Yours very truly,
R. Dowhopoluk.

SOURCE: Copies of the letter were sent to officials of Globe Tours. A copy is in the possession of the compiler of this collection.

13. In Reply to Questions Regarding a Tourist Agency

The proposals were as follows: the Ukrainian communist leaders—A. Bilecki, P. Prokop, S. Ziniuk, J. Chitrenky, G. Solomon, P. Krawchuk and others—should give up a lucrative Soviet monopoly to those actively involved in conducting the business of the company. The reaction of the owners was the immediate dismissal of the general manager, R. Dowhopoluk. The branch managers and the staffs then resigned, joined rival travel agencies, among them Travel Unlimited, and took most of the business from Globe Tours. This caused considerable confusion in the ranks of the AUUC (since those involved were members) and resulted in a statement in the Ukrainian pro-communist press.

People turn to our agency, *Globe Tours*, inquiring whether we have any connection with the tourist agency, *Travel Unlimited* in Vancouver and Winnipeg, where former employees of *Globe Tours* have gone to work.

We reply: Our tourist agency, *Globe Tours*, has absolutely no connection with *Travel Unlimited* nor with its employees who have willfully left us and are now working in *Travel Unlimited* which is the business name of the *China Travel Service*....

Globe Tours,
A. Bilecki, president.

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 24 April 1972.

14. Communist Party Member Expelled

The former manager of the Vancouver branch of Globe Tours, Jerry Shak, a party and AUUC member who organized Travel Unlimited, was brought before a party tribunal whose verdict was published in the party press.

The B.C. Provincial Executive of the Communist Party announced confirmation this week of the expulsion of Jerry Shak by the Bill Bennett Club on charges of uncommunist, anti-party, anti-working class activities.

SOURCE: *Pacific Tribune*, 5 May 1972.

15. Statement on the Shevchenko Ensemble

In the meantime, another development in AUUC ranks gave clear indication of ferment, which added to the disillusionment of the membership and the further disintegration and decline of the AUUC. Toward the end of the 1960s friction began to evolve between the older national leaders of the AUUC and the cultural forces in Toronto led by Eugene Dolny, who had studied at the Kiev Conservatory in 1950-2. The members of the cultural group, called the Shevchenko Ensemble, which consisted of a male chorus, a string orchestra and a dance group, chafed under the domination and restrictions imposed on them by the AUUC leadership. The members decided that the Ensemble should become a separate entity independent of the AUUC. They wished to part on friendly terms; the leadership opposed any steps that would limit its control over the cultural groups. After prolonged discussions and negotiations on the issue, the matter was raised at an AUUC convention, which issued the following statement.

There is a need to clarify the position of the AUUC at this convention in regard to one of its former cultural groups in Toronto, the Shevchenko Ensemble, and to place this position on the record for the guidance of the association and our press in the country. Continuing discussions on this question, with respect to the Ensemble as a separate entity, can serve no further useful purpose and can only prove harmful to all attempts to arrive at some basis of understanding with the group in terms of our future relationships as two separate and distinct organizations with a common background and interests.

This was the intent of the resolution which was adopted at the last plenary sessions of the National Committee in 15-17 October 1971. The text of the resolution is as follows:

"Be it resolved: That this meeting of the National Committee of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians recognized the fact that the Toronto Shevchenko Ensemble has taken the decision to seek a charter* and to establish itself as a separate entity or organization; and be it further resolved: that in the light of this situation and in the interests of maintaining closest

* The Ensemble was incorporated in 1972. Five years later it purchased separate premises. In the meantime relations with the AUUC leadership were strained to the point of no return.

relationships between the AUUC and the Toronto Shevchenko Ensemble, this National Committee of the AUUC desires and urges discussions between responsible AUUC executive bodies and the Shevchenko Ensemble executive which could determine such relationships. . . . ”

The intention of the statement on the Shevchenko Ensemble is to achieve the maximum clarity possible. To this end we submit the following points of information and positions:

Around this issue there has been a protracted discussion. The essence of the question involved began to take form before the Ensemble's departure to Ukraine and became concretized early in 1971 on the basis of a written submission by the Ensemble executive.

The past NC and NEC could not, as this convention cannot, approve the actions of any AUUC group designed to establish itself as a separate entity; for the AUUC to take such a course would mean to open the door to possible dismemberment of the AUUC.

Neither can we accept the position that there is not ample room for growth and development within the AUUC. To do so would again raise the danger of AUUC disintegration.

The decision to gain an independent status was taken by the Shevchenko Ensemble on 5 and 6 July 1971 without, unfortunately, inviting the past NEC to express its point of view. The past NC, NEC and this convention accepts that position as a decision taken by an overwhelming majority of Ensemble participants. . . .

SOURCE: *Narady i Ukhvaly (Trydtsiat Druhoho Zizdu 2-5 bereznia, Toronto, 1972)*, 98-9.

16. Instead of Respect, Cheap Politics

The power and prestige of the AUUC were further undermined by new developments. The Ukrainian pro-communist movement produced several quite noted women leaders, among whom was Helen Weir (Wewursky). She was active in both the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations and the party and was sent to the Higher Party School of the CC of the CPSU. She seems to have become disillusioned after the invasion of Czechoslovakia and left the party. In the meantime she was awarded a medal by the Soviet Women's Committee. However, the CC of the CPC intervened to block the award, apparently because she had dropped out of the party. The attitude of the Ukrainian communist leaders also cooled toward her. Like so many others who had differences with the AUUC leadership, she joined the Shevchenko Ensemble. Her health began to fail and in July 1979 she died of cancer. At a memorial meeting on 6 September John Boyd spoke on behalf of her family of Helen's life and achievements. He directed some

critical remarks at the party and the AUUC leadership. Below are the latter's reactions and Boyd's reply.

On 6 September in the auditorium of the Central Technical School there was a memorial meeting sponsored by the Shevchenko Musical Guild in memory of Helen Weir. . . .

To complete and round out the addresses with a full outline of the life and activities of the deceased H. Weir, the chairman, E. Dolny, called on John Boyd, Helen's brother-in-law and director of publications of the executive committee of the Shevchenko Musical Guild. Having noted . . . with what "great enthusiasm" she greeted the transformation of the AUUC Shevchenko Ensemble . . . into an independently incorporated National Shevchenko Musical Ensemble Guild of Canada, he began to pour, as if out of a pail, swill of insinuations on the leadership of the AUUC, on the "establishment" (in his words) of the AUUC which did her wrong. . . . He wove in the events in Czechoslovakia, the marking of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin in 1970 and the medal which she is supposed to have received as an award from the Soviet Union but did not receive because "her former colleagues" interfered. He included in this a representative of the Soviet embassy and her exit from the party and some other wrongs.

In a word, John Boyd, spokesman for the executive of the guild, from which various gossip and insinuations have been spread against the CEC of the AUUC from the very first days of its separation from the AUUC, utilized the memorial meeting to wash his and the guild's dirty linen and, above all, to promote cheap politics directed to whitewashing his image and the image of his colleagues from the executive committee of the guild.

In 1977 the executive of the guild sponsored a public memorial (at that time still in the ULT, 300 Bathurst Street) for its member, Tony Kobylansky (Kay), an employee of Standard Printing, who died unexpectedly of a "heart attack." That memorial meeting was also utilized by John Boyd for insinuations against the leadership of the organization and the publishing firm as if it caused his death. . . .

National Executive Committee
Association of United Ukrainian Canadians
Toronto, Ont.
18 September 1979.

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 1 October 1979.

17. John Boyd's Reply to the NEC of the AUUC

27 December 1979.

To the members of the National Executive Committee,
Association of United Ukrainian Canadians,
Toronto, Ontario.

This is my somewhat belated response to at least some of the calumnies and calculated distortions of fact contained in your statement of 18 Sept. Belated, partly because I have been unusually busy during the past three months, but mainly because I debated for a long time whether to bother with a reply at all, convinced as I am that it will fall on deaf ears. I decided to do so regardless—for the record.

Although I anticipated a negative reaction to my eulogy to Helen Weir, I must say that I did not expect it would take the venomous and vituperative form it did, . . . however, I realized that it was symptomatic of the malaise that currently afflicts the AUUC leadership . . . let me comment on a few of the points dealt with in your statement:

1. Nobody suggested that insufficient tribute or lack of respect was paid by the AUUC and its press to Helen Weir after her death. What I (and others) were critical of was the attitude toward her *before* she died. I cannot begin to describe to you how bitter Helen felt about this attitude and in her final days in the hospital she expressed herself very vehemently about it. After all, it was common knowledge that she was terminally ill with cancer for over a year before she died. . . . Where was the friendship and respect shown her during all that time? She felt very hurt and bitter about it during those final weeks and days and it was because her family (her children and her sister) saw this that they wanted her feelings made known. And because I was witness to it also, I gladly agreed. . . .

Surely, when it was known that Helen was terminally ill, some sort of tribute could have been paid to her publicly while she was still alive. Failing that, at least some acknowledgement and appreciation could have been paid to her in person during her illness by some of the leading people with whom she had worked for so long—in a visit to the hospital, a letter, a card or even a phone call. Doing it after she was dead is not quite the same!

2. There was no suggestion that anyone from the AUUC leadership was instrumental in preventing Helen from getting that medal from the Soviet Union. That was directed quite clearly at her "former friends" in the CP leadership, who *did* intervene. Nor did I "add" the representative of the Soviet embassy. I simply stated the *fact* that the CEC member of the CP approached Helen "on behalf of the Soviet embassy." Which is true. He certainly did not ask her about it on his own behalf, for his own satisfaction. Obviously it is considered heresy or sacrilege by the CP's (and apparently by the AUUC's) leadership to suggest that Soviet government officials would or could ever act

(or fail to act) on some matter on the advice or recommendation of the CP leaders in Canada. Yet we all know that this was not the first time it happened—nor the last. But apparently we must not say it publicly, must we?

3. And speaking of the medal. . . . If Helen was so highly respected and her past contributions so highly valued by the AUUC leadership, why did not someone from the NEC intervene with the Soviet authorities (unofficially, if necessary) to find out why she was denied it? As Helen mentioned on more than one occasion, and repeated it during her final days in the hospital, "If I had been someone in the NEC of the AUUC who had received such a telegram and then failed to get the medal, you can be sure there would have been a lot of questions asked—in the embassy and elsewhere." In retrospect Helen was sorry she had not pursued the matter of the medal herself soon after it was denied her, but personal and business problems at that time prompted her to put it off. She had hoped some day to get to Moscow and enquire from the Soviet Women's Committee about the matter herself, even after she first had cancer, but her final bout of illness thwarted her plan. But she was very bitter that none of her one-time colleagues spoke up on her behalf and she personally asked her children and me to make sure that all her friends knew how she felt. Where and how was this to be done? Published in the *Canadian Tribune* or the *Ukrainian Canadian*, perhaps?

Incidentally, why in your statement do you refer to the medal "she is supposed to have received" rather than "was to have received." Was this calculated to still some doubt about it? To avoid any conclusion by readers across Canada (and even more so abroad) that the NEC was in any way confirming the fact that she had been awarded the medal but did not get it?

4. The same sort of innuendos and half truths abound throughout the statement. I did not "throw in" the events in Czechoslovakia and the celebration of the 100th anniversary of Lenin. I mentioned the former only in passing when I said that "In her heart and mind Helen remained a Communist to her dying day, even though she dropped her membership in the party some ten years before—soon after the tragic events in Czechoslovakia in 1968," and the latter when I referred to the medal, which was awarded "on the occasion of the centenary of Lenin's birth." (This, by the way, was the ploy used in the CP's statement—which did not even mention the medal. I had naively hoped that perhaps the AUUC leadership was above this kind of dishonesty.)

In your eagerness to identify with the CP's statement you also assert that my remarks were intended to "whitewash" myself (the CP used the term "refurbish his image"). Both statements make no sense whatsoever, even for your purpose of finding yet another means of slandering me. If I am out to "whitewash" myself or "refurbish my image," who am I doing it for? When and how was my image tarnished? From whose point of view? And how would my remarks have brightened or whitened it?

5. Another example where you calculatingly exploit the public's ignorance

of the facts is your reference to my eulogy at Tony Kay's funeral. I deliberately sent Peter Krawchuk the text of my remarks soon after the event to refute the same kind of distortions that were being circulated at that time. In spite of that your statement repeats them. In speaking of Tony's boundless energy right up to his final days, I said that

He did, of course, now and then, talk about his eventual retirement, but wasn't really ready for it. He was a man of too much energy to retire. So when a few weeks ago he was told he would have to retire from his job when he reached 65 this coming July, he took it quite hard. His mind, of course, told him he would have to accept it, but apparently his heart could not.

That older people get heart attacks on the eve of or soon after forced retirement is an established medical fact. Only someone carrying on a vendetta or with slander in mind could conclude from these remarks that I accused the AUUC of "causing his death!"

You also seek to brand me with evasiveness and irresponsibility by taking out of context and distorting my remarks that "I was told" and "I was so informed." The fact is that in each case I *was* told by the family what they wanted me to say. But this did not and does not mean or imply that I don't stand by what I said. On the contrary, I take full responsibility for what I said. I should add that what I said was considerably toned down from what I personally would like to have said had it been in other than a public place.

Yes, on all counts yours is a paranoid statement. But this is not surprising. It is born of the paranoia that characterizes the attitude of your committee (particularly three or four of its members) towards the Shevchenko Musical Ensemble and the Guild. The fact is that there really is no valid reason for the present impasse and inimical relations between the AUUC leadership and the Ensemble.

How did matters reach such an impasse? Clearly, when the Ensemble and its supporters voted by an overwhelming majority to become an independent body, and could not be convinced otherwise, that was the time when the AUUC leadership (no matter how they disagreed with it or did not like it) should have taken a sober, mature and objective attitude and accepted the reality of the situation, rather than say "they're all out of step except us." A change had taken place and the wise course would have been to accept that change and adapt to it. Had such a realistic and objective course been taken, a *modus vivendi* could have been worked out between the organizations. They could have existed separately as does the WBA and more recently the Senior Citizens Club in Toronto, and forms of co-operation could have been found and developed. Instead, a few individuals in the AUUC leadership (whose egos would not permit them to back down) stubbornly insisted on retaining control of the operation—or else. In so doing, they lost contact with several hundred

second- and third-generation Ukrainian Canadians in Toronto, Hamilton and the surrounding area. These several hundred people, by the way, were raised in the AUUC milieu and always had and continue to have a friendly attitude toward and great respect for the AUUC.

That is why it is an utter fabrication to say, as your statement does, that the Guild leadership, from its earliest days, has been the source of "various gossip and insinuations directed against the NEC, AUUC and the entire organization." This is simply not true. There were and are, of course, some sharp and bitter criticisms of individual members of the NEC by individual Guild members (which, incidentally, have been very much reciprocated). Even these were existent in the earlier days in only a mild form but have grown and developed chiefly as a result of the intransigence and hostile attitude of some of the NEC members towards the Ensemble and their stubborn insistence that the Ensemble must yield to their point of view. But there never was anything except the warmest feeling and respect for the AUUC as a whole and a continuing universal regret that close and friendly relations between the two organizations do not exist. For a long time I personally had tried to get both sides to reach some sort of compromise agreement but it eventually became obvious that as far as some influential NEC members were concerned it was "knuckle under" or else.

This stubbornness and intransigence by a few NEC members gradually developed into hostility and eventually into a paranoid attitude. They could not transmit this hostility to all the rank-and-file members here in Toronto, Hamilton and the surrounding area where the work of the Ensemble can be seen first-hand, but they did succeed in alienating the members in Western Canada by misrepresenting and distorting the aims and purposes and work of the Ensemble—much as has been done in your statement about the memorial meeting for Helen Weir. This hostility has been built up to a point where a provincial secretary of the AUUC could tell a member of the Ensemble (an old acquaintance from away back) that "you're all a bunch of CIA agents!" And the wife of an NEC member told Helen Weir to her face that "you people (in the Ensemble) are worse than the Ukrainian nationalists!" Another person closely associated with the leadership, speaking of Helen, was quoted as saying, "She is not the same person ever since she went to the Party school in Moscow." (Which was not taken kindly by Helen when she heard of it, I can tell you.)

All this, I repeat, stems from the fact that a few individuals in the NEC insisted (and continue to insist) that only *their* way is right. Any suggestions, of course, that perhaps there could be another way are unacceptable. Just as any serious challenge or criticism of a chosen policy of the AUUC leadership becomes heresy. (When, for example, was the last time that "Life and Word" or the "UC" carried a letter to the editor critical of an AUUC policy or of something written in the paper?) This attitude has been, and still is, all too

prevalent in the Soviet Union, in most Communist Parties (including Canada's) and has spilled over into many of the organizations in which CP members play the leading role. It is reflected in the CP's statement about the memorial meeting to Helen Weir, wherein my remarks, by some convoluted logic, are branded as anti-Soviet, anti-Party and even anti-working-class! Viewed historically this style or method of leadership is nothing new. It has developed and has become characteristic of the Communist movement over the past few decades and all of us at one time or another were (and some still are) guilty of practising it. It is a continuation—in milder form, of course—of the methods used by our one-time idol, "Uncle Joe," who had the "advantage" of dealing with those who disagreed with him (even mildly) not only by denouncing them but by eliminating them physically. Eventually he too became paranoid about anyone who did not accept his way. This is the logic of such an attitude.

While I, too, was once a practitioner (and sometimes a victim) of this method of "leadership," when I was a part of the "establishment" (by the way, why are you people so afraid of that term?) I am happy to say, as did Helen Weir, that I stopped being a docile conformist some time back. Perhaps that is why I, like Helen, was for a time not fully accepted as part of the "establishment" and eventually not at all. I think it wasn't at all accidental that after my return from Prague I was never invited officially by any AUUC body—not even once—to discuss what kind of a role, if any, I might play somewhere in the Ukrainian movement, after having served in it for most of my life. Of course, I surmised that the fact that I had dropped my membership in the Communist Party might have had something to do with it. Theoretically, I know it ought not matter, but there is the practical side to consider, for it could at times prove to be embarrassing. After all, how many ex-members of the Party are there in the AUUC leadership? (Helen, too, was convinced that her dropping out of the CP had much to do with the changed attitude towards her—why there wasn't the same warmth and sincerity—and the reason why nobody took the trouble to intervene on her behalf about the medal. In this she probably had a point.)

Despite these attitudes, throughout the 10 years since I returned from Prague, I retained my membership in the AUUC with at least some equanimity and satisfaction, in earlier years even with some hope that eventually it might develop into something more substantial, until—as in the case of many other members—the unreasonable and hostile attitude towards the Ensemble and the Guild made my membership in the AUUC less than comfortable or pleasant. Now, with the publication of your abusive and defamatory statement I find my membership in the AUUC no longer compatible either with my principles or my sense of personal dignity. And so, after being in the AUUC and its predecessors for 53 years (I joined the Youth Section of the ULFTA in 1926 at age 13), a good many of those years in the leadership (I became national secretary of the Youth Section in 1931), I have decided to discontinue my

membership.

All of the above is solely by way of setting out some of my views and feelings on record. Because I do not believe that with the attitude currently prevalent in your committee a dialogue that would lead to anything fruitful is possible. I am not at all interested in receiving a reply.

With fond memories of one-time mutual respect and of pleasant associations in days gone by, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

John Boyd.

cc.: To members of the CC and other former colleagues.

SOURCE: University of Toronto Archives. Not catalogued at the time the document was consulted.

18. Just Another Case of Provocation

In 1973 the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations received a grant from the Citizenship Branch of the Secretary of State toward the publication of a history of their movement, which was to be completed by 1975. It had not appeared by 1979, when a history of this same movement by the present writer was published (see p. 394). Its appearance placed the communist leaders in a rather embarrassing predicament. Not only did it portray the Ukrainian communist leaders in somewhat unalluring colours, but it raised aspects of the history of the Ukrainian pro-communist movement that the leaders would rather forget. Any subsequent work on the history of this movement could hardly ignore the issues raised. Their reaction appeared in a vituperative attack on the author in their press.

History has fixed on its pages the facts about the way in which, in different countries of the world, saboteurs have wormed their way into the ranks of the workers' and progressive movements to undermine and destroy them from within. In the main, these were provocateurs who outwardly declared their "revolutionariness," their "loyalty" to the noble ideas of those movements. They did so to gain the trust of the members and to attain leading positions, so that later their acts of sabotage would be more venomous, more serious.

The Canadian movement too has known examples of such acts of sabotage by the likes of Esselwein, Hladun, Sullivan and McManus.

The Ukrainian progressive movement in Canada, which dates its beginnings from 1906, has also known quite a few saboteurs who tried by various means, often the most disgusting and dirtiest, to destroy it or at least seriously to undermine it. The graves of those saboteurs have long been overgrown with weeds, but the Ukrainian progressive movement lives on, develops, carries on great community and cultural-educational activity for the benefit of Canada

and its people.

There are different categories of saboteur in the workers' and progressive movements—those who are sent by the authority of the wealthy and police administrations (paid agents), or those who through personal ambition degenerate into destroyers of that which they themselves at one time initiated and built. The latter, having set out on the path of the saboteur, methodically changed from malcontents into mortal enemies, informers and police agents. Very often such types, being in the leadership of the workers' or progressive organizations, adopted provocative methods, very often under the guise of "revolutionariness," to discredit their aims and programs.

For example, one of the initiators of the Ukrainian socialist movement in Canada, Pavlo Krat [Paul Crath], did not stint on the vilest epithets for his enemies in his speeches. He took off his shoes and struck the portrait of the Russian tsar with them. Later, however, when he became a renegade and a Presbyterian preacher, he concocted filthy slanders against the Ukrainian progressive movement. . . .

Thus Pavlo Krat was the first who took the way of the saboteur. . . . Later he was followed by Vasyl Holovatsky, Myroslav Stechyshyn and Danilo Lobai with Toma Kobzey. These were those who at different times occupied responsible positions in the Ukrainian progressive movement and its press. Later they all became either overt police informers or police witnesses. They all rolled into the nationalist filth.

But in the Ukrainian progressive movement there have also been saboteurs of a lesser calibre, though equally as vile as those who had held responsible positions. Let us at least recall Vaskan, Tatko, Kushnir, Kozlovsky, Stotsky, Ivanyshyn and Mikhailiuk. There were even lesser ones than that, for the labour movement is not ensured against the eventuality that spies, provocateurs, informers and the ambitious worm their way, or be sent, into its ranks. . . .

That is why no "sensation" was caused when the name of John Kolasky, a former member of the Communist Party of Canada and the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, appeared in the skyline of renegades, saboteurs and the ambitious. In brief, one more person was added to the list of saboteurs in the Ukrainian progressive movement.

Though he came from a working-class family, as is known, Kolasky in his student years whirled about in a pro-nationalist environment in Western Canada (Saskatoon), was fascinated by Drahomanov's ideas and grew close to the organization, "Defense of Ukraine," which was then headed by Myroslav Sichinsky.

During the Second World War, when Sichinsky took a position for friendly relations with the Soviet Union, Kolasky too changed his signposts. He joined the Ukrainian progressive movement, and in the same period joined the Communist Party of Canada, in which he began to show "uncommon activity,"

especially in the distribution of communist literature. He was "filled" with communist ideas to the point of fanaticism. It was often necessary to warn him that with his fanaticism he was discrediting communist ideas and antagonizing people, but he was intractable.

He very much wanted to "deepen" his socio-political knowledge, so he decided to go to Kiev to study as a scholarship student with the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. But he often skipped classes and disappeared from Kiev, surfacing now in Lviv, now in Odessa,* and established contacts with the dissatisfied elements, so-called dissidents, who like himself, rolled into the nationalist filth.

Having received various "sensational" materials from those malcontents, he tried to smuggle them out across the ocean, using for this purpose innocent, honest people who were thereby caused embarrassment when they crossed the Soviet border. He asked them to take "souvenirs" to Canada for his relatives and friends, into which he sealed those "dissident" materials from the likes of Karavansky.

Understandably, for this he was brought in for questioning before the responsible Soviet authorities, during which he probably named† the people from whom he had gotten those materials. After that he was asked to quit the territory of Soviet Ukraine.

Upon returning to Canada, he began to seek "sympathy" among various honourable people, but they invited him to leave their homes or offices, because a person who behaved so improperly, who put innocent people in awkward positions and betrayed their trust, has earned no respect for himself. He was rejected like a dirty rag by the Ukrainian progressive movement.

Joseph Holosko, who led a delegation of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians to Soviet Ukraine, and to whom Kolasky gave "souvenirs" with "dissident" materials sealed inside to take to Canada, laid a charge against him for deception and betrayal of trust to the National Executive Committee of the AUUC. After examining the charge, the NEC of the AUUC decided at its meeting that his further presence in the ranks of that organization was incompatible with its aims and objectives.**

After that he began to let himself go. Interviews appeared in the arch-reactionary newspaper *The Telegram*. The nationalist papers welcomed him enthusiastically into their embrace, and began to devote entire pages to his slanders (UNO Melnykite *Novyi Shliakh* [The New Pathway]). True, the

* A foreign student could not "skip classes" nor could he "disappear from Kiev, surfacing now in Lviv, now in Odessa." A foreign student in Kiev was given an internal passport valid only in Kiev. He could only travel outside Kiev by special police permission.

† Neither the dissidents who have come to Canada from Ukraine nor those who are still in Ukraine have ever accused him of "naming" anyone.

** He returned to Canada in August 1965 but was expelled from the AUUC on 21 May 1968, two months after his first book, *Education in Soviet Ukraine*, was published and almost three years after returning from Ukraine.

Banderites took another, more cautious, position. The Banderite newspaper *Homin* (Echo) even warned against believing him because, it said, "He has been secretly sent."

But Kolasky began to strive for Banderite recognition and blessings. And after he put out his first anti-Soviet diatribe the Banderites greeted him with open arms, and what is more, at one banquet even seated him at the head table cheek to jowl with Stetsko, "Premier" of the comic-opera "government" which was announced in Lviv after the Hitlerites took the city in June, 1941. . . .

So, after Kolasky had sat beside Stetsko and his wife Slava, he became a "persona grata" in the eyes of the Banderites—their darling. They began to fuss over him, as they now fuss over Valentyn Moroz who, as a personality, is already eclipsing Kolasky. They took him into their armoury. Other nationalist groupings, though they did not withdraw from him entirely, treated him with some measure of aloofness.

After his first anti-Soviet book, a second appeared, and even a third (cheap jokes), for he had found wealthy "friends" who are not stingy when they can see political advantages for themselves.

And now, just recently, has appeared his fourth book—"The Shattered Illusion." He subtitled it "The History of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada." It was directed against the Ukrainian progressive movement, and especially against the people who lead it. Its goal is obvious—to undermine among the members and supporters faith in the Ukrainian progressive organizations, and especially their leaders. The method is not new. It is already timeworn. It was taken up by the Krats, Stechyshyns, Lobais, Kobzeys, Stotskys and Hladuns. . . .

Kolasky would have his readers understand that the Ukrainian progressive movement has become "disillusioned" with Soviet Ukraine (whence the title of this terrible book). . . .

In his vile "opus," Kolasky makes various insinuations, raises suspicions, and casts aspersions on individuals, particularly those who lead the Ukrainian progressive movement in Canada. He knows that the blackening of individuals is very readily accepted by the uncritical bourgeois public. Gossip spreads rapidly. Obviously he is counting on this.

But he expects too much of his foul slanders. His wealthy "patrons" also expect too much of them. The Ukrainian people have very wise sayings for such events: "Lies have short legs" and "You can travel around the world on lies, but you cannot return. . . ."

It is said that Kolasky, having written this diatribe, presented it as a dissertation for a scientific degree. Entirely justly, however, those who became acquainted with this scribbling rejected it as untalented writing unsuitable even for discussion by scientists. He wanted very much to publish it as a historical treatise in the hope that he would be awarded a doctorate for it. And he very much wants to show off a "title" among his Banderite, made-in-Munich,

doctors.

Why, the poor wretch has again been left without a "title," a common teacher. But perhaps he has not lost hope that the Munich "Free University" will, after all, grant him a "name," because it has done so for various nationalist libellers for even more despicable "dissertations."

In fact, ever greater numbers of researchers, particularly Ukrainian students, are becoming interested in the history of the Ukrainian progressive movement. Individual works (long articles and pamphlets) have already appeared on this topic, and though they do not always do so truly and accurately, nevertheless they try to fix its place in the history of the Canadian social and public life.

Such researchers consider facts, analyze them, and draw conclusions, though as has been said, not always successfully or correctly. One can argue reasonably with them. But with such as Kolasky and his scribblings it is unnecessary, and a waste of time, to argue. With slanders of the Kolasky sort, one does not enter into polemics—one exposes them and condemns them.

The history of the Ukrainian progressive movement will be written by authoritative people—extensively and objectively. It will reflect its periods of development and make a proper evaluation of its successes and the failures which were also part of its course. There were also serious errors, which were never covered up but, on the contrary, reported both in the progressive press and, particularly, in reports to national conventions. That history will also elucidate and document the efforts of various saboteurs-provocateurs, police agents, malcontents and self seekers to undermine and destroy the Ukrainian progressive movement. Among them, of course, Kolasky will find his spot.

In the book it will be shown that all these attacks, denunciations, police raids and bannings were unable to destroy this fortress which, through the years from 1906, thousands upon thousands of honest workers, farmers and intellectuals from sea to sea built with their physical work, intelligence and their generous contributions.

Every time there was an attack or a flood of slanders, their members and friends grouped themselves around their Ukrainian progressive organizations and defended them against the vicious scoundrels. That alone was, is and will be the strength of the Ukrainian progressive movement in Canada.

SOURCE: The Ukrainian Canadian, November 1979.

Chapter 41. International Events II

There were even fewer editorial comments on international affairs in the Ukrainian pro-communist press after the Second World War. Those that appeared were generally translations from the Soviet or other press services. Below are some of the original, more interesting and significant editorials, comments and reports that appeared.

1. Tito is a Franco

On 28 June 1948 the Yugoslav Communist Party was expelled from the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau), a co-ordinating body of the leading communist parties of Europe formed in September 1947. A campaign of vilification of Tito by the communists ensued. The Ukrainian pro-communist press joined the attack with the following editorial.

For a long time the fascist, Broz-Tito, tried to hide his betrayal. He even declared himself "the only real communist." Out of practical considerations his American masters also spoke of Tito as if he was a "communist." They hoped that as a result of such "tactics," that is to say, be "communists" but be against the Soviet Union, other communists, especially in the Far East, would follow.

But the tactics of the imperialists failed miserably. Communists throughout the world knew very well that he who went into the service of Wall Street cannot be a communist, but can only be a traitor.

Meantime Wall Street gave the "communist" Tito, millions of dollars. Tito, meanwhile, allowed the American imperialists to build military bases in Yugoslavia for an attack on the USSR.

In time the Washington masters of Tito ordered him to remove the mask and take an open stand on the side of imperialism. And Tito hurried to carry out the order. Having released all war criminals (about 12,000) and jailed an appropriate number of Yugoslav patriots, the fascist, Tito, openly declared that his "friends" are the western imperialists and his enemies—the Soviet Union, People's China, the people's democracies of Europe, Korea and all the peoples of Asia who are fighting for freedom.

Is it necessary to provide proof that Tito is a fascist dictator and hangman, the Francisco Franco of Yugoslavia? Can these satraps of the new pretenders to world hegemony, Tito and Franco, end up otherwise than ended up their ideological parents, Hitler and Mussolini?

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 11 January 1951.

2. Enemies of the People Sentenced

When a number of prominent party and state functionaries in Czechoslovakia were sentenced, some to death, a Ukrainian pro-communist editor accepted the reported "confessions," as he had always done in such cases, and underlined that most of the accused were Jews.

On Thursday, 27 November, the Czechoslovak court in Prague examined the case of fourteen conspirators and traitors of the people and the state and sentenced eleven to death and three to life imprisonment.

Sentenced to death are Rudolph Slansky, a former general secretary of the party and Vlado Clementis, the former minister of foreign affairs. . . . Among those sentenced to death, only three, Clementis, Swab and Frank, are not Jews. . . .

Slansky announced at the trial that he was "a person with a double political face," served the enemies for twenty-five years and "in fact had never been a communist."

Clementis . . . announced that he "had always been a reactionary" and a conspirator and, together with Slansky, an agent of John Foster Dulles.

Geminder, Gaidza and Simon spied and conspired. Fresko admitted that he hindered the programme of expanding heavy industry. Margolius and Fishl plundered the Czech economy and commerce. Sling admitted to conspiracy, espionage, sabotage and treason. Loebel sold Czech products to Western countries for less than to the Soviet Union. General Reisin admitted that he placed Zionist agents in high posts and delivered military information to American agents.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 3 December 1952.

3. AUUC Condemns Dief's Slanders

When Prime Minister John Diefenbaker raised the question of the colonial status of Ukraine in the United Nations Assembly on 26 September 1960, the NEC of the AUUC condemned his stand in a letter to him.

Right Honourable Sir:

As Canadians of Ukrainian descent, we are especially concerned with your propaganda attack on the country of our people's origin. Your propaganda label of colonialism against Ukraine, which is a sovereign state and a fellow charter member with Canada of the United Nations Organization, and your implication of the need for so-called liberation of Ukraine, not only misrepresents the facts of history in this case, but serves to perpetuate a dangerous and completely irresponsible cold war slander. . . .

The propaganda of Ukrainian "freedom" and "liberation" which you echoed in the UN General Assembly, is the invention of a small and irresponsible element in this country—not a few of whom were Nazi collaborators in the Second World War—and who dream of counter-revolution in their old homeland by means of foreign military intervention.

The Canadian people have no quarrel with Ukraine, and they respect the right of the Ukrainian people, as they do of all others, to choose their own way of life.

Your speech reflected the exactly opposite position. The cause of peace cannot be served by raising the false issues of Ukrainian "colonialism" and "liberation", the only purpose of which is to foment and encourage futile cold war propaganda and a climate of hostility to another people. . . .

SOURCE: *The Ukrainian Canadian*, 15 October 1960.

4. The Closing of Berlin's Borders

Large numbers of Germans were fleeing from East to West Germany. In July 1961 alone the number was estimated at 30,000. To stop this flow, the East German authorities sealed the border between East and West Berlin on 13 August and began construction of the Berlin Wall. A Ukrainian communist editor undertook to explain the action.

The government of East Germany, the German Democratic Republic, halted on 13 August the free uncontrolled crossing from East Berlin to West Berlin and vice versa, and by this placed a significant obstacle in the penetration of various criminal elements, subversives and saboteurs from West to East Berlin for various acts of sabotage.

Various subversive acts of West German agents and saboteurs... were calculated to weaken the country, to make it an easier prey for German militarists and revanchists from West Germany, and then to prepare the ground for a further advance against other socialist countries. Thus the halting of uncontrolled crossing from West to East Berlin, and with it to East Germany and to other socialist countries is a blow against the plans of the German instigators of war. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Slovo*, 23 August 1961.

5. Democratization

The year 1968 began in Europe with a growing ferment and long-suppressed revolt, especially by intellectuals and the younger generation which had grown up under communist rule. In Czechoslovakia it resulted in the introduction of liberal reforms after Antonin Novotny, a hated Stalinist, was replaced by Aleksander Dubček as first secretary of the Communist Party. The Ukrainian communist leaders in Canada welcomed the changes and the pro-communist press hailed the new course.

Lately a very rapid process of democratization of all aspects of life has been proceeding in Czechoslovakia under a new party leadership. A. Novotny, who was earlier removed from the post of general secretary of the Communist Party on the demand of party committees, has also been removed from the post of president of Czechoslovakia. The "hardline" leaders (they call them Stalinists) are being ousted or they resign.

There is a demand to end censorship. In addition there is a demand that parliament become the highest legislative body with the power to oust a government if it loses the confidence of parliament. There is also a demand to revive the socialist (not class) opposition in parliament since the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is composed of two parties—the communist and the socialist.

It appears that of all socialist countries, democratization of all aspects of life is proceeding most rapidly in Czechoslovakia.

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 1 April 1968.

6. Normalization in Czechoslovakia

The invasion of Czechoslovakia shocked the Ukrainian communist leaders. The Soviet-Czech treaty of 16 October 1968, by which the Warsaw Pact troops were to be withdrawn and normal conditions restored, left them unconvinced of the correctness of Soviet policies toward Czechoslovakia. However, they did not wish to antagonize the Soviet authorities. Consequently they were very careful about expressing their dissatisfaction, as is clear in the following editorial.

Since 20 August of this year, when the armed forces of five countries of the Warsaw Pact entered Czechoslovakia, the progressive community of the world has been disturbed by a number of questions to which some give one answer and others another. The most important are the following:

Was a counter-revolutionary situation created in Czechoslovakia as a result of the post-January reforms and was the intrusion of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact countries justified?

What is meant by the term "normalization of the situation" in Czechoslovakia?

As to the first question, some declare that in Czechoslovakia a counter-revolutionary situation had really developed which became a direct threat to the socialist order and consequently, intervention by the Warsaw Pact countries was fully justified because there was no alternative to save socialism in Czechoslovakia. Others declare that although anti-socialist and anti-Soviet elements became active there and seized the means of mass communication (press, radio, TV) and developed a campaign of "moral terror" against the party leadership, the party and other socialist countries, there was no revolutionary situation in the "classical sense" (armed uprising as in Hungary in 1956). There was an abnormal situation but the reforms were carried out under the leadership of the party which numbered 1,600,000 members and which had well-organized armed forces and a trade-union movement with 5 million members.

The question arises: why did the party not use this force to quell the clearly anti-socialist counter-revolutionary elements?

There is another opinion on Czechoslovakia. There was really a counter-revolutionary situation in Czechoslovakia, but of a special type, unknown in the history of the working class, of moral terror against the party leadership, against the party itself and against the socialist system. If the party had used all its forces for the quelling of the anti-socialist elements, intervention would not have been necessary.

Someone is to blame that abnormal conditions were created in Czechoslovakia and should pay for this. Someone is even more to blame that after 20 August Czechoslovak events led to the splitting of the international communist movement creating the possibility for enemies to unfold a most

violently slanderous campaign against the USSR and all socialist countries.

As to the second question, the normalization of the situation in Czechoslovakia can only mean the strengthening of the leading role of the party, the consolidation of the socialist system and the quelling by force, if necessary, of all counter-revolutionary elements regardless of the mask under which they operated ("humanism," "democracy," etc.). Normalization also means the evacuation from Czechoslovakian territory of all forces of the Warsaw Pact countries—to the last man.

The situation in Czechoslovakia is being normalized. . . .

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 25 November 1968.

7. Luis Corvalan is Freed and has Arrived in Moscow

Although it was common knowledge that Luis Corvalan was exchanged for Vladimir Bukovsky, a Russian dissident confined to prisons and forced-labour camps, the Ukrainian communist editors did not hesitate to publish the following Soviet radio report on the release of Corvalan.

The General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, Luis Corvalan, was released on 17 December by the authorities in Chile through the pressure of public opinion. He was deported from the country and the Soviet government provided the leader of the Chilean communists the opportunity to come to the Soviet Union. . . .

Luis Corvalan, an outstanding leader of the international communist movement, was unlawfully arrested and spent over three years in the prisons and concentration camps of the Chilean regime.

The nations of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, international organizations and the progressive community of the world organized a broad movement of solidarity with the Chilean democrats. The release of Luis Corvalan is an important victory for the democratic forces of the world.

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 27 December 1976.

8. Court Cases in the USSR

On 15 March 1977 the mathematician and computer scientist Anatoly Shcharansky, a leading Jewish activist, was arrested in Moscow. Shcharansky, who was quite fluent in English, was a member of the Helsinki Monitoring Group, had acted on behalf of others and had spoken to foreign journalists on Jewish activities. He was held incommunicado

until 10 July 1978, when he was tried and sentenced. On 11 February 1986 he was exchanged for Soviet and other nationals who were serving sentences for espionage in the West. The Ukrainian pro-communist paper, which did not comment on arrests or imprisonment of dissidents in the USSR, reprinted the following Soviet radio broadcast on Shcharansky.

The Supreme Court of the Russian Federation sentenced Anatoly Shcharansky to thirteen years imprisonment for espionage and anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

He worked for one of the Western intelligence services. He passed to agents information on defence industries and letters which were sent abroad through diplomatic mail.

Shcharansky fabricated malicious libels in which he slandered the Soviet system. He wrote slanderous letters and statements, signing them with the names of people who were unaware of it.

Shcharansky received generous financial rewards from abroad. . . .

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 24 July 1978.

9. An Open Letter to Lech

When Lech Walesa, the leader of Solidarity, the Polish workers' opposition movement, received the Nobel Peace Prize, he donated the money to the church to be used for assistance to agriculture and the gold medal to the Museum of the Holy Virgin in Czestochowa. The Ukrainian pro-communist paper, avowedly a workers' organ, published the following open letter to Lech Walesa.

Dear Lech: I am writing an open letter not because of malice but because I have nothing to hide. Besides, no one reads a personal letter except the RCMP.

I like you for at least one thing—you are open. You frankly announced when you were a guest of your countryman, John-Paul II, that during your life you had not read even one book. Not every person can boast so openly.

You also openly announced that you like Reagan, and especially his smile (Americans call it a sneer and not a smile). Not every person can express his deep emotions so openly. You and Reagan have one common characteristic—you both like strikes in Poland.

Not long after your release from internment you sent a letter of thanks to your supporters in West Germany in which you openly announced that Germans and Poles both know of the horrors of war. Not every person can reveal so openly such mocking ignorance.

Lech, do you not know that it was the Hitler barbarians that caused those horrors when they seized Poland, and England and France refused to come to

her aid? It is true, you have not read even one book, but perhaps you have heard from someone how the German fascists mistreated the Polish people, the cruelties they perpetrated in Poland. Or perhaps you have not heard of Buchenwald, Auschwitz, Katyn?

You know Lech, when I think of you, I am reminded of another "hero" who attacked his country. When he came to the U.S.A he also openly announced that America fought on the wrong side in the last world war. His announcement was his payment for the Nobel prize. But Solzhenitsyn not only read books, he also wrote them. In his opinion Hitler was right (for this line they placed over 3.5 million dollars in a Swiss bank). Since your line coincides with his, tell us openly whether there are not any pennies at your disposal in one of the Bonn banks.

It was interesting to note how you again refused to reply to the question: Where did the money disappear from the cash box of *Solidarity*? I knew you would not allow yourself to be caught in embarrassing admissions. You certainly reached some practical conclusions after you spoke openly of your plans to overthrow the government at a secret meeting of *Solidarity*.

One more thing, Lech. Do you know what is the easiest way to get your job back? Apply to your friend, Reagan. He will immediately raise this question as a matter of human rights. The fact that there are over 12 million unemployed in the United States will not matter. I think Trudeau will support him. Only do not make a mistake, Lech. When you apply to Reagan do not mention the 12,000 flight dispatchers in the airports of the U.S.A. whom he dismissed from work and denied government employment for life because they went on strike.

You know, Lech, Reagan is also open. I am certain he will declare a trade embargo against Poland because you are unemployed. Only one thing can interfere. It is that debt of \$23 billion. A boycott can stop the repayment of this debt on time. If it was not for the cursed dollar, Reagan would also fight heroically for "human rights" in your case. In addition, not all his European partners like an embargo. This Reagan sport is not very popular in Europe.

I am ending my open letter, Lech, because I do not know how much you will be able to read. My advice to you—do not treat reading lightly.

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 14 February 1983.

10. And They Call this "Introducing Democracy" in Grenada

On 19 October 1983 Maurice Bishop, prime minister of the left-wing government in Grenada, an island in the Caribbean, was killed by hard-line Marxists who seized power. The coup was apparently masterminded by Russians and Cubans when Bishop began planning an election. The event caused considerable anxiety in the Caribbean

community. On 25 October, forces of the United States and six Caribbean nations invaded the island. They found 6 warehouses of Soviet arms and ammunition, 30 Soviet and 22 Cuban military advisors and a combat force of Cubans which resisted the invasion. The rebel leaders were arrested, the Cuban forces subdued and order restored. On 15 December the American troops withdrew from the island. A month after the withdrawal the Ukrainian pro-communist paper published the following news item.

The American aggressors are continuing their drive against the local progressive population. They are arresting people and incarcerating them in prisons. The Austrian paper, *Volksstimme*, reports this.

The leaders of the former Grenadian government are in prison; they are beaten; they are being grossly mistreated.

The American intruders, according to the article in *Volksstimme*, are unable to quell the opposition of the people. They are not successful in erasing from the memories of the people the period of progressive development of the country under the government of Maurice Bishop* and in finding the necessary number of traitors.

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 16 January 1984.

* It was precisely those who had killed Bishop that were arrested. A poll conducted by CBS News on 3 November revealed that the overwhelming majority of Grenadians welcomed the invasion.

Chapter 42. The Course of Decline

Signs of decline in the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations began to appear shortly after the end of the war when the euphoria generated by Soviet victories began to dissipate. The defection of Igor Gouzenko, the revelation of the spy network, the arrest and conviction of Fred Rose, the lone communist M.P., the cold war, the post-war economic prosperity, the relative security acquired by the mass of the membership, the influx of the displaced persons and the disillusionment of many with conditions in Soviet Ukraine were all contributing factors. The trend of decline was already quite apparent by the beginning of the 1950s.

1. Influence of Prosperity

In the struggle for the strengthening of our organization one should bear in mind those changes which have taken place in the social status of a significant section of our membership during the war and the post-war years regarding their prosperity. The changes are characterized by the improvement of the material status, in certain cases even significant improvements. This gave birth to quite a few illusions in the minds of a certain section of our membership, which divert them from organizational life and instead draw them to "something" else which is alien to their interests, although, evidently, they do not see this....

SOURCE: P. Prokopchak, *Za myr i prohres, na zakhyst kanadskoi nezalezhnosti* [For Peace and Progress, For the Defense of Canadian Independence], (Toronto: *Tovarystvo Obiednanykh Ukrainskykh Kanadtsiv*, 1954), 39.

2. General Internal Condition of the Organization

The general condition of the organization is characterized by the relative old age of the membership, and with this, naturally, a diminution of vigour, in certain cases even apathy, and from the point of view of energy, with smaller possibilities of carrying out tasks which face the organization. Our organization is good, stable and principled; it stands solidly on the progressive path chosen by itself from its very inception in 1918 of serving the people. But in recent years it has begun to feel a decline of energy and the dulling of ardour. . . .

The younger sector is not made up of large numbers and is organizationally weak. . . .

The gap in the numerical proportions . . . in the organization between these two sectors is a serious drawback in the development of our many-sided activities. Various "theories," complaints and even disappointments with the young generation and in some cases with the organization emerge. On the one hand there is a growing tendency to regard the younger generation as unsuited for the organization and, on the other hand, to regard the organization as unsuitable for the younger generation of Canadian-born. Among the latter some declare that the organization "has outlived itself" and is no longer suitable for the needs of "a Canadian." They say that it was suitable and is still perhaps suitable for the European-born, who "are more interested in Ukraine," but it does not suit the interests of the Canadian-born, who approach matters from a "Canadian point of view" and "are more interested in Canada. . . ."

With general changes . . . changes have also taken place in ourselves. We have also become different. . . . Our material condition, generally speaking, is not what it was; it is better. Here I do not have in mind the material condition of our organization, but the material condition of the membership and the mass among which we happen to work. That is fine. Not so good is the fact that some have become so engrossed in it that they have forgotten about the struggle that is being conducted and have lost touch with the movement which is fighting so that the old "hungry and cold times" may not return; that life not become more difficult but better; that there be peace among nations, mutual respect, mutual understanding and co-operation. . . .

SOURCE: P. Prokopchak, *Narady i Ukhvaly (Vosmoho Zizdu 23-26 sichnia 1958)*, 39-44.

3. The Economic Situation and Further Organizational Work

Basically, it is in order to affirm that just as in the conditions of life of the Canadian people... so in our organization great changes have taken place. The basis of these changes lie in the changes in the economic and political conditions of the country which Canada has experienced for about twenty years, mainly since the outbreak of the Second World War...

This pertains to the changes which have transpired in regard to the condition of our organization and its activities. But here we wish to indicate another aspect of this process, namely the economic changes of whole regions, the development of some and the decline of others, which has a relation to our organization. In connection with this... there was the migration of people, their flight, especially the youth, from farming localities to industrial cities, from coal mining areas... of Alberta, British Columbia and Nova Scotia, from the north, especially from cities and towns which were developing and thriving basically on the work of miners who mined gold, and those who worked in the lumber industries...

In these branches of industry workers of various nationalities were employed, but relatively speaking Ukrainians formed the largest group. Their transmigration and the flight of the youth from these localities had a serious effect on our organization. In some it ceased to exist completely, in some only a few members remained, in others, where there is a group of people, it is existing...

SOURCE: P. Prokop, *Narady i Ukhvaly (Desiatoho Zizdu 2-5 lypnia 1962)*, (Toronto, 1962), 67-8.

4. Decline in Enrollment

In the area of new membership enrollment since the last convention, we must report a serious slowdown in comparison to the period between the tenth and eleventh Conventions—this comparison shows a drop of over 50 per cent in the rate of influx of new members. And this drop took place all down the line encompassing all our branches and clubs from pioneers to children. A slowdown of the rate of enrollment in the Ukrainian-speaking section is understandable... however, and this is the alarming fact—the largest drops in the rate of recruitment occurred precisely there where the opposite should be the case—in the Youth Division, where we recorded 59 new members as compared to the 131 reported to our last convention; and in the Junior Section, where we gained 65 new members as compared to 266 previously.

Not only that—we have lost a number of Youth Clubs and potential Junior Clubs. In Lachine, Oshawa, Hamilton, Calgary and Vancouver our Youth

Clubs are, if functioning at all, having serious difficulties. And an important part of that big increase of 634 new members reported to our convention two years ago was made up of 266 new Junior members. In this figure of 266 we had 143 new Junior Section membership registrations in six new localities—six localities where we had no Junior Sections previous to the last convention and where we must report to you, we still do not have Junior Sections.

SOURCE: W. Harasym, *Narady i Ukhvaly (Dvanadtsiatoho Zizdu 19–23 bereznia 1966)*, 76–7.

5. The Organization's Declining Strength

When we consider the other side...namely *the matter of strengthening the organization*, we cannot boast of great success. During the Jubilee year...ninety-eight new members joined the AUUC. This number is twice as large as the number of new members in 1969, when forty-eight new members joined. Thus during the jubilee and last year nearly 150 new members joined the AUUC. This addition cannot be regarded as satisfactory. When it is compared with the trend of natural loss of members through death and, in certain individual cases, from causes of old age and illness and in other cases from unrevealed causes, then this addition does not justify the conclusion that the organization grew and became stronger. We cannot seriously speak of stabilization and balance. Rather it is correct to indicate a constant active tendency of imbalance against growth, in other words, against the numerical strengthening of the organization which, in turn, reveals a tendency to the physical weakening of the organization.

It is necessary to indicate that the tendency to the numerical decrease in our organization is not new.... We will also touch very briefly on a generally widespread uneasiness which is often expressed through questions such as:

How long will our organization continue to exist! What are its prospects or has it any prospects whatsoever for further work! Is it needed, and so on.

These questions exist in the ranks of the older as well as the younger generation....

In touching on this question it must be said that the general condition in this respect is not such as would make it possible to rejoice. In a number of localities there have been changes for the worse. The general result of these changes is such that in a number of branches even the lowered quotas for the organizational fund are not fulfilled. By the way, in spite of the increase in the costs of conducting organizational activities in conditions of existing inflation in the country, the general quotas in the campaigns both for the NEC and for the provincial committees were decreased.... With this we wish to make it

known that the general inflow of organizational funds in the campaigns for the work of the CEC and the provincial committees has diminished and there are no prospects for increasing them. . . .

SOURCE: P. Prokopchak, *Narady i Ukhvaly (Chotyrynadtsiatoho Zizdu 5-8 bereznia 1970)*, 45-6, 55-6.

6. RCMP Charge Five in \$100,000 Lottery

One of the problems facing the AUUC was financial. The association obtained part of the necessary funds to carry on its activities from annual organizational campaigns in which donations were solicited and from an annual lottery, for which tickets were sold by members throughout Canada. In 1964 the lottery was stopped through police intervention, increasing the financial problems of the association and hastening its decline.

A lottery investigation instigated by the RCMP has led to charges against five Toronto executives of a Ukrainian organization.

The lottery tickets were sold through chapters of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians from Vancouver to Montreal. They were printed in Toronto by the AUUC head office. Stubs seized by provincial police anti-gambling squad officers late last month represented sales of nearly \$100,000.

Charged under Section 179(1)(d) of the Criminal Code with managing a lottery are:

Michael Korol, 52, AUUC president; Peter Prokop, 60, secretary; Stanley Dobrowolsky, 47, recording secretary; William Harasym, 37, assistant secretary; and John Boychuk, 65, treasurer. Harasym and Boychuk are also charged with conducting a lottery.

The tickets offered five prizes. The top was a \$1,000 Canada Savings Bond or a trip to Europe. The fifth was a \$50 Canada Savings Bond. The tickets sold for 50 cents or three for \$1, and the AUUC netted \$5 on each book of 18 tickets sold.

The anti-gambling squad went into the investigation on a complaint from the RCMP.* Squad officers and Oakville police raided the Taras H. Shevchenko Museum and Memorial Park near Palermo after the draw was made 28 June and seized the tickets. . . .

SOURCE: *Globe and Mail*, 15 July 1964.

* According to unconfirmed reports the RCMP became aware of the raffle and took action after a member of the AUUC in Vancouver attempted to sell a ticket to a stranger who happened to be an RCMP officer.

7. Urgent Appeal for Funds

The report given at a meeting of all executives showed that we face a serious financial situation in payment of expenses of our cultural centre and activities. The council treasury is empty. Many unpaid bills. Tax alone is over \$6,000.

To the end of August we expect a maximum income from rents of \$3,000 while expenses will be over \$10,000. This means that an additional revenue of \$7,000 is urgently needed.

We are conducting an organizational fund campaign for this purpose and appeal for help. . . .

Toronto Council AUUC & WBA
300 Bathurst St., Toronto.

SOURCE: Copies of the *Appeal* were mailed to members in May 1970 by the Toronto branch of the AUUC.

8. Lack of Cadres in Ukrainian-speaking Branches

We cannot leave this part of our report without touching on a serious problem of the lack of executive and administrative cadres within our Ukrainian-speaking branches. This problem is brought on by advancing age and the limitations that come with this process. These branches, which make up four-fifths of our total membership, still constitute the financial and organizational base of our organization. . . .

SOURCE: William Harasym, *Narady i Ukhvaly (Trydtsiat Tretoho Zizdu Toronto 27-28 liutoho i 1-2 bereznia 1975)*, 41.

9. Dire Situation in British Columbia

Physical state of the organization in BC: functioning branches (Revelstoke, Vernon, Victoria, Haney, Richmond, New Westminster, Vancouver) men's, women's and English speaking, 2 branches lost since 32 convention (Beaconsfield, Port Alberni). Average age of membership—73–74. Composition of some branches is such that there are grave doubts that these branches will be around next convention (Haney, Revelstoke, Victoria). With the exception of English speaking branches, 3 members in New Westminster, 2 in Haney, a few in Vernon (no more than 30 altogether) all members are pensioners. This is a matter of grave concern to me and to those members of

the Provincial Executive who are aware of the situation* . . .

SOURCE: John Chitrenky, *ibid.*, 49.

10. Problems of the AUUC in Manitoba

Unfortunately many younger people come to practices of the dance group and the orchestra but when it comes to merging in the organizational life, a prejudice emerges.

In this organizationally uninformed sector, elements hostile to our movement and our organization are successful in conducting various campaigns against our organization and our leadership. They spread various false rumours that there are conflicts between the older and younger sectors causing us additional problems. And, in fact, these elements, in the absence of our leadership which is occupied with other organizational matters, carry on a campaign to separate our cultural forces and various groups where there are younger people, from the progressive labour movement. They spread ideas on behalf of some independent cultural activity which underestimate and doubt the need for our organization . . .

SOURCE: Mike Mokry, *ibid.*, 75.

11. AUUC Decline, 1950 to 1975

An indication of the extent and the rate of the decline can be gauged by comparing the statistics in the three documents below.

All together we have 111 halls. Nova Scotia—2; Quebec—2; Ontario—26; Manitoba—16; Saskatchewan—9; Alberta—51; British Columbia—5.

SOURCE: *Narady i Ukhvaly (Chetvertoho Zizdu 25–29 sichnia 1950)*, 68.

William Philipovych delivered the report of the credentials committee. He reported that 110 delegates from 39 localities (6 provinces) arrived for the convention. Represented were 63 branches, 15 men's, 16 women's, 24 general† and 8 English speaking . . .

* Reproduced from the original English as it was recorded in the convention report.

† The AUUC was organized into men's and women's branches where numbers warranted it. Where there were not enough members to form separate branches, there were general branches composed of both sexes. The English-speaking branches were also general branches, with one or two exceptions where the women had separate branches.

SOURCE: Narady i Ukhvaly (Trydsiat Druhoho Zizdu 2-5 bereznia 1975), 25.*

Betty Kysylevych delivered the final report in the name of the credentials committee. In the convention proceedings participated 120 delegates, of whom 109 have full voting rights, from 33 localities. The delegates represent 54 branches which include 19 general, 14 men's, 13 women's and 8 English speaking. . . .

SOURCE: Narady i Ukhvaly (Trydsiat Tretoho Zizdu 27-28 liutoho i 1-2 bereznia 1975), 23.

* The AUUC conventions had been numbered from the 1942 convention of the Association to Aid the Fatherland. However, in 1970 the procedure was changed. The numeration began from the first convention of the ULTA (later the ULFTA) in 1919. Since there were seventeen ULFTA conventions and the AUUC convention in 1970 was the fourteenth, it became, according to the new numeration, the thirty-second convention.

Chapter 43. The Ties that Bind

After they began travelling to the Soviet Union and came face to face with Soviet reality, many Ukrainian communist leaders became disillusioned with it. But disillusionment with what they saw was more than balanced by other factors that served to bind them to the Soviet Union. There were annual invitations to individual leaders and to "delegations" to visit the Soviet Union and other "socialist" countries to attend various events and anniversary celebrations or for holiday tours. All expenses were paid by the Soviet authorities from the moment such "delegates" set foot on the Soviet ship or plane in Montreal until they returned to Canada. Once they were in the USSR or in one of the satellite countries, all arrangements were looked after. They were introduced to important people, taken on tours and visits to places of interest, to theatres, operas and museums. The leaders received the kind of attention that is accorded only official representatives of foreign powers. One of the first such visits was made in 1946-7 by Weir and Shatulsky to the Slav Congress in Belgrade and from there to the Soviet Union.

1. A Great Congress in Belgrade

Belgrade, 3 December 1946. I have just returned from a ceremonial opening of the first post-war World All-Slav Congress and cannot write with ease. We sat with people whose exploits are already recorded in the history of mankind in golden letters. Together with them we participated in a great deed, a deed which puts into life a centuries-old dream of the Slav peoples, a deed which may be the greatest present guarantee for peace and happiness of all the people of the world for many generations—the fraternal union of the Slav peoples.

We forgot the boring journey from Paris to Trieste. . . . In Trieste a young Yugoslav captain awaited us. He took us under his protection to Yugoslav territory. . . . In a few hours we were in Ljubljana, the capital of the Slovenian People's Republic.

They did not forewarn us. Dirty, unshaven, tired, we began to descend from the coach. Shatulsky went first and seeing the mass of people, wanted to go back. It was the residents of Ljubljana who came out to greet us.

We descended and were greeted by Mayor Albrecht and representatives of the Slovenian government. We were surrounded by hundreds of residents who shook our hands, kissed us, uttering slogans in honour of Marshal Tito, Generalissimo Stalin, Slav brotherhood, friendship between Canada and Yugoslavia. They sang and both they and we were in tears.

Finally they tore us away from the throng and led us to a hotel where we washed, shaved and had breakfast. Then they took us to see the town, the museums, a large castle on a mountain from which Ljubljana can be seen as in a panorama. . . .

We loved the beautiful city and the comradeship of wonderful people. And then by sleeping car to Belgrade. . . .

At the station in Belgrade we were greeted by representatives of the government, the city, the Slav Committee and again so warmly, so sincerely. They took photographs, movies, interviews and then drove us to the hotel *Moskva* where we were immediately given luxurious rooms with baths. . . .

After dinner we met the great Ukrainian poet, Maksym Rylsky. We spoke with General Gondurov, with Metropolitan Nykolai, with people from all ends of the Slav lands. . . . And so one after another the great people of our epoch are transformed from names to flesh. We look at them and greet each other. . . .

And today is the festive opening of the All-Slav Congress. I cannot describe it. The name of Stalin evokes a thunderous ovation—how they love Stalin here, the Soviet Union, how they love, above all, the great Russian people. . . .

A great day is entered today into the pages of history, and we also participated in your name, dear friends in Canada.

John Weir.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 2 January 1947.

2. They have Left for Ukraine

In a special telegram from Belgrade, Yugoslavia, M. Shatulsky and J. Weir, delegates from the Ukrainian progressive organizations to the All-Slav Congress, reported:

The historic All-Slav Congress ended on 11 December. There were 20,000 people at an open air meeting to conclude the congress. The delegates toured Croatia and Slovenia. Everywhere they put on large receptions for us. Tonight we leave for Ukraine.

When our paper was going to press, we received a short letter from M. Shatulsky from Belgrade in which he wrote:

They gave us a reception which we could never have expected and which

will never be forgotten. At the state reception in the Officers' Building in Belgrade present were Marshal Tito, Marshal Tolbukhin, generals, men of science and the most outstanding figures of the Slav peoples.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 2 January 1947.

3. The Sojourn of Peter Krawchuk in Soviet Ukraine

One of the Ukrainian Canadian communist leaders who visited Ukraine almost annually during the last three decades was Peter Krawchuk, a member of the editorial staff of Ukrainske Zhyttia and later Zhyttia i Slovo. His first visit, which lasted nearly two years, began in October 1947. Below is an account by the Soviet Ukrainian news agency of Krawchuk's travels in Ukraine during that time.

Peter Krawchuk, correspondent of the progressive Ukrainian papers, *Ukrainske Zhyttia* and *Ukrainske Slovo*, who is now in the Ukrainian SSR, has completed a tour of the regions of Soviet Ukraine at the beginning of April. During his tour... Peter Krawchuk visited a number of industrial enterprises, collective and state farms, Machine and Tractor Stations, institutes, schools, theatres and museums and familiarized himself with the culture and everyday life in the cities and villages which he visited in Soviet Ukraine.

In Kharkiv P. Krawchuk visited the T.H. Shevchenko monument and the art gallery of T.H. Shevchenko's works, attended the T.H. Shevchenko Academic Theatre... and the Lysenko Opera and Ballet Theatre.

In Odessa P. Krawchuk visited the university and the T.H. Shevchenko city park.

In Lviv P. Krawchuk visited professors, lecturers and students of the Ivan Franko University and attended the... theatre.

In Kiev P. Krawchuk visited factories, children's schools, the T.H. Shevchenko University, attended the solemn opening of the T.H. Shevchenko Museum, had an interview with M.P. Savchuk, the minister of education of the Ukrainian SSR, and O.P. Sydorenko, editor of the newspaper, *Radianskyi Selianyn* [The Soviet Peasant].

On 1 May P. Krawchuk was present at the 1 May demonstration of the toilers of Kiev, the capital of Soviet Ukraine.

After the demonstrations the chairman of the board of the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, M.O. Skachko, invited P. Krawchuk to dinner. At the dinner noted figures representing the public and cultural life of the capital of Soviet Ukraine were present.

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 9 June 1949.

4. Holiday in Crimea and the Caucasus

Each year since the early 1950s the authorities in Ukraine have sponsored Ukrainians from Canada for training as cadres for the AUUC in various educational institutions in Kiev. Most AUUC leaders, whether teachers, musicians, choreographers, newspapermen or political activists, have been trained in the USSR. Usually three or four have been sent each year to attend the pedagogical institute, the conservatory, the university and, for political training, the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. The courses last one to five years. Tuition and accommodation are free, and each student receives a stipend of 90 to 120 roubles per month to cover other expenses (120 roubles are paid to students of the Higher Party School). During holiday periods they are taken on trips and to winter and summer resorts, again at the expense of the Soviet sponsors.

From Kiev . . . Myron writes to his parents about his last summer's holidays and . . . we must give you some excerpts from that letter.

He and a friend flew from Kiev to Simferopol on 13 July . . . and from there proceeded by bus over the Crimean roads to Yalta.

"I haven't the words to describe the beauty of the scenery", he writes.

When they reached the highest point, the road dropped down and they could see the Black Sea at the foot.

They stopped at Yalta where Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill signed the famous Yalta agreement during the war. . . .

From Yalta Myron went to a nearby rest home in Kharax.

"We stayed there four whole months. What did we do? We bathed in the sea, played tennis, went to movies, read—that is, rested. In Yalta we visited the Nikitinsky Botanical Gardens, where we saw palms, banana trees and even a bamboo thicket."

Then on 13 August they took the boat, "Rossiia", which put in from Odessa, and sailed to Sukhumi in the Caucasus.

"On the way we stopped at the famous Caucasian spa, Sochi, and then continued to Sukhumi, the capital of the Abkhazian Autonomous SSR." (Abkhazia, by the way, is the locale of the ancient Greek legend about the Golden fleece).

Next day they flew to the Georgian capital, Tbilisi.

"I will never forget that journey. We flew between mountains of the Caucasian Range. From the plane we saw mountain tops covered with snow, and sometimes it seemed that we are flying underground, for the mountains were higher than our plane. The pilot maneuvered it among the crags."

Myron learned to know Tbilisi very well. He was particularly intrigued by the Park of Culture and Rest atop Mtatsmidu Mountain at whose foot Tbilisi lies. . . .

"Afterwards we drove to the mountains to see the city's suburbs. In the mountains we saw a lake—but what is particularly interesting, there wasn't a drop of water there just one year ago. This is a large and very deep lake. It is still being filled with water and only next year will it be completed. It will then be 250 feet deep."

And then Myron went to visit Gori, the birthplace of Joseph Stalin.

"The journey itself along the Military-Georgian Highway was very interesting. Gori is two and a half hours' drive from Tbilisi. Along the highway on the mountains there stand ancient castles. In Gori we visited the house (now a museum) where Stalin was born and where the Djugashvili family lived."

On the way back they stopped in at the Svietlo-Tskhoveli shrine, built in 1029 AD. They also viewed the Mtsirsky monastery which was also built in the 11th century. The city of Mtskheta, near which it stands, was the ancient capital of Georgia.

On his return journey Myron spent three days in the "Garden City" of Sukhumi. He was particularly interested in Ritsa Lake, which is situated 3,000 feet above sea level though it stands near the sea—almost straight up. It is in the middle of snow-clad mountains.

"Beside the lake, in a lovely restaurant, we ate a fish called fereli. I don't know what it's called in English [trout], but it is very tasty. In Sukhumi we also saw botanical gardens, the like of which I had never seen before."

And from there Myron flew back to Kiev, stopping over in Rostov-on-the-Don and in Kharkiv. . . .

SOURCE: The Ukrainian Canadian, 15 December 1952.

5. Kiev is my Second Home

It was 4:45 p.m., 16th September 1964. I was peering intently out the window at the city as the plane was preparing to land. Some twenty odd hours before, I had been in Toronto, Canada, where I had lived all of my meagre 22 years. And now? Many varied thoughts were confusing my mind, and many varied feelings were fluttering in my stomach. And then the stewardess said, "We have just landed in Borispol, the International Airport of Kiev." This was where I was to spend the next five years of my life, studying piano at the Kiev State Conservatory.

Now in my second year, I do not have those first feelings of strangeness and unawareness as I did then. . . .

The five-year course in which I am enrolled is intended both to groom pianists for the concert stage, and to prepare them for a teaching career, if so desired. . . .

The school year is broken into two semesters. Halfway through each semester, a pianist is expected to play a portion of a concert, approximately 15 minutes. He is marked. Then at the end of each semester, he gives a state exam—either a private exam of 40 minutes to an hour in length, or a public concert. These are all marked by a special commission. This results in quite an adequate check on the progress of each student.

The Soviet government gives me 90 roubles a month to live on. This is equivalent to approximately 107 Canadian dollars. My dormitory room is free of charge. From my monthly stipend, I spend about two-thirds on food and other necessities. . . .

During the winter, students have 15 days holiday, and in the summer, two and a half months. This winter I went to a student ski lodge in the Carpathian Mountains for 12 days. Special student reservations are very inexpensive as students pay only 30 per cent of the cost. In the summer we will be resting in a special resort, probably in the Crimea, on the Black Sea. I, as all foreign students receive these privileges free of charge. I am very well taken care of. . . .

Andrew Markow.

SOURCE: *The Ukrainian Canadian*, 1 June 1966.

6. Replacement Personnel for *Zhyttia i Slovo* and the Kobzar Publishing Firm

At the beginning of 1980 the personnel of *Zhyttia i slovo* and the Kobzar publishing firm was supplemented with new young people who returned last summer from studies at Shevchenko University in Kiev.

Lavrenty Prokopchak has begun working in *ZhS* as an associate editor. He completed his M.A. in history at York University, lectured at the University of Toronto, passed his comprehensive exams for a doctorate degree in history and left to attend the philological faculty of the Shevchenko University. . . .

Barry Kanasevych began working in the administration of *ZhS*. He had worked as a teacher in the public schools in Edmonton. He studied at the Shevchenko University in the philological faculty. . . .

Adele Hnativ began working on computer typesetting for the newspaper. She studied Slavic languages and literature at the University of Toronto and at the Shevchenko University in the philological faculty.

We are also announcing changes in the editorial staff of the journal, *Ukrainian Canadian*. Wilfred Shchesny has become the editor-in-chief. Mitch Sago, who was the editor-in-chief of the *UC* for the last twenty-six years, has left full-time work as editor and will devote a larger portion of his time to the writing of the history of Ukrainians in Canada. While working on the history

and continuing his participation in community work, he will remain a member of the editorial board of the *UC*.

Patricia Prokop has become a new member of the editorial staff. She has a B.A. Honours degree in English literature from York University and has completed three years of study at the Shevchenko University in the philological faculty, specializing in Ukrainian language, literature and history.

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 15 December 1980.

7. Report of the Ukraina Society in Kiev

For a decade the Soviet government has been sending instructors in Ukrainian folk dancing to conduct summer courses in the AUUC-sponsored School of the Arts in Regina to train folk-dancing instructors for the branches of the AUUC.

Some 50 representatives of Canadian amateur performing groups took part in the traditional seminar in Ukrainian folk dancing which was conducted by activists of *Ukraina Society*, the Republic's leading choreographers. It was the seventh time that the Saskatchewan School of the Arts invited Ukrainian artists to conduct this kind of seminar, which is always a success and is popular with Canadian lovers of Ukrainian folk art.

SOURCE: *News From Ukraine*, no. 52, 1982.

8. They Commemorated their Anniversaries

In addition to all-expenses-paid trips, the Soviet authorities are quite generous with other rewards and recognition for Ukrainian communist and pro-communist leaders. Thus in 1961, on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the death of Taras Shevchenko, the Shevchenko State Jubilee Committee issued a bronze medal to honour those who had made "contributions" to the popularization of the poet's works. It was awarded to four members of the AUUC: John Weir for the translation of selected poems of the bard; Hannah Polowy for a 112-page booklet on Shevchenko's boyhood; Mary Skrypnyk for a translation of a 750-line Shevchenko poem, Kateryna; and Peter Krawchuk for a short treatise on the interest of Canadians in Shevchenko. In 1967 Krawchuk was also awarded the Halan prize "for better journalistic works." In 1976 Mary Skrypnyk received the Maxim Gorky prize of the Writers' Union of the USSR for "translating and popularizing Soviet literature." In 1985 Hannah Polowy was awarded the Anton Makarenko medal, an honorary

decoration of the Ukrainian SSR. In November 1984 the three leaders below received special recognition.

Our dear friend, brother and colleague, one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Canadian progressive movement, editor of the weekly, *Zhyttia i Slovo*, recording secretary of the National Executive Committee of the AUUC, member of the Board of Directors of the WBA, Mykola Hrynchyshyn, has reached the age of seventy.

Due to a fortunate circumstance Mykola Hrynchyshyn greeted his anniversary among friends in Soviet Ukraine. On this occasion there was a festive gathering in the society *Ukraina*.

The chairman of the board of the society, the writer, Volodymyr Brovchenko, sincerely and cordially greeted members of a delegation of the AUUC, Mykola Hrynchyshyn; secretary of the CEC of the AUUC, William Harasym; president of the firm, *Ukrainska Knyha*, Stanley Ziniuk; and activists of the AUUC, Anne Lapchuk and Joanne Kovalevych.

Volodymyr Brovchenko noted that Mykola Hrynchyshyn has spent half a century in faithful service to the Ukrainian progressive press in Canada. With the sharp and ardent pen of a journalist he is making an important contribution to the struggle for the peoples' interests, for peace in the world, for the extension of creative ties and cultural contacts with Soviet Ukraine. As an editor, Mykola Hrynchyshyn is expending a great deal of effort in order that the paper, *Zhyttia i Slovo*, the militant organ of the AUUC, inform the Canadian Ukrainians of the truth about the life of the Ukrainian people in the fraternal family of the peoples of Soviet Ukraine. . . .

To the applause of those present Volodymyr Brovchenko presented Mykola Hrynchyshyn with an honorary diploma of the society *Ukraina*, with which he is awarded for his long and fruitful work in the field of journalism and in connection with his seventieth birthday.

Honorary diplomas were also awarded to William Harasym, who recently reached the age of sixty, and to Stanley Ziniuk, who has just celebrated his seventieth birthday. . . .

The celebrators and guests who spoke, expressed thanks for the wonderful and festive gathering, and for the good, sincere and friendly greetings.

"This day will remain forever in our memory and we will unfailingly talk about it at home," declared Mykola Hrynchyshyn on behalf of the guests. . . .

SOURCE: *Visti z Ukrainy* [News From Ukraine], no. 50, (December 1984). The article was reprinted in *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 14 January 1985.

9. The Ukrainian Nation—The Master of its Fate

The policy of inviting all-expenses-paid delegations from the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations became a permanent feature in relations between the Soviet authorities and Ukrainian pro-communists in Canada. In the last three decades there has been at least one and often more delegations each year. The number in each delegation has varied from three or four to a dozen or more. The "delegates" are leaders or active members who are invited for a holiday tour and often for a stay in one of the state-run resorts. The first delegation went in 1954 to attend celebrations marking the 300th anniversary of the "union of Ukraine with Russia." It visited various cities in the USSR. George Solomon, a member of the delegation, described the group's reception in Kiev.*

Everywhere we went in Kiev we were greeted as brothers.... Professors, lecturers and students of the Shevchenko University in Kiev organized a very warm reception for us.

The delegation... was invited to the jubilee session of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, dedicated to the commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the union of Ukraine with Russia.

For us, Ukrainians beyond the ocean, it was a great honour to sit among delegations of the different Soviet republics and the Polish People's Republic in the hall of the Ukrainian parliament.

Our delegation had the great honour of attending the state reception and banquet in commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the union of Ukraine with Russia.

Here we are in Pereiaslav Khmelnytsky. It was here that the great military leader and wise statesman, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, announced at the Pereiaslav Council, by the will of the Ukrainian people, the union of Ukraine with Russia....

From Pereiaslav-Khmelnytsky we started out for Kaniv, to Taras's hill where the great son of the Ukrainian nation, the revolutionary democrat, poet-genius, Taras Shevchenko, is buried.... †

After the festive days in Kaniv we departed for Kharkiv.... Not far from Kharkiv we visited a state farm which does not take second place to the finest experimental farms in Canada....

Lviv is an old Ukrainian city.... The delegation visited Lviv University.... The chairman of the Executive Committee of the Lviv Regional Council of Toiling Deputies, Semen Stefanyk, organized a reception for us....

* Not "Ukraine and Russia" as two equal partners, but "Ukraine with Russia."

† In his poem, "The Ransacked Grave," Shevchenko called Khmelnytsky "a foolish son" whom his mother, Ukraine, "would have strangled in his crib had she known."

Although we were in the Soviet Union a short time, all the same we had an opportunity to observe closely the economic and cultural life of the people. This journey will remain in my memory all my life. . . .

SOURCE: *Ukrainske Zhyttia*, 21 October 1954.

10. In the Ukraina Society

The two Soviet reports below of "delegations" to the Soviet Union reveal the subservient relationship of the Ukrainian communist leaders to authorities in the USSR.

Often meetings are held in the Society *Ukraina* with foreign guests. The last one was perhaps the warmest. We entertained a large group of veterans of the Communist Party of Canada. . . .

Member of the Communist Party of Canada and the progressive organization of Ukrainian Canadians, A.K. Bilecki, said:

"These common people emigrated from Ukraine forty-five to fifty years ago in search of a better fate and fortune beyond the ocean. Life is not easy for settlers in foreign countries: exploitation, cruel treatment, hard work in the remotest corners of Canada.

Together with the working class of Canada, we struggled and are struggling to improve the fate of the worker. The Canadian communists are doing a good deal to influence the press, radio and television to accurately inform the broad strata of the population about the Soviet way of life and the achievements of your great country. . . . "

SOURCE: The above interview was published on 28 May 1973 solely for internal consumption in the regional paper, *Vilne Zhyttia* (The Free Life), which is not allowed out of the country. The issue with this article was smuggled out.

11. A Discussion in the CC of the Communist Party of Ukraine

On 22 February the candidate member of the CC of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Oleksandr Kapto, received a delegation of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and the Workers' Benevolent Association composed of Peter Krawchuk, Antin Bilecki, Zane Nykolyshyn and William Chomyn at their request.

In the course of a warm and friendly discussion the leaders of the progressive Ukrainian organizations of Canada described the preparations for the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the victory over Hitler's fascism, participation in the struggle for averting the threat of war, disarmament and the transforming of Canada into a nuclear free zone and also about the activities directed to strengthening and increasing cultural ties of the progressive community of Canada with Soviet Ukraine. . . .

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 8 March 1985.

12. Award for a Community Worker from Canada

The most travelled to Ukraine and the most "honoured" in the USSR of the Ukrainian leaders in Canada is Peter Krawchuk. Each time the honour has been more prestigious, the ceremony more elaborate and the publicity more enhanced. Below is a description of the awarding of the third medal by the official Soviet press agency, RATAU.

"Genuine love is always vibrant and active. It is not limited by time or distance. One of those who loves Soviet Ukraine actively, as a son, helping daily to confirm its international prestige, is Peter Krawchuk, a Canadian Ukrainian," said deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, member of the Presidium of the Society *Ukraina*, the well-known poet, Borys Oliynyk, during the awarding of the jubilee medal, *Fortieth Anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War 1941-5*, to the president of the National Executive Committee of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians. The well-known community worker and journalist, Peter Krawchuk, was awarded the medal by a Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for his personal contribution in the struggle against the common enemy—Hitler fascism. . . ."

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 9 December 1985.

13. For Further Cultural Ties with the Ukraina Society

Some of the ties that bind the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations to the USSR were enumerated at the 1981 convention of the AUUC.

* Krawchuk was never a member of any armed forces before, during or after the Second World War.

From the first days of their settlement in Canada, Ukrainian immigrants maintained contacts with their native land. . . .

With the establishment of Soviet power in Ukraine, those ties broadened, deepened and became more viable. . . .

Thanks to these ties many delegations from Ukrainian associations in Canada have visited Ukraine. Annually young people from Canada study in the higher educational institutions of Ukraine—university, conservatory, choreographic school and the institute of art. . . . * Every two years there is a seminar in Kiev for dance groups from Canada. . . .

Every year performers from Ukraine appear at national festivals—*Mosaic* in Regina, *Folklorama* in Winnipeg, *Folkfest* in Vancouver. In various cities of Canada there are art exhibits sponsored by the Society *Ukraina*. Every second year there is a seminar for Ukrainian dance groups in the province of Saskatchewan under the direction of choreographers-instructors from Ukraine. . . .

Resolution of the Thirty-fifth Convention of the AUUC, 10–12 October 1981.

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 16 November 1981.

14. Children to Visit Ukraine for a Rest

To maintain the sympathy and support of the Ukrainian pro-communists the Soviet authorities have extended the practice of arranging all-expenses-paid holiday trips for children of activists in the Ukrainian pro-communist organizations.

The National Executive Committee of the AUUC and the Central Executive Committee of the WBA announced that the society, *Ukraina*, in Kiev has invited children of parents who are members of the AUUC and the WBA for a rest in Ukraine this summer. The group of children will be limited to twenty participants in the ages of 14, 15 and 16. They will be under the guidance of an older person.

The trip will last four weeks, including three weeks in the Pioneer camp, the *Young Guards*, on the shore of the Black Sea near Odessa.

The children will leave Montreal on 30 June and return on 28 July 1986.

SOURCE: *Zhyttia i Slovo*, 24 March 1986.

* Some also study in the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine in Kiev, but this is never admitted.

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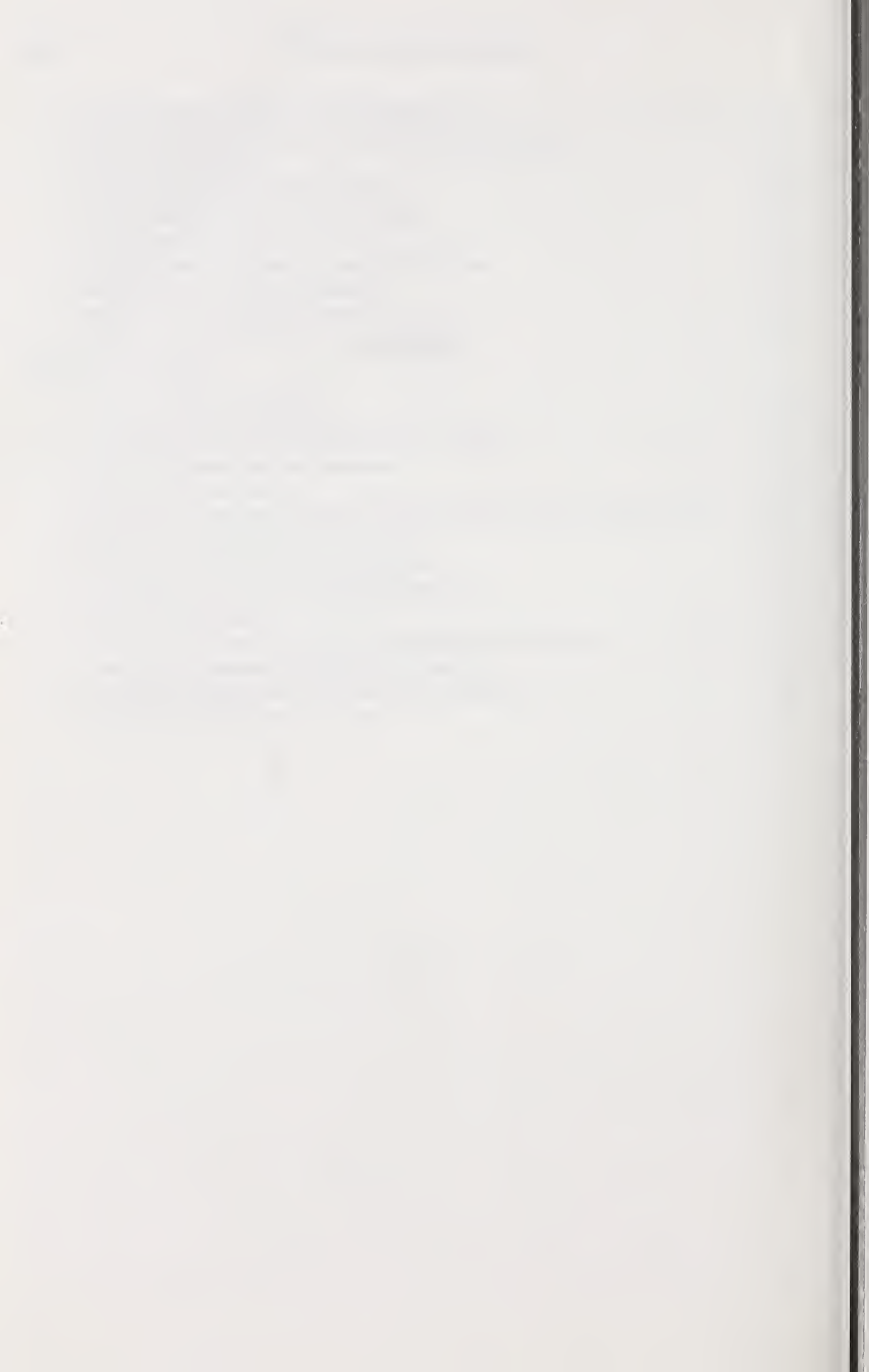
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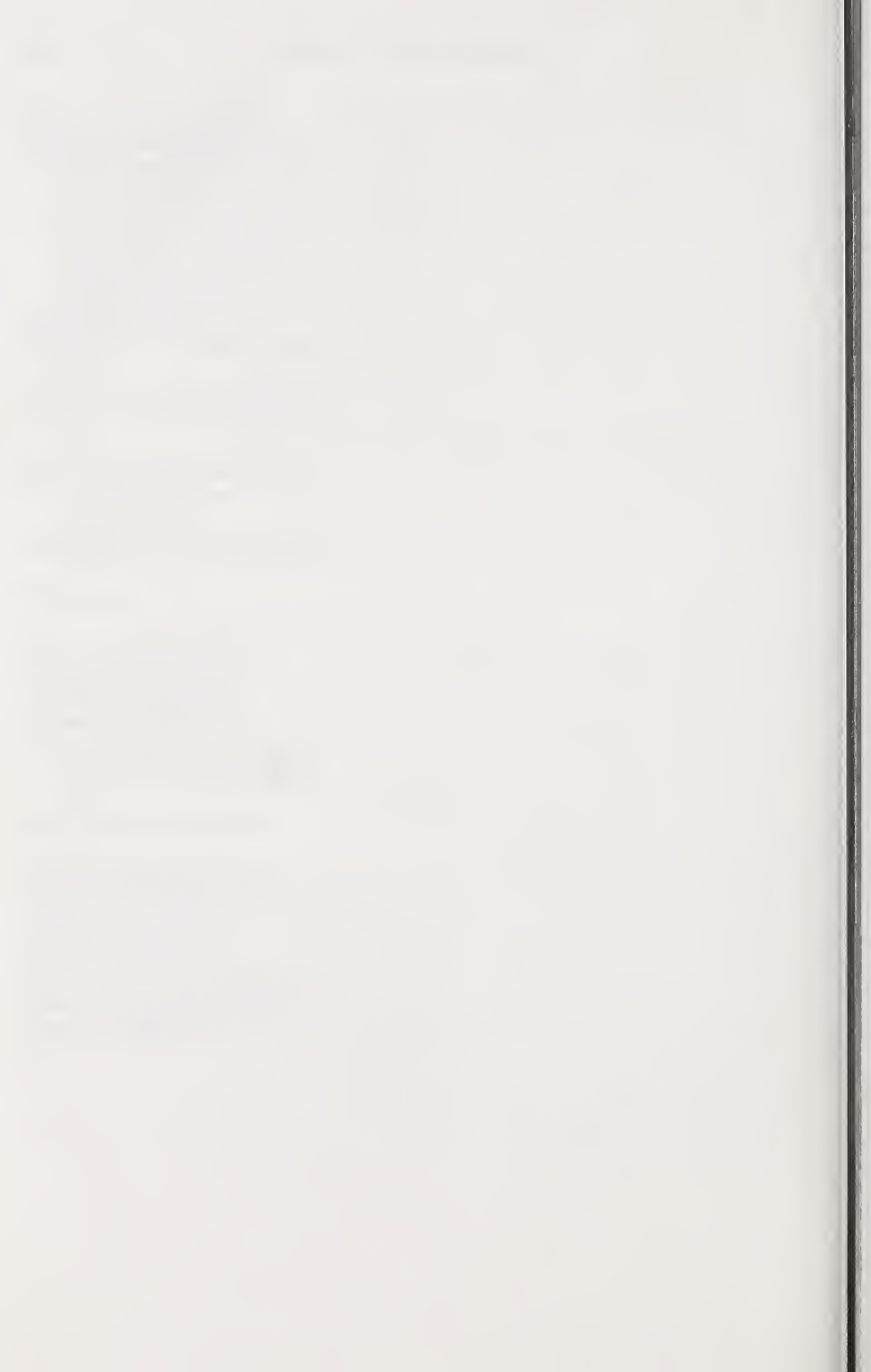
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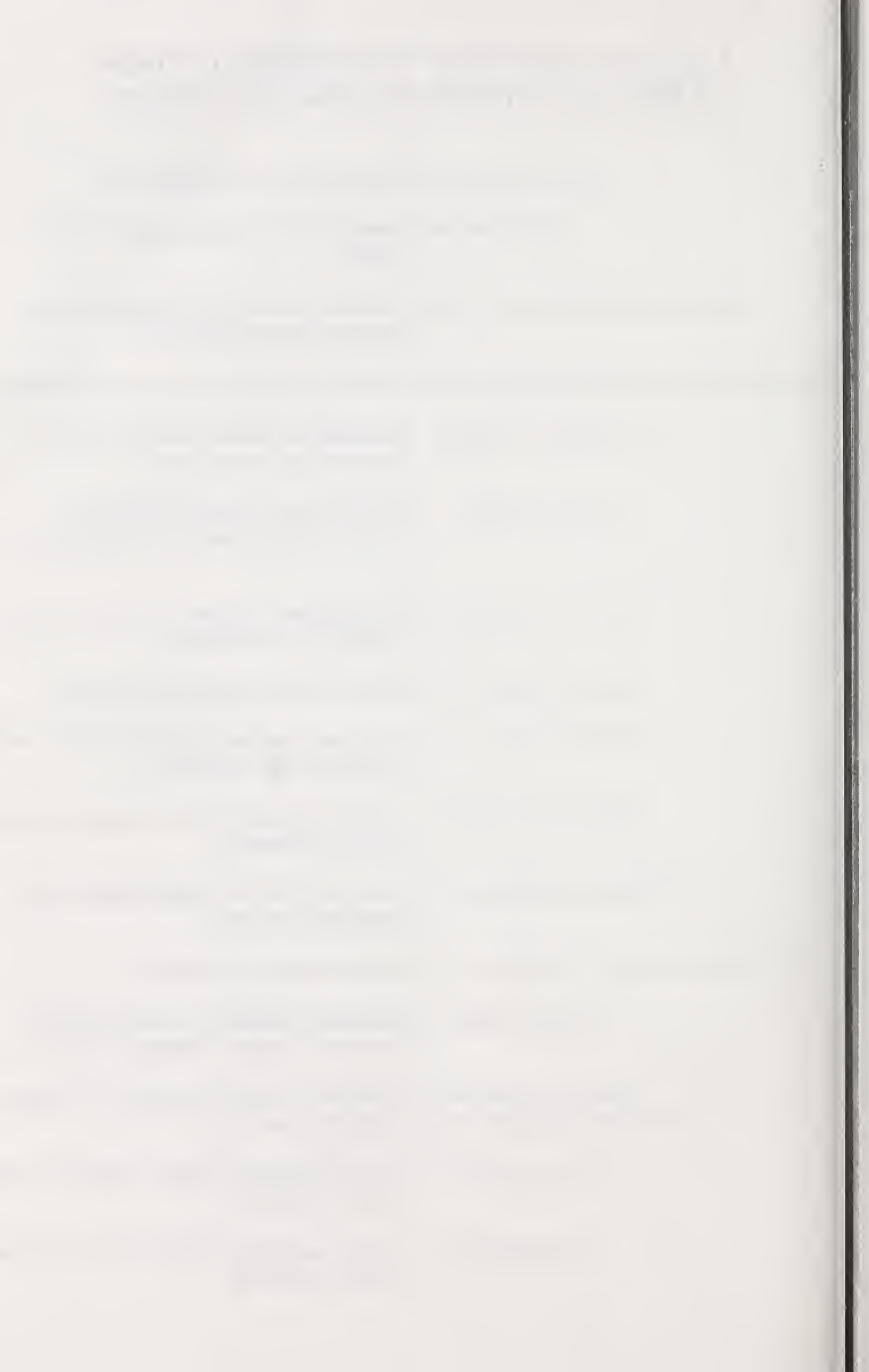
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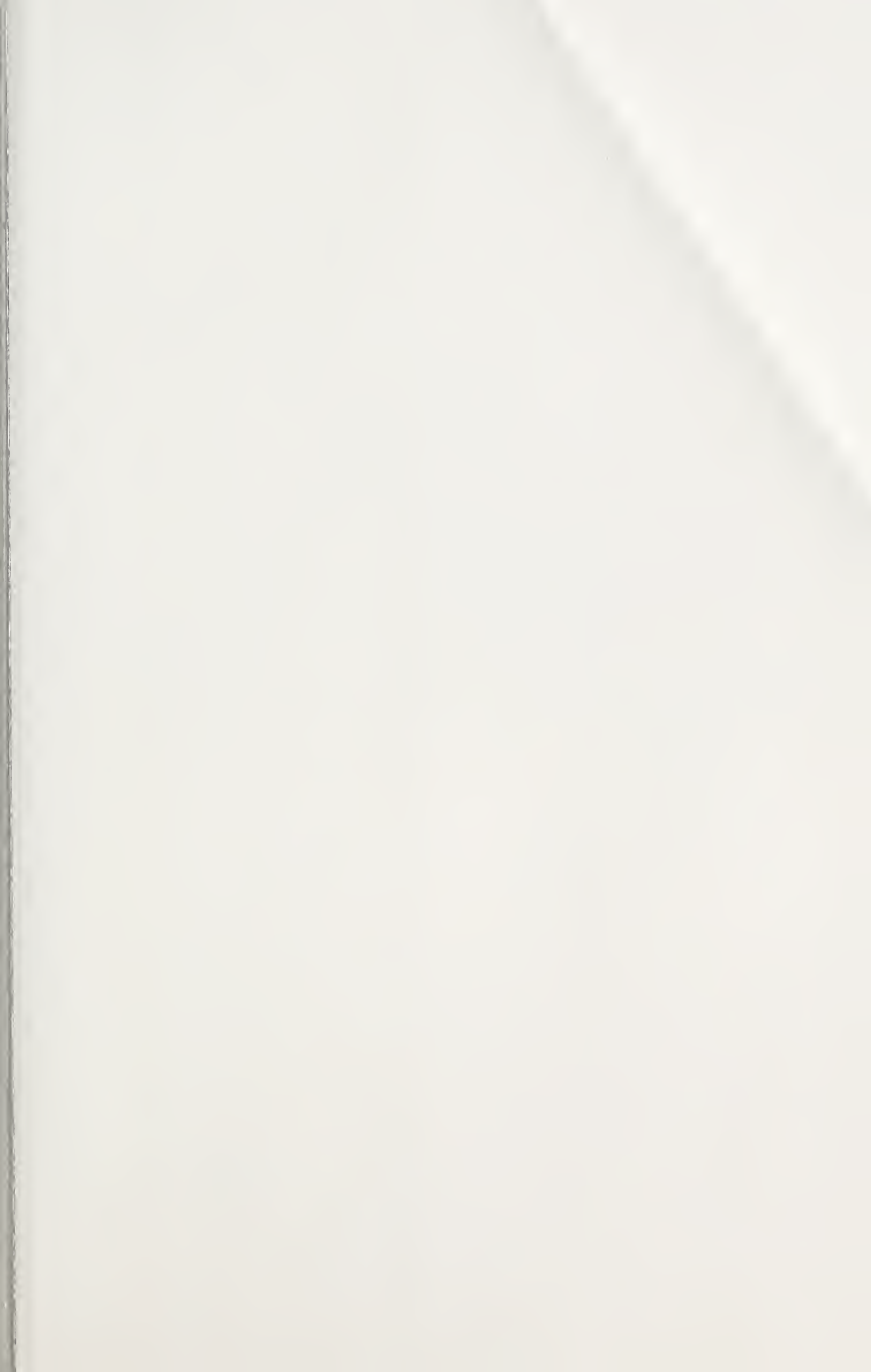
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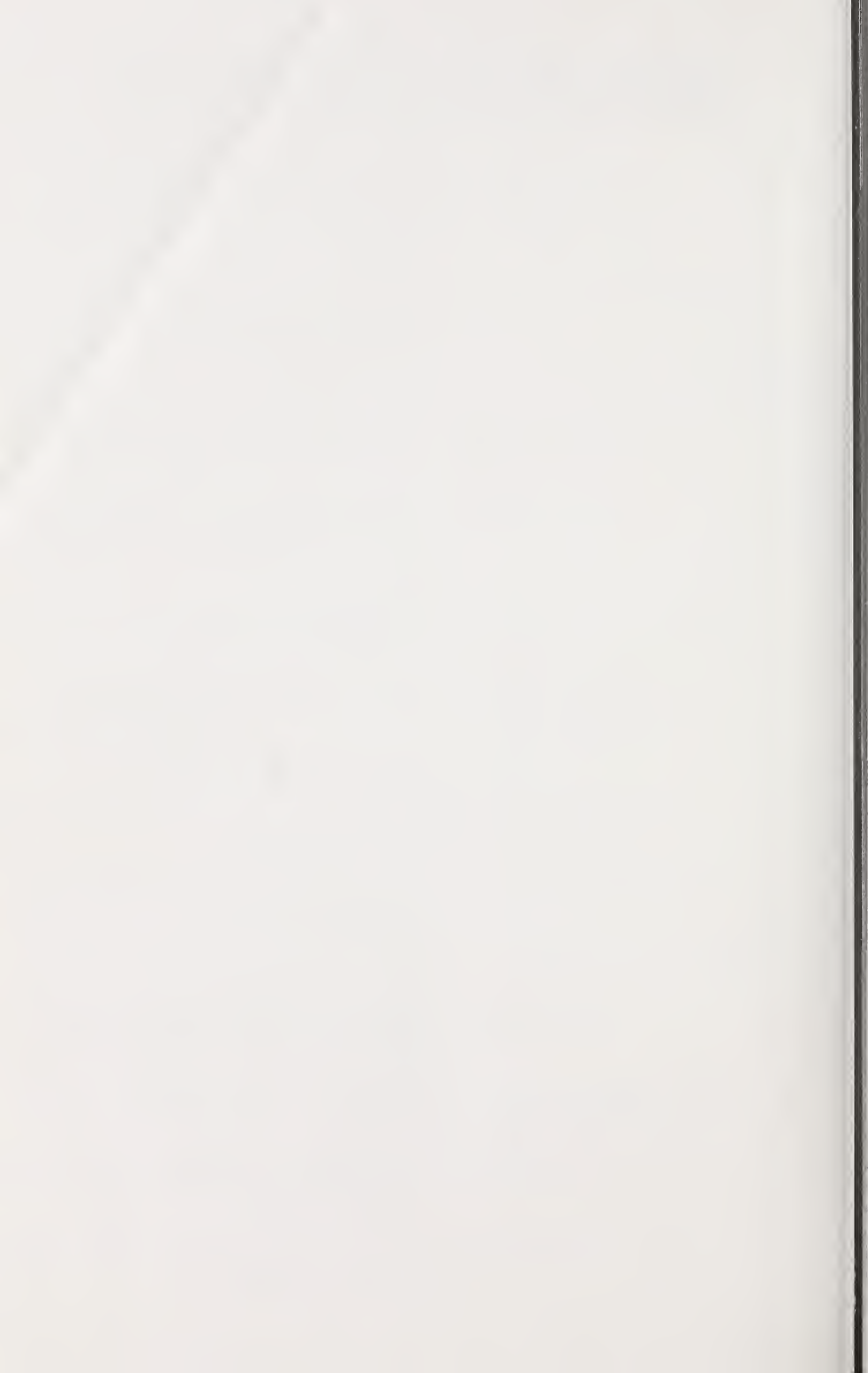
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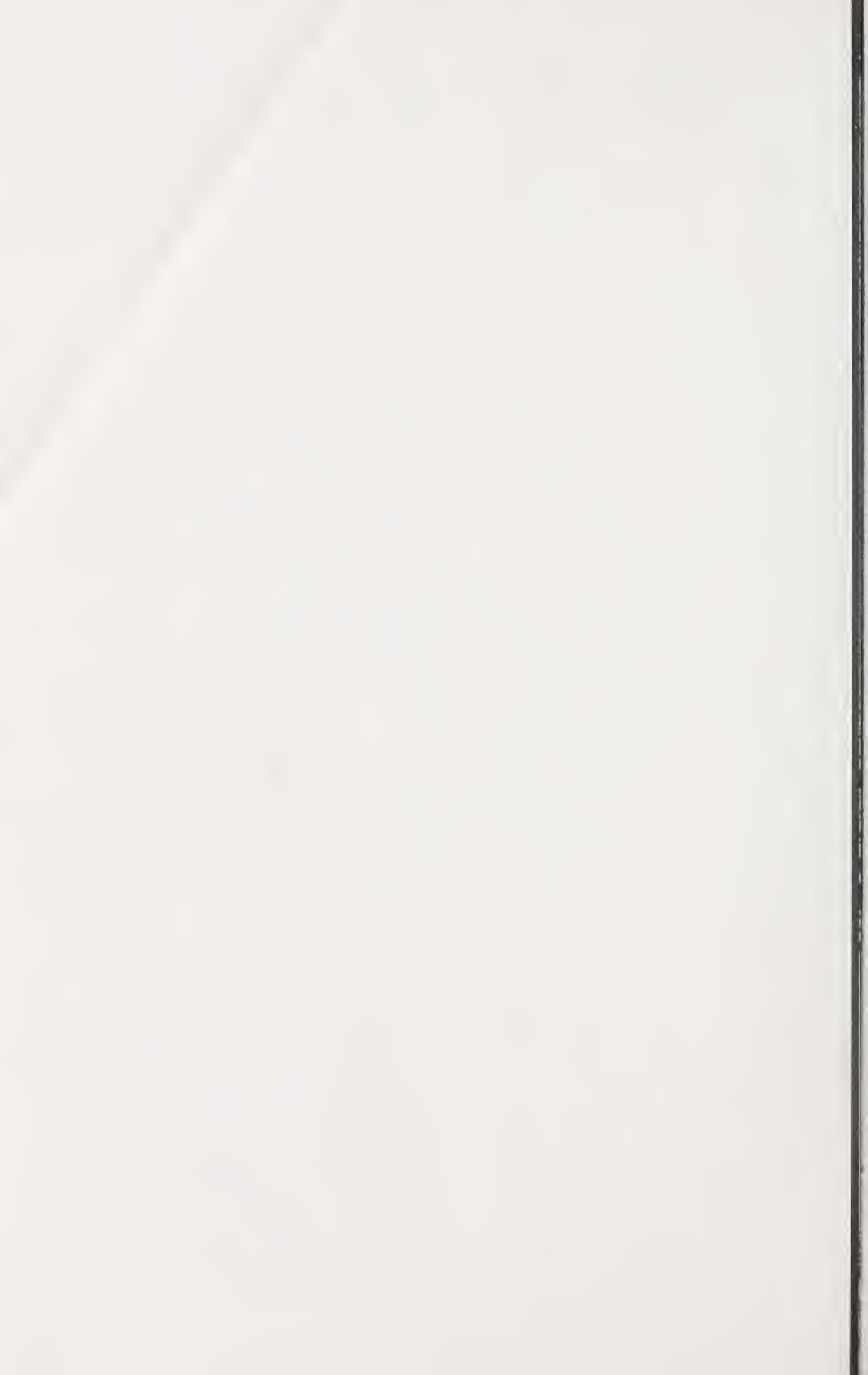
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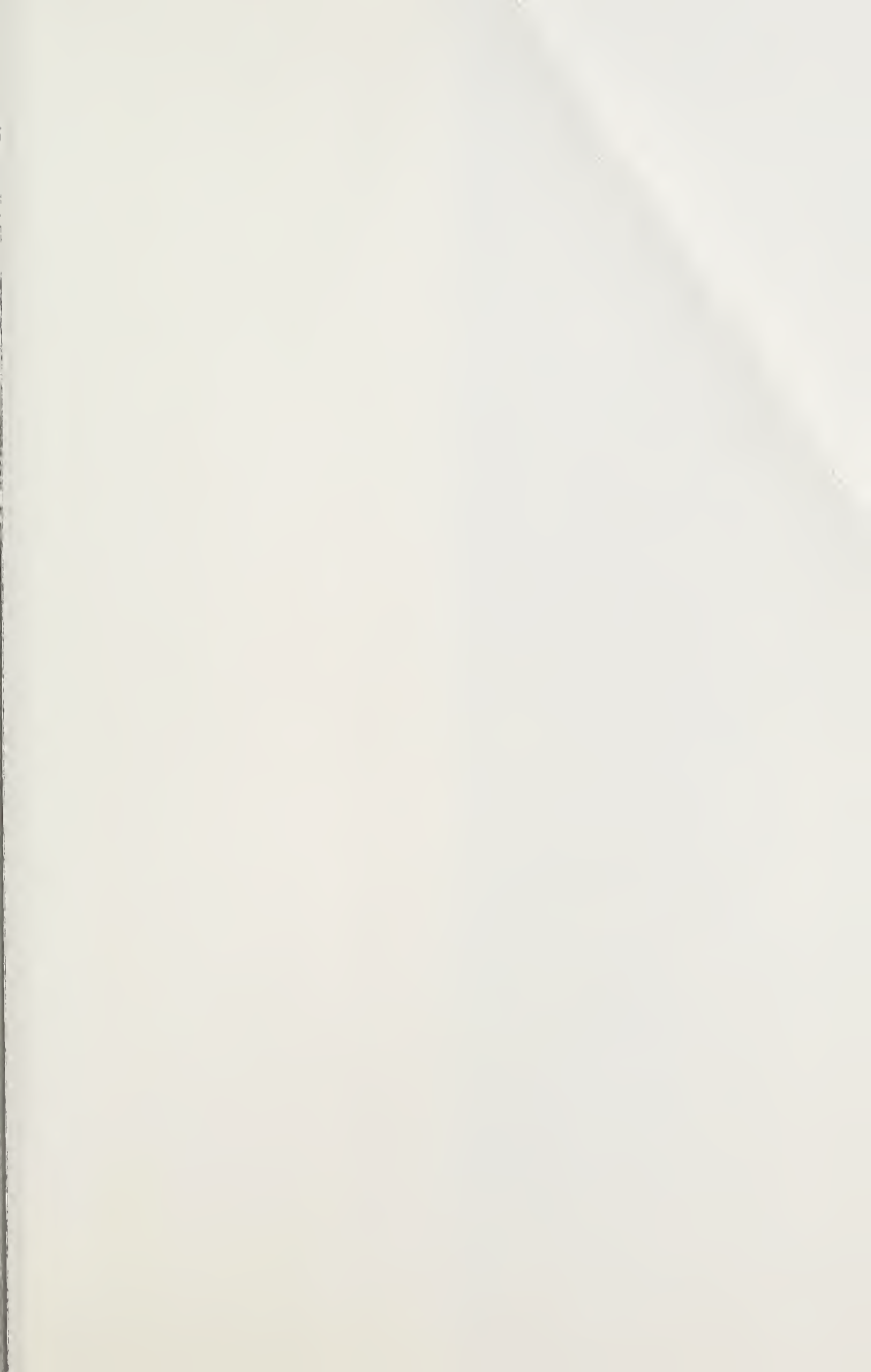


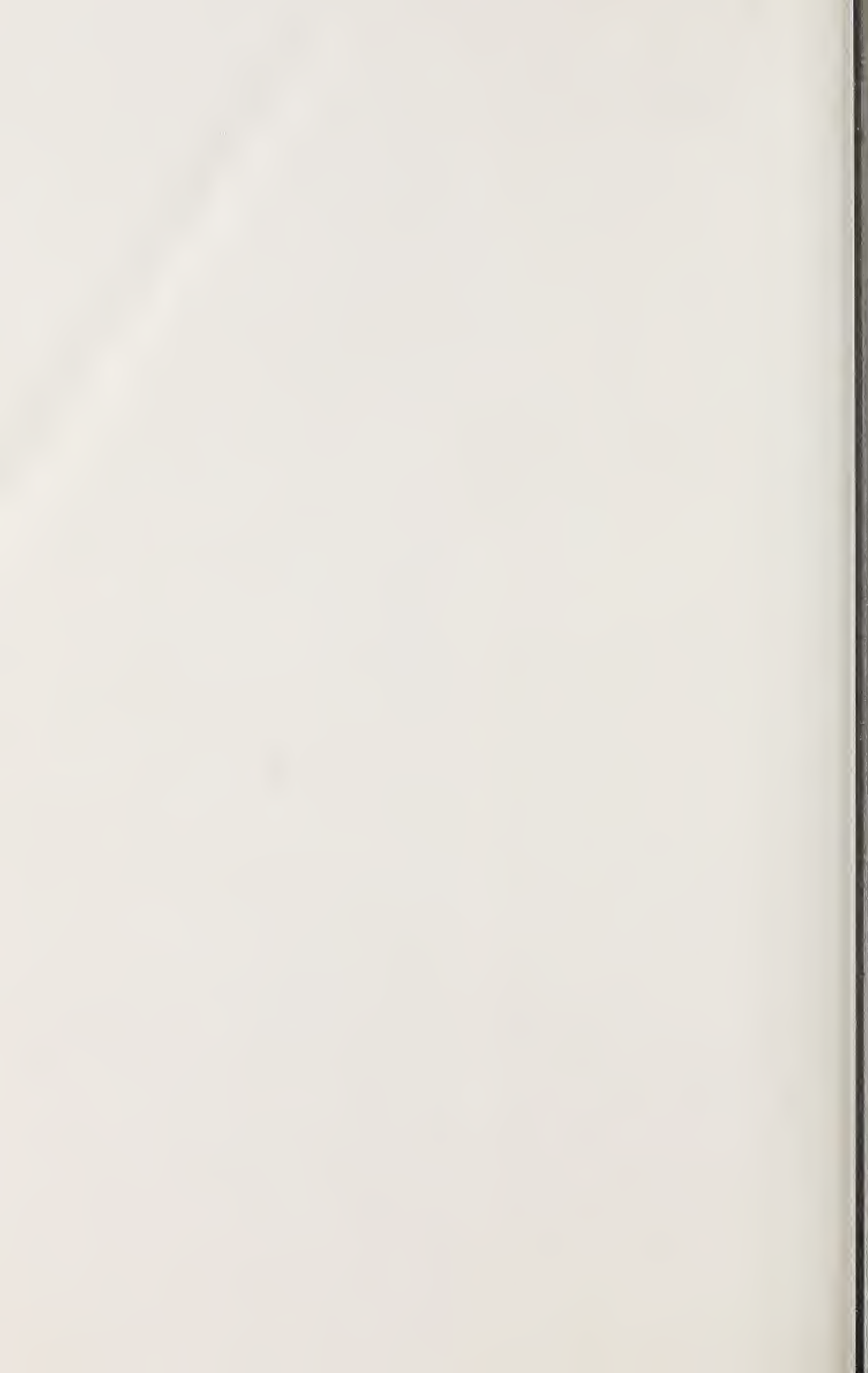














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