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EUROPE is again in the throes of a bitter struggle. The two wars now being waged are pregnant with unpredictable potentialities. The outcome of the present strife will depend, in large measure, upon the sequence of events and the unsuspected turn of circumstances, which may unfold as the result of underlying conditions, nurtured by unsolved problems that have long existed, awaiting their proper solution. Among such unsolved problems the Ukrainian question is the key problem. It is one of tremendous magnitude, the adequate solution of which may automatically eliminate a long chain of smaller problems, which now appear to defy solution. Neglected, however, it may continuously disturb normal economic relationships between the nations of the world and will certainly endanger tranquillity between peoples with resultant repercussions and attendant persecutions. This alone will jeopardize peace in Europe.

I

The importance of the Ukrainian question is fully appreciated by informed observers and students of the East European situation. Its magnitude, however, has inspired the evident fear that the present political balance of European Powers, unstable as it is, may be further upset. It is undoubtedly true that the fate of Europe and its future course of friendly diplomatic relations between the powers hinges on the just solution of the Ukrainian problem, for it holds the secret of a more equitable adjustment in normal relations among the nations of Europe and the world. Its solu-

tion holds promise of removing long existing dangers that have recurrently provoked trouble in the past.

In approaching this Gordian knot of Eastern Europe with an objective analysis, one may well compare the possible solution of the Ukrainian question, which is certain to require attendant political surgery, with that of any other living organism, whose general health may be restored and its vitality improved by medical surgery. And if Europe and the world is to profit by such an operation it will be well justified for the benefit of lasting peace, liberty and human rights of millions of people, even if this political surgery should be painful to the states that hold Ukrainian ethnic territory by aggression and against the will of the governed.

We are familiar with the course of historic events which occurred during the last few centuries, and take them for granted as the just and rightful course, without taking into consideration the possibility of different routes which would have been of greater benefit to Europe and the World, if they had actually taken place. Suppose that Charles XII of Sweden, with the aid of the Ukrainian forces, under the leadership of Hetman John Mazepa in the pivotal battle at Poltava in 1709, had been victorious against the forces of Peter the Great? What a different course European history would have taken! Doubtless there would be, since that date, a recreated strong Ukrainian state in confederation or alliance with Sweden and other western states. Such an alliance would certainly have prevented the unprecedented growth of Russian im-

perialism, with all of the attendant consequences of Russian wars, some of which are still within the memories of students of East European affairs.

Suppose that Napoleon might have realized his latent dream to create his Napoleonia out of the Ukrainian ethnic territories as a barrier against the growing Muscovite danger? What a different course European events would have shaped for themselves!

Suppose that in 1919 the Allies had been better informed about the existence of the dynamic independence movement of the Ukrainians and would not have listened to the secret whisperings of the deposed Russian aristocracy or their gullible friends abroad, and would not have fallen for the dreams of the greedy Polish statesmen, imbued with the idea of the imperialistic missionism and ambitions of creating a Polish empire on foreign lands from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and had given moral support and material aid to the Ukrainian National Republic, instead of giving it to various "White Russian" monarchistic partisans and the Polish military aggressors? What a different situation would prevail in Europe today! There would probably be no general European war at present. There would exist today a strong homogeneous Ukrainian state which, in confederation with neighboring peoples, would be able to balance two existing dangers, the Russian and German imperialistic aspirations that now threaten the world by aggression.

So, at this time, fear of upsetting the present, admittedly unsatisfactory, European balance should not be the guiding motive in dealing either with the current or the post-war problems, that will, doubtless, need to be dealt with at the end of the present conflicts. No patch work can improve the general health of the European continent. It will require courageous political surgery. If lasting peace and economic stabilization are indeed desired with the elimination of the national, cultural and religious persecutions of unfortunate peoples, the new political boundaries of Europe should certainly correspond to the ethnic boundaries of nationally conscious people. This will lead to the rise of the Ukrainian sovereign state extending from the High Tatra Mountains in the Carpathians to the Terek River in the Caucasus and to the

Caspian Sea, covering nearly 900,000 square kilometers of territory densely populated by homogeneous Ukrainian nationals. Such a state in confederation with the neighboring states, an independent Poland on its strictly ethnic territories, Czech, Slovak, White Ruthenian and Rumanian national states in the west, and the Caucasian federation, the Don and Ural Cossacks, as well as Turkestan, a mighty Moslem state, in the east, would effectively balance, politically and strategically the east European continent. Ukraine, in such a constellation or even alone, would prevent Muscovite aggression directed either westward to the warm sea through Scandinavia or southward into the Near East or Asia. Ukraine would also render impotent the German aggressive aspirations of military penetration either eastward or westward by effective national and political balance between the East and West. At the same time Europe would do away with the perpetual nightmare of the bag of tricks periodically performed by the "Bear that walks like a man."

Economic problems, interstate trade and cultural relations can be adjusted later to the best mutual interests and understanding between the various sovereign national states of the world.

II

The Versailles Peace Treaty left many problems unsolved to the disappointment of people throughout the world, who had awaited, from the Versailles Peace Conference, the long hoped for relief from the horrors and afflictions produced by war. However, it soon became apparent that its mission was not to be fulfilled. Instead of producing the long-awaited peace for war torn Europe, the Treaty of Versailles created many new problems, especially in Eastern and Central Europe. Under the burden of the old and the weight of the newly created problems the Peace Treaty of Versailles soon began to crumble, and only a few years later this famous treaty was abrogated and peace was compromised. Now we have another war. The world of today is in an unsettled condition, politically, nationally, socially and economically. The tranquillity of Europe and that of the world will be endangered, and some even go as far as to predict the end of western civili-

zation, if the disturbing causes are permitted to exist. One naturally wonders what really will be done at the end of this war toward the solution of real problems that have threatened Europe during the past twenty years and will, doubtless, threaten in the future until these real problems receive due consideration.

Western diplomacy, being unwilling to be informed on the true conditions in Eastern Europe at the end of the World War, did not give heed to the events that were taking place on Ukrainian ethnic territory even at the time the peace conference was in session. The venerable peace makers, in their desire to create a barrier between Communistic Russia and Western Europe, overlooked the fact that the most potential factor able to stem the westward advance of the Bolshevik legions and ideas was the Ukrainian force, which was desperately struggling at the time against innumerable hordes of the Red army pouring southward from Red Muscovy. Instead of giving adequate aid to these struggling Ukrainian forces, the western Allies weakened them by giving aid and supplies to Poland and to the Russian monarchistic aspirants who attacked the poorly clad and inadequately equipped Ukrainian forces in the rear. Thus the very idea of creating a "Cordon Sanitaire" became indeed paradoxical. Instead of taking cognizance of the existence of the Ukrainian National Republic and of its struggle for freedom on the contiguous ethnic territory, populated then by forty-five million of homogeneous Ukrainian population, the Allies created a series of small conglomerate artificial mosaic states, and each of these nationalities with its own historic, territorial and cultural traditions and claims, often on a higher plane than their governing masters. Such artificial states were doomed to unrest and eventual disintegration from the very start, and, in the twenty years since the Versailles Treaty, two of these conglomerate states have already fallen apart and other states, aggrandized by ethnic minorities, are, sooner or later, bound to meet a similar fate. It is inevitable.

The Czechoslovakian conglomerate state crumbled without a single shot fired in its self defense. On the other hand, the homogeneous Ukrainian nationally conscious minority, given an opportunity for autonomous existence had, in less than six months

so built up its state, that without any aid from any foreign state, assisted only by the meager help of the American and Canadian Ukrainians, heroically resisted, for nearly two months, the Hungarian invasion of Carpatho-Ukraine in March, 1939. Six hundred thousand people, without any army or arms, resisted a state of about ten million people and a well-equipped army of five hundred thousand! This fact should be kept in mind in considering the Ukrainian problem. If the most backward and most neglected Ukrainian territory could perform such an heroic feat, one can well imagine how the Ukrainian population will act in Western and Eastern Ukraine if given the proper opportunity.

The recent downfall of Poland is a mystery to many students of East European affairs and many explanations are given. Regardless of what these may be, one is deeply impressed by the fact that Poland, a state of about thirty-five million people, with a large standing army, completely crumbled in less than three weeks! Some may be prone to give too much credit to the efficiency of the German war machine, disregarding the internal conditions of Poland. It must be kept in mind that the strictly Polish population, within the Polish state, was only slightly over sixty per cent, while the balance consisted of various so-called minorities, such as Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Germans, Slovaks, Jews and others, some of which were, in reality, majorities on their ethnic territories ruled by Poland. There were about eight million Ukrainians in Poland, densely populating about one-third of the Polish state territory, with the Polish nationals constituting a very small minority on this Ukrainian territory. The Ukrainians alone, comprised about 23 per cent of the population of modern Poland. The political importance of the Ukrainian population in Poland becomes of greater importance by the fact that the Polish Ukraine was contiguous to the extensive Ukrainian territory under the rule of Soviet Russia, with the fringes of Ukrainian ethnic territory in Rumania and Carpatho-Ukraine, recently occupied by Hungarian military aggression. The Ukrainians on all of these territories are strongly conscious of their national identity. Finally, it must not be forgotten that Poland acquired her Ukrainian territory by armed force against the will of the

native population and forcibly incorporated it, by ruthless measures, in order to extend the Polish boundaries eastward. For the past two decades Poland had failed to satisfy the national, cultural, economic, social and political obligations in regard to her Ukrainian and other minorities. She had even deprived them of all essential human rights in disregard of her treaty obligations and gave, to these wretched people, no opportunity to defend themselves against unbelievable persecutions and continuous sanguinary pacifications.

The Polish army, naturally, on the basis of the population, consisted of about one half Polish, one fourth Ukrainian lads, and the balance of the other minority nationalities. The distribution of the Polish army and military supplies must also be taken into consideration. Being cognizant of the national aspirations of her minorities, Poland placed, in the Polish Corridor, Poznan and Silesia, the regiments recruited in Eastern Poland, mainly of Ukrainians, White Ruthenians and Lithuanians, while the regiments recruited in Western Poland, mainly of Poles and Germans, were placed in the Western Ukrainian, Wilno district and White Ruthenian territory under Poland. Taking all of these facts into proper consideration, it is not difficult to understand why Poland collapsed so prematurely.

One may readily draw the conclusion that the conglomerate states, by their internal dissension, weakened their economic, political and social structure, further endangering their own already hazardous politico-geographic positions. In addition, instead of being an asset to their political godparents, they have become a decided liability, as the recent struggle has well demonstrated. Neither Czechoslovakia nor Poland was able to serve as the strong buffer state for which it had been created.

It is well, here, to point out that a small but homogeneous state such as Finland, consisting only of about three million eight hundred thousand people, is, for months, successfully resisting a conglomerate state of nearly two hundred million population, which is about the population of the Soviet Union after the absorption of Western Ukraine and White Ruthenia. The heroism and the national unity of the Finns cannot be doubted, and the largest well equipped army in the world has so far failed to make significant advances against the Finns.

There are doubtless many reasons for this phenomenon. One important reason should not be overlooked: the oppressive policies of Soviet Russia over her diverse nationalities certainly would not stand her in good stead. The Ukrainian and other national contingents would rather lose their lives in the frozen wastes of Finland, in order to enhance the speedy collapse of Soviet Russia and thus to free their people from the sanguinary regime, than to fight the heroic Finns. On the other hand, Soviet Russia sends to Finland huge troops from Ukraine and White Ruthenia in order to deplete the man power of these peoples as a measure of subjugation and extermination. At the same time she holds large contingents of Muscovite and Asiatic troops in these ethnic areas in order to suppress growing unrest and certain insurrection.

The Ukrainians may well be justified if they look askance on the Allied aid given to Imperialist Russia, to the "White Russian" generals such as Kerensky, and even to the Bolshevik regime. With this aid Soviet Russia was able to persecute millions of people of diverse nationalities and work against the Allied interests. It is safe to conclude that further aid to Russia, either Soviet, Czarist, or any other Russian imperialism, against the Ukrainian interests would yield similar results.

In the last World War, America and the Allies could justify, at least in part, their staunch support of revolutionary Russia and the Russian people, as their allies, in the struggle against German Imperialism, thus avoiding large-scale dismemberment of pre-war Russia, even to the detriment of many nationalities that sought freedom from Russia. Such conditions do not exist at the present time. Russia has manifested itself as an aggressor and is on the opposite side to Allied and American interests.

Russia has always been synonymous with aggression. Her growth through the centuries was accomplished by conquests and territorial aggrandizements at the expense of her neighbor nationalities. The recent unprovoked aggression against Finland is not the first one in the history of the Soviet regime either. Some may think that for the first time Soviet Russia has committed aggression by the invasion of Finland. Suffice it to point out, however, that twenty years ago Soviet Russia by the very same technique of aggression conquered the Cauca-

sian states such as Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, as well as White Ruthenia and independent Ukraine, which she had formally recognized as a sovereign state. Without abrogating her recognition treaty of Ukraine, Soviet Russia, in the spring of 1918, established a puppet Ukrainian regime in Kharkiw, under the leadership of Russian communists and later of the Bulgarian Rakovsky, disregarding the existence of the Ukrainian National Republic with its capital and legitimate government in Kiev. Similar technique is now being used by Soviet Russia in Finland with her puppet Finnish government in Terijoki, in disregard of the existence of the legitimate Finnish government in Helsinki. The same technique, with slight modifications, was used in the conquest of the other above mentioned independent national states, as well as in the conquest of Outer Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan, Sungaria and others. Now Soviet Russia turns once more westward. . . .

III

Contrary to popular impression, the Ukrainian people have enjoyed their independence several times in the past. The Kingdom of Kiev flourished from the middle of the ninth century and occupied a very prominent position in European affairs. The Ukrainian dynasty intermarried with Byzantian, French, Scandinavian, Polish and Hungarian royalties. The mighty Ukrainian state of that period had a profound influence on the shaping of East European and Near East affairs. This mighty state, unfortunately, was weakened by the Tartar invasions during the thirteenth century, which lasted for nearly two hundred years. Meanwhile, the Muscovite States had succeeded in strengthening themselves and in spreading their influence over the war-torn weak Ukrainian state, until they completely dominated the Ukrainian scene.

The role of the Ukrainian people in effectively blocking the Tartar penetration into Western Europe and thus saving Western civilization at the expense of their own freedom cannot be overestimated.

The loss of the independence of the Kiev dynasty did not interrupt the continuity of the Ukrainian efforts for a sovereign existence. For hundreds of years the Ukrainian independent state persisted in Western

Ukrainian territories, especially in the provinces of Galicia and Volhynia. Under the pressure of the Polish and Lithuanian penetrations, Western Ukrainian principalities lost their independence and formed a coalition with the Lithuanian state, later gradually coming under the influence of Poland. It is of interest to mention that, during the Lithuanian domination of Ukrainian territories, the Lithuanian state adopted Ukrainian laws as well as the cultural heritage, including the use of the Ukrainian language for court purposes. This fact is in itself significant, for it demonstrates the high plane of Ukrainian culture of the times. In this same connection it must be emphasized that Christianity and culture in Russia was promulgated by the Ukrainians, especially during the reign of Peter the Great, who forcibly transplanted many thousands of Ukrainians into Russia for the purpose of uplifting Russian levels of social and cultural life.

In spite of the persistent efforts on the part of Poland and Russia to conquer the rich Ukrainian territory and to denationalize the Ukrainian people at this critical historic moment, the Ukrainians formed their strong Cossack State along the rapids of the Dnieper River, and resisted for almost three hundred years the aggressive penetration of Poland from the west, Russia from the north and Turkey from the south. This peculiar Cossack State, originated in 1492, could indeed be called the first Democracy in Europe, for the Ukrainian Cossack officers were all elected by the will of the members of the famous Zaporozhian Sitch. The Cossacks were looked upon by the Ukrainian populace as their defenders against the wrongs inflicted by their foreign aggressors. To this day the Ukrainians cherish Zaporozhian traditions. The rich Ukrainian folklore is replete with the unusually colorful songs born in the din of battle and with the traditions evolved during that era. The Ukrainian people looked to these historic Zaporozhian Cossacks as the heroes and defenders of the nation. Ukrainian history is dotted with a long chain of prominent Ukrainian leaders of the Cossack period, who aspired to create and establish an independent Ukrainian state free from Russian, Polish or Turkish influence. Such figures as Petro Sahaydachny, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Ivan Vyhovosky, Petro Doroshenko, Ivan Mazepa,

Pavlo Polubotko and others, stand out as high peaks in the chain of Ukrainian leaders of the time who distinguished themselves in the struggle for freedom and sovereignty. This shows that the Ukrainian aspiration to statehood is not something of recent date but is deeply rooted in the will and determination of the people for many centuries.

The military alliance of Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1654 with the Muscovite state, which appeared, at the time, to be an expedient move for Ukrainian statehood, unfortunately became the grave of Ukrainian aspirations and remains so even to this day. The Muscovite rulers gradually abrogated the various Paragraphs of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, and deprived the Ukrainians of their liberties and rights guaranteed by the treaty, until Ukraine became a colony of Imperialist Russia for economic exploitation and enrichment of the Russian empire, against the continuous resistance of the Ukrainian people. One could at length enumerate many instances of such resistance against Russian misrule and unjust treatment of the Ukrainian people.

The efforts of Khmelnytsky himself, and later of Hetman Petro Doroshenko, to break away from Russia can attest to this resistance. The famous rebellion, during the reign of Peter the Great, under the leadership of Hetman Mazeppa, who joined the Swedish forces of Charles XII, provides one of the most brilliant pages of Ukrainian history, and is commemorated by the imagination of the creative genius of Byron, Voltaire, Tschaikowsky, Liszt and others, who immortalized Mazeppa. In spite of the heavy weight of the reign of Peter the Great, known to the Ukrainians as Peter the Cruel, the Ukrainian resistance against the Muscovite rule persisted for many decades, until the time of Catherine the Great, who, in desperation, determined to annihilate completely every vestige of Ukrainian freedom. In 1775 she ordered the Zaporozhian Sitch to be completely destroyed. This event occurred just about the time that the United States emerged as a free nation.

The liberty loving Zaporozhian Cossacks, deeply dissatisfied and disheartened with the loss of their Sitch and freedom, streamed out in a heavy exodus from Ukraine into the northern Caucasus and Kuban region, as well as toward the mouth of the Danube,

then under Turkey, seeking in these territories autonomy and the perpetuation of their national aspirations for independent statehood.

IV

The Ukrainian emancipation movement persisted through the darkest eras of the history of the nation under Russian and Austro-Hungarian rule. It even survived through the most reactionary periods during the entire nineteenth century, when even the Bible could not be obtained in the Ukrainian language. The written language was forbidden with the exception of the recording of folklore and some minor literature, but even these had to be written in Russian characters, because the Ukrainian characters were outlawed until 1905. As the result of the Revolution, at the end of the Russo-Japanese War, the Ukrainians obtained some ray of hope for better days. With amazing rapidity the Ukrainian press and the national movement have revived since the memorable autumn of 1905, when the "bob-tailed" Russian Constitution was granted. In spite of the reactionary period during the Stolipin era, that followed, and until the outbreak of the World War, the Ukrainian independence movement continued with augmented velocity under the Russian regime, notwithstanding innumerable ingenuous methods evolved to subdue it. It assumed mass proportion in spite of persistent efforts on the part of the Russian Government to discredit it, branding it as German intrigue. The spontaneity of the Ukrainian movement is the best argument against such insinuations, for mass movements never can be inspired and brought to success by any artificial methods. The Ukrainian nationalist movement has always existed in the hearts of the people as a mass movement. Conservative peasants are not easy to sway by intrigues. At a time when the Ukrainian nation had lost almost all of its aristocratic and intellectual strata by the resourceful Russification and Polonization, the peasants were little influenced by the allurements of offers of higher posts, titles, land grants, etc. Rather, the Ukrainian peasantry produced, generation after generation, again and again, new strata of intellectual leaders as spokesmen of the deeply seated desires of the freedom loving Ukrainian nation. No amount of ruthless measures, persecutions, purges and liquidation

tions have been able to stop this movement. When the Russian Empire of the Czars collapsed in the middle of March, 1917, only three days elapsed before the Ukrainians organized their Provisional Government and the Ukrainian Central Rada issued its first Manifesto, demanding complete autonomy from the Russian Provisional Government. In November of the same year, 1917, by their third Manifesto, they proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic within the federation of the various national states formed out of pre-war Imperial Russia. When such a proposal was unacceptable to the Russian Communist regime, the Ukrainians proclaimed a completely independent Ukrainian Sovereign State on January 22, 1918.

The Ukrainians under Austro-Hungarian rule, upon the collapse of that nation, proclaimed the independence of the Western Ukrainian territories, comprising such provinces as Galicia, Bukovina and Carpatho-Ukraine, and on November 1, 1918, and following dates, seized the power in Western Ukraine. Only a few months later, all Ukrainian ethnic territories, from Carpatho-Ukraine to the Caucasus, were united into one united Ukrainian Sovereign National Republic. The square of St. Sophia in Kiev, the capital of united Ukraine, was the scene of this historic event on January 22, 1919.

Could the rapid sequence of such events have taken place without the spontaneous mass movement of the then nearly forty-five million Ukrainian population? Could any artificial foreign intrigue ignite the imagination of a nation to inspire her sons and daughters to lose their lives by many thousands in defense of their state and national freedom? These events and undeniable historic facts attest to the existence of a strong Ukrainian independence movement, deeply seated in the wide masses and rooted in the centuries long historic traditions and aspirations to be a free and independent nation in the family of free democratic nations of the world.

As a matter of fact, the Allies, especially France and Great Britain, recognized *de facto* the Ukrainian National Republic and accredited their representatives to it. The Central Powers, Germany, Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, recognized the Ukrainian National Republic *de jure* early in 1918. Separate treaties were effected

with Ukraine by such states as Soviet Russia, Lithuania, Poland, Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, Georgia and others. Through the success of Soviet Russia in engulfing Ukraine, by fire and sword, Russia imposed on Ukraine on July 6, 1923, a new USSR constitution, formally absorbing Ukraine as a constituent republic of the Soviet Union. Again Ukraine lost her freedom.

There are diverse opinions of the importance of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and its consequences for the Allies. This treaty, however, from the Ukrainian National standpoint is a master stroke for youthful Ukrainian diplomacy in defense of the Ukrainian independent state. Even the grizzled diplomats of the Central Empires, in their subsequent memoirs, paid due credit to the Ukrainian representatives at Brest-Litovsk. Germany later erred against the newly recognized Ukrainian republic by extending her ruthless tentacles through economic aggression on the riches of free Ukraine. The Ukrainians were then quite justified in their necessary action of deposing the puppet Government of Pavlo Skoropadsky and in reestablishing the democratic state under the leadership of Simon Petlura. This fact again demonstrates the true trend of the Ukrainian national movement.

On the heels of the Versailles Treaty, the Ukrainian ethnic territory was rent asunder by the avaricious grasp of her neighbors. Soviet Russia by her military aggressive action acquired over 565,000 square kilometers, with about 37 million Ukrainians; Poland was enriched by nearly 130,000 square kilometers and about eight million people; while Rumania obtained 17,000 square kilometers of Ukrainian territory with 1,238,000 people; and Czecho-Slovakia received 14,000 square kilometers with about three-quarters of a million of Ukrainian population.

This division of Ukrainian territory inflicted an unbelievable reign of terror and oppression on the Ukrainian population, in the process of the efforts of subjugation and assimilation under foreign occupation. It is not the intent to dwell here on the martyrdom of the Ukrainians for the past twenty years. It is sufficient to say that the Ukrainian religious life under Soviet Russia is completely extinct. Hundreds of Ukrainian churches under Poland were either demolished or confiscated. On all

Ukrainian territories the national schools were closed and the population reduced to economic misery and bare subsistence, with hardly a trace of national life surviving under the misrule of foreign aggressors, depriving the Ukrainians of the most elementary human rights. Such conditions prevail to this day on all Ukrainian ethnic territories.

From the fall of 1938 to the middle of March 1939, it seemed that the star of Ukraine was in the ascendancy in Carpatho-Ukraine, until it was eclipsed by the unprecedented Hungarian military occupation of that picturesque and ill-fated country. With the speedy collapse of Poland, the Ukrainians under Polish rule, did not have an opportunity to assert their independence. Reliable news, however, is available that even under those tragic conditions, between the mighty pincers of the German army on the one side, and the uninvited so-called Soviet Russian "liberation" on the other, the Ukrainian nationalists established home rule in many villages and towns on the eastern slopes of the Carpathians in the area of Dorohobich, Stanislaviv, and neighboring towns. While this was crushed by the Soviet occupation with sanguinary consequences, yet the Ukrainians had again manifested their will to freedom!

By the absorption of Western Ukraine and White Ruthenian territories from Poland, Russia has so increased her minorities that the native Russian population actually becomes the minority in the Soviet Union. This fact is of tremendous importance in evaluating the potential strength of Russia and her inevitable collapse. The subsequent news, which is leaking out from her hermetically sealed frontiers, dramatically indicates that she is already encountering serious trouble in Western Ukraine in her efforts to subdue the Ukrainian population. Will these first harbingers predict the more serious consequences for Soviet Russia which have inevitably followed all of Russia's wars in the last hundred years? Only time can tell. The impressive fact is that Russia has failed to win any foreign war in the last hundred years.

V

Taking into consideration the Ukrainian ethnic territory, which extends from the beautiful Carpathian Mountains in the

west, through the world famed black earth belt and the spacious Cossack steppes along the northern shores of the Black Sea, and then to the northern Caucasian regions and to the Caspian Sea in the east, with the northern boundaries merging in the central regions of what is known as European Russia, it becomes apparent that the future Ukrainian national state, by the size of its territory, over 900,000 square kilometers, will be the second largest state in Europe, next to Russia proper. The population of ethnographic Ukraine is nearly sixty millions of inhabitants, of which about fifty millions are Ukrainians. In ethnic population, therefore, Ukrainians occupy the third place in Europe, outnumbered only by Russians and Germans.

In the geographic position of Ukraine, with the long Black Sea coastline in the south, the Carpathian Mountains in the West, the Pripet marshes in the northwest, and with the chain of independent national states around Ukraine, there will be left a relatively short frontier with the Muscovite state, the only state that in territory and population will be greater than that of independent Ukraine. These facts are of considerable strategic value to a numerically strong independent Ukraine. In friendly relations with her neighbors she will become the central power, around which smaller independent states will naturally orient themselves politically, economically and strategically. This gives even greater value to the importance of Ukraine's claim for independence.

The Ukrainian people possess a remarkably rich and varied folk lore, replete with the national traditions of a great historic past. Their advanced culture of a thousand years, is remarkably distinct from that of their neighbors. In spite of the centuries of Russian and Polish influences, the Ukrainians have retained the pure national characteristics of their culture on a high plane, absorbing but little, if any, from the customs of the oppressors, who forced on the Ukrainian population their state culture. As a matter of fact the Ukrainian culture made an indelible imprint on the cultures of the Russian, Polish, Rumanian and Hungarian peoples. Ukrainian literature is not well known abroad, yet, it is unusually rich and is on an equal plane with any Slavic or Scandinavian literature. It must be kept in mind that the Ukrainians

have greatly enriched Russian and Polish literature by their writings in these languages, and it is safe to say that western nations would be willing to claim as their own such outstanding men of letters as Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Michael Kotzubinsky, Lessia Ukrainka, Olga Kobylanska, Alexander Oles and others. In the fields of art and music Ukraine has equally great men who have contributed much to Ukrainian, as well as Russian and Polish culture, and who could well adorn, by their works, any leading nation of the world. The artistry and harmony of the brilliant hues on the beautifully hand-embroidered costumes, worn by young and old, men and women alike, are incomparably handsome. The natural freedom, spontaneity of expression, vigor and elegance of movements, with the charming steps and patterns that characterize the distinctive Ukrainian national dances, have been acclaimed in universal praise. The beauty of Ukrainian folk-songs is renowned throughout the world and has given inspiration to many of the leading composers of classic music.

VI

The natural resources of Ukraine are tremendously rich. She occupies a leading position in world production of many agricultural products. According to the latest statistical data, the ethnic Ukrainian territory is third in world wheat production, third in rye, third in barley, third in sugar beets, fifth in beet sugar, fourth in potatoes, seventh in corn, sixth in flax seed, second in flax fiber, second in hemp fiber, and is an important producer of truck and vegetable crops as well as grapes, fruits, etc.

In livestock production Ukraine is not very far behind the first few leading nations of the world. She is fifth in breeding horses, seventh in cattle, fifth in pigs, and eleventh in sheep. She is known to be a heavy exporter of poultry as well as of eggs.

Ukraine is the home of the wheat known in America as the Turkey Red and Durum varieties, and the wheat and other grains that Soviet Russia exports to other countries are grown mostly on Ukrainian soil.

Although Ukraine is primarily an agricultural country, with rapidly developing commerce and industry, she has abundant deposits of mineral wealth such as iron ore, coal, manganese, oil, salt, copper and other

minerals. Her world output of leading underground wealth is equally impressive. Ukraine occupies second place in manganese production in the world. She is fourth in iron ore production, fourth in pig iron, fourth in potash, fifth in coal, sixth in steel, sixth in rolled metal, eighth in petroleum, eighth in salt, and by the recent addition of her large Dnieprostroi hydro-electric plant, she occupies fifth place in the production of hydro-electric energy.

In addition to these, Ukraine has valuable deposits of minor minerals as well as other important natural resources.

With such wealth the Ukrainian ethnic territories have supplied many essential items of trade and commerce to the nations who now, by force, occupy the Ukrainian lands. Much of this wealth has been exported abroad, rapaciously exploiting Ukraine, without due consideration of the native population, which has been kept on a low level of economic subsistence and whose educational, social and cultural requirements were grossly neglected. An independent Ukraine, by the rational exploitation and prudent conservation of her own resources, will be able to raise the standard of living, social and economic welfare of her people, while maintaining her friendly political and economic relations among the family of nations.

Doubtless, Russia and other aggressor nations will maintain that they need the Ukrainian wealth and territory for their own existence. In reply the Ukrainians assert that an independent Ukraine can live without Russian or Polish overlordship. And if Russia cannot live without Ukraine, on its present grand scale style, then Russia should be reduced to her own ethnographic boundaries and make her living according to her own resources, found available within her ethnic territories, as any other nation does and should do.

Because of her rich natural resources, Ukraine has been a bone of contention between several neighboring states. The Ukrainian people, however, have never waived their claims to a united Ukrainian sovereign and independent state, and no political, economic, national or cultural oppressions can exterminate the living soul of a people, so rich in its brilliant history, so ancient in culture, and so individualistic a people, who cherish and defend their

cultural heritage, national and individual rights for freedom and independence and through them lead to world peace.

VII

In conclusion, it must be stated, that on the basis of the above mentioned facts the case for Ukraine's independence deserves just consideration not only for its humanitarian aspects, as well as justice and equality of the rights of people, but also for its economic, strategic and political considerations.

Will the mistakes of the Versailles Peace Treaty be repeated again? Or will the next international peace conference courageously consider the importance of the Ukrainian problem in its entire magnitude and in its relation to European and World powers? If a new world order is to be created at the end of the present struggle, the Ukrainian question cannot be neglected, for it is the keystone to the equitable adjustment and settlement of a long chain of problems in Eastern Europe. It is apparent, that neither the *status quo*, nor the creation of a new "Cordon Sanitaire" out of conglomerate states will provide the desired balance, because the inherent weakness of such states has been tragically demonstrated in recent history. On the other hand, it has been equally well demonstrated that the homogeneous nationally united states are able to withstand the onslaught of much greater forces of numerically larger aggressor nations. The homogeneous countries have shown their virility and the remarkable ability to deal with their internal problems to the greater satisfaction of the entire population.

It is of interest to recall that Finland was not created by the World War Allies but emerged by the invincible will of the Finnish people. In the present struggle homogeneous Finland has resisted Soviet Russia for three months, thus aiding the Allies in their preparedness against inevitable eventualities. On the other hand mosaic Poland was the creation of the western Allies and has become a decided liability in the pres-

ent conflict, and yielded up half of her territory to Soviet Russia without any resistance. Had there been in existence today a homogeneous independent Ukrainian state, the present struggle would probably have been averted and a greater possibility of peace would have been assured. With these facts in mind, the case of Ukraine's plea for independence becomes at present of even greater importance.

Her case for independence rests on the fact that the nation of fifty millions by virtue of her geographic position, in cooperation with national neighboring states and western powers, will provide an adequate balance between the two potential dangers in central and eastern Europe.

Her case for independence is augmented by the indomitable will of her masses who, in the twentieth century saved western Europe from Communism just as in the thirteenth century she saved Europe from the Mongol invasions. By her stubborn resistance to communist innovations she has restrained the red march westward for twenty bitter years, at the price of her own liberty and millions of deaths of innocent people. Without just consideration of Ukrainian aspirations the Red frontiers may soon be placed at the threshold of western democracies and America.

Her case for independence is further strengthened by the fact that the Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics provides in its Constitution the right of any of its constituent republics to secession. Naturally, such secessions will never occur with the good will of the Russian people without a first-class external conflict. The disarmed and downtrodden Ukrainian masses, browbeaten by purges, liquidations and artificial famine, in fear for their lives, will never be able to express freely their innermost desire:—A Free and Independent Sovereign and United Ukraine. They are silenced for the moment by these circumstances and wait for dependable aid from the democracies.

The creation of an independent Ukraine in the present state of world affairs is indeed a political and economic expediency in the interest of justice and lasting peace.

