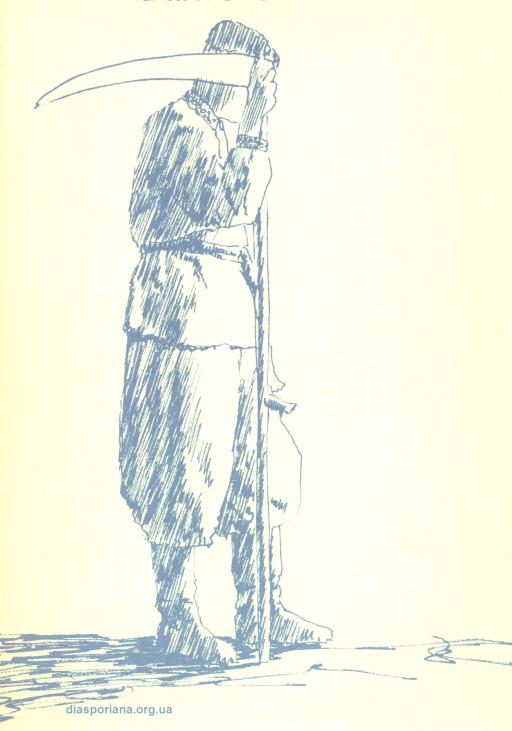
The Ukrainian Fall 1969 Trend



#### UKRAINIAN YOUTH LEAGUE

#### of North America Foundation, Inc.

2 EAST 79th STREET - NEW YORK, N. Y.

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### THE

## UKRAINIAN TREND



...absorb all cultures... Forget not your own

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Ukrainian Youth League of North America

Foundation, Inc.

#### THE UKRAINIAN TREND

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#### CONTENTS

CHAIRMAN'S REPORT 1969 (Walter Bacad)	3
THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE (Raymond J. Karbwinyk)	5
A CENTER OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY	ć
TENTH CONGRESS OF AMERICANS OF UKRAINIAN DESCENT	8
ukrainian american veterans	10
SIMON PETLURA - SYMBOL OF A FREE UKRAIN (Paul Nedwell)	11
UKRAINIAN CULTURE COURSES	20
DONERS	22

#### **CHAIRMAN'S REPORT 1969**

From

the

Chairman



The Ukrainian Youth League of North America Foundation, Inc., extends a warm welcome to the delegates and guests attending the 36th Annual Convention of the Ukrainian Youth League of North America in Pittsburgh, Penn. The FOUNDATION, commemorating the 12th anniversary of its founding, cordially invites those present to attend its annual meeting, which is part of the UYLNA Convention.

In 1957 the UYLNA organized the UYLNA FOUNDATION to operate exclusively for literary and educational purposes, primarily to disseminate the culture and heritage of the Ukrainian people in order that it may more fully enrich the intellectual and artistic life of America. The following year the Internal Revenue Service approved the organization as a tax exempt organization.

During the past 12 years the dedicated men and women who have served as Trustees, Officers and Committee Chairmen of the Foundation, have diligently tried to fulfill those objectives.

The Foundation, in its continuing efforts to implement those purposes, herewith submits its yearly report:

#### **BOARD OF TRUSTEES**

The 35th Annual Convention meeting in Philadelphia, Penn., Labor Day Weekend, 1968 elected Walter Bacad as a three year trustee of the Foundation. Officers elected at the first Board of Trustees meeting were:

CHAIRMAN	Walter Bacad
VICE-CHAIRMAN	Eugene Woloshyn
SECRETARY	George Pankrath
TREASURER	Robert W. Hussar

Trustees elected for a one year term were: Dr. Lev Dobriansky, Michael Komichak, Leon Kossar and Edward Popil. Mr. George Pankrath was appointed Publicity Director, Mr. Leon Kossar, Cultural Director and Mr. Myron Kuropas, Education Director.

#### LITERARY:

The Foundation during the past year has published and distributed one issue of the Ukrainian Trend. Another issue is presently in the hands of the printer and will be mailed during the month of September. It extends its appreciation to those who were of assistance in submitting articles, and in the publication and distribution of the magazine.

#### **EDUCATIONAL**

The UYLNA once again offered scholarships to the Ukrainian Cultural Courses at the UNA Estate at Kerhonkson, N.Y. and at the UWA Resort Center at Glen Spey, N.Y. An essay contest: "WHY THE UKRAINIAN CULTURAL COURSES ARE IMPORTANT TO UKRAINIAN YOUTH" was won by Miss Elaine Woloshyn of Youngstown, Ohio, who elected to attend the courses at the UNA Estate. Both courses had the greatest number of students attending since they began; 66 at the UNA Estate and 40 at the UWA Resort Center.

#### FINANCES:

The Treasurer reports a balance of \$2858.70 as of July 31, 1969. This does not report an additional amount of \$230.00 received after that date from the Financial Campaign. Outstanding obligations of about \$500.00 have not cleared the bank as of the July 31, 1969 period.

#### FINANCIAL CAMPAIGN:

Mr. Amil Hrisko was selected Chairman for the 1968-1969 Financial Campaign. The current campaign brought in contributions of \$1287.00 from 184 contributors. The Foundation looks to its friends for their continued financial assistance in helping us to expand our projects, and expresses its appreciation and thanks for their contributions.

#### CULTURAL:

The Foundation project to film an education film on the Ukrainian National Dance — HOPAK has not been completed, due to financial difficulties, as the projected cost of the undertaking would be about \$5,000.00. Further discussions to implement the project will be held.

#### WITH FAITH WE HOPE

The film has become available to the member clubs, as well as to other Ukrainian organizations. The half hour color film depicts the Ukrainian struggle for independence. It tells the story of Ukraine's fight for freedom and independence through historical illustrations, music and colorful Ukrainian dances.

Walter Bacad

## The President's Message

By

#### RAYMOND J. KARBWINYK, PRESIDENT U.Y.L.N.A.

Everytime a group of Ukrainian Youth League members gather for a large meeting you can be sure that there will be a member or two who have given active and loyal service to this organization for 10, 20, or 30 years or more. What a great inspiration to the rest of us! By the same token, you can find, in most cities and communities the Youth Leaguer who was active for a year or two and then quit and dropped out. What makes these two people different?

I would like to salute the people of the Ukrainian Youth League of North America who serve their organization unselfishly month after month, year after year, decade after decade. This story of service and leadership begins with each local officer and goes on to our national officers, as well as the hundreds of active members from coast to coast. We owe them much!

One of the questions that is asked many time is the innocent query from members, "Do you enjoy working for the League?". Many of the officers are much like myself. I put in close to 48 hours a week at my "full time" vocation, I am involved in Ukrainian Community affairs, I have a family and a home, and I give an average of about 10 hours each week to the U.Y.L.N.A. This is not untypical of most of our officers.

Many of the officers have discovered that we only get as much out of the league as we are willing to invest and commit. We learned this as members and, for us, our years in the League were of the utmost significance and meaning. We have gained so much — socially, intellectually, leadership maturity and all the rest. We continue to work hard for the League, partly out of appreciation, but primarily out of the joy which comes from our association with the finest people and the satisfaction of knowing that the Ukrainian Youth League of North America will continue to be available to the Youth of Tomorrow.

Perhaps this says something to the Youth Leaguer who suddenly has decided to drop out. Ask yourself this question, "Did I invest as much into the Ukrainian Youth League as I expected to receive from it?".

#### A CENTER OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY

On January 22, 1968, the fiftieth anniversary of Ukraine's Proclamation of Independence, Harvard University formally agreed to the creation of professorships in Ukrainian history, literature and language. These three professorships (chairs) and a research institute will form the proposed Center of Ukrainian Studies.

A few weeks later an interdepartmental Harvard faculty Committee on Ukrainian Studies under the chairmanship of Professor Omelan Pritsak was set up by the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences and was charged with the task of preparing a budget and a plan of instruction.

#### **Progress Report**

Dr. Oleksander Ohloblyn, a well-known authority on the history of the Ukrainian Hetman State and a former professor of Kiev University, was appointed visiting professor; he delivered his first lecture on October 11, 1968, and thus inaugurated the activities of the first Ukrainian professorship ever established in any university of the free world.

By the end of 1968 the funding of the first Chair in Ukrainian Studies at Harvard was completed: the sum of \$600,000 was presented to Harvard by the Ukrainian Studies Chair Fund. This endowment fund will make **one** professorship financially self-sufficient and only the interest earned by this fund will be used to finance the activities of the professorship on a continuing basis regardless of the number of students enrolled in the Ukrainian program.

#### The Initiative Came from Students

It is appropriate to mention here that, unlike other endowed professorships, this one has not been a product of a wealthy philanthropist, a large corporation or a foreign government, but the result of a cumulative effort of thousands of Ukrainian Americans in every valk of life. Thus, after years of hard work and perseverance the first stage of an idea which was born at the Third Congress of Ukrainian Students (SUSTA) in 1957 came to its fruitful conclusion.

Prompted by daily experience with their fellow students and professors, the Ukrainian students were first to realize that the knowledge about Eastern Europe in general and Ukraine in particular was inadequate in American universities. They also realized that the prevailing misconceptions would have to be corrected from within the American educational structure itself, and not from the outside, as e.g., by the Ukrainian instituitions of learning in America, which were quite often dubbed "emigre" or "nationalist" by the American scholars and, therefore, "biased" and not inspiring any confidence.

#### The Aims of the Studies Center

It is hoped that continued financial support from the Ukrainian community will assure an early activation of the other two chairs in the fields of Ukrainian literature and linguistics and the research institute. Together they will provide:

- publication of original scholarly works, textbooks, and reprints of source materials which in the academic year 1969-1970 alone will include some 25 titles (volumes) as part of a continuing publishing effort known as the Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies;
- full programs of study in Ukrainian linguistics, literature and history leading to all academic degrees, including the doctorate;
- 3. courses for the students majoring in other Slavic or history programs with minor in Ukrainian studies, and
- 4. facilities for research in all aspects of Ukrainian culture.

While serving as a source of objective and scholarly information in the United States, the Center of Ukrainian Studies at Harvard will stimulate the cause of native scholarship in Ukraine. It is a well-known fact that as a matter of policy the Soviet Russian rulers in Ukraine do not permit free scholarly research and other academic activities in the fields of Ukrainian history, literature and linguistics. However, serious cultural projects undertaken by free Ukrainians have forced Moscow to make some concessions to Ukrainian scholarship in these areas as Moscow apparently feels uncomfortable in being outdone.

Thus, the publication of a Ukrainian Encyclopaedia, a scholarly volume on the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev, and other works of free Ukrainians were followed by similar Soviet Ukrainian publications which, of course, had to be slanted in various aspects to pass the Moscow censors. But even these Soviet Ukrainian publications are destined for export only as their unavailability in Soviet bookstores and limited circulation indicate.

#### Prospective Sources of Financial Support

There are various forms of providing financial support to the Center of Ukrainian Studies at Harvard: among them are contributions from individuals and organizations, bequests, gifts and proceeds from concerts and other cultural activities.

Some 395 American companies such as the Ford Motor Co. and IBM have gift-matching programs. Please find out whether your employer has a program to match your contribution to Harvard University's Ukrainian project. If so, kindly complete the gift-matching form provided by your employer; mail same and (or) your check or money order to:

Ukrainian Studies Chair Fund 302 West 13th Street New York, N. Y. 10014

In accordance with the ruling of Internal Revenue Service of July 11, 1962 (T:R:EO4 WJL), all contributions to the Ukrainian Studies Chair Fund are tax-deductible.

#### AMERICANS OF UKRAINIAN DESCENT TO HOLD TENTH CONGRESS IN NEW YORK CITY IN OCTOBER, 1969 — DEDICATED TO LATE PROF. ROMAN SMAL-STOCKI

American Notables, Outstanding Leaders and Representatives of Ethnic Communities to Address the Congress — 10 American and Ukrainian Leaders To Receive "Shevchenko Freedom Award" — Important Resolutions to Be

Adopted at Congress, Expected to Draw 600 Delegates

NEW YORK, N. Y. (UCCA Special). — On October 24, 25 and 26, 1969 the Tenth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent will take place at the Commodore Hotel, 42nd Street and Lexington Avenue, in New York City, at which 600 delegates from all parts of the United States and hundreds of guests and friends are expected to take part. The Congress is called by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), which unites over 1,200 Ukrainian American organizations, clubs, fraternal lodges, veterans and youth organizations, women's and sports groups, as well as social, cultural and educational societies. The Congress will be dedicated to the late Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki, outstanding Ukrainian leader.

The UCCA was established in 1940 in Washington on the eve of the United States entry into World War II and for the past 29 years it has been

a moving force among Americans of Ukrainian descent.

The overall objective of the UCCA is to enlist the enlightened support of the United States and the free world at large for the freedom aspirations of the 46-million Ukrainian people, as well as all other captive nations behind the Iron Curtain.

Since 1940 the UCCA has been and continues to be a vigorous American anti-Communist organization, dedicated to the maintenance of our independence and security and to the establishment of genuine freedom and self-determination in Ukraine and other captive lands. Consequently, the UCCA has fought against any appeasement of Communist Russia and it is critical of "peaceful coexistence" with the USSR, in the firm belief that this has been used by the Kremlin to subvert and infiltrate the free world rather than to coexist with it.

#### Cultural Programs Advanced

Since the 8th and 9th Congresses of Americans of Ukrainian Descent in 1962 and 1966, respectively, the UCCA has exerted much effort toward implementation of several cultural and educational projects. Among them was the erection of the monument in Washington, D. C. in honor of Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's national hero and poet-laureate. It has been and is still striving to prevail upon the U. S. Congress to establish a special House Committee on Captive Nations and to issue a Shevchenko Freedom Stamp. The UCCA supervises some 80 Ukrainian-language schools which function under its Educational Council; it publishes books and brochures dealing with the history and present political situation of the Ukrainian people, and it publishes regularly The Ukrainian Quarterly (since 1944) and The Ukrainian Bulletin (since 1948).

#### Defense of Human Rights

Since the last 9th Congress, held in 1966, important developments have taken place in Ukraine which spurred the activities and operations of the UCCA. Since 1964, the Soviet government has been engaged in the ruthless

persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals, such as V. Chornovil, I. Svitlychny, I. Dzyuba, S. Karavansky, I. Kandyba, M. Masyutko, V. Moroz, Y. Shukhevych, V. Horbovy, O. Zalyvakha, and many others. It sent strong protests to the U.N. and the State Department, urging an investigation of Soviet Russian genocide of the Ukrainian people. The UCCA sent a representative to the U.N. International Human Rights Conference in Teheran in 1968 with the purpose of making the plight of the captive Ukrainian people known to the world.

Because of its anti-Communist stance, the UCCA has been assailed by the communist press in Ukraine and Russia, and labeled as "a tool of Wall Street

and American imperialists."

The UCCA has been lauded by Presidents Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon (as Vice President of the United States) for its dedicated work for the preservation of freedom at home and its establishment in Ukraine and in other captive nations.

#### Objectives of the Congress

The 10th Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent will include regular business sessions, luncheon sessions and a banquet, at which prominent American leaders and representatives of ethnic communities and foreign embassies will take part.

Special "Shevchenko Freedom Award" plaques will be presented to 10 American and Ukrainian leaders in recognition of their services to the UCCA

and the cause of freedom in general.

Among the specific objectives of the 10th Congress of Americans of

Ukrainian Descent will be the following:

—Maximum mobilization of effort by Americans of Ukrainian descent to help their kinsmen in Ukraine who suffer oppression and persecution imposed by Communist Russia;

—Continued efforts toward the establishment of a special House Com-

mittee on Captive Nations in the House of Representatives;

—Issuance by the U.S. Government of a "Shevchenko Freedom Stamp" in honor of the great Ukrainian poet who advocated for Ukraine a political system similar to the U.S. government:

—Drive to enlist Ukrainian American youth into the vast system of the

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America;

—Expansion of UCCA publications—The Ukrainian Quarterly and The Ukrainian Bulletin, and other publications, such as books and pamphlets through which the cause of Ukrainian freedom could be advanced and better appreciated:

—Augment the Ukrainian National Fund, the sole financial basis which pro-

vides the necessary funds for all UCCA projects and operations;

—Purchase of representative headquarters of the UCCA in New York City. The Tenth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent is expected to pass strong resolutions denouncing Soviet Russian persecution of Ukrainian culture and destruction of Ukrainian Churches by Moscow, and its relentless Russification of Ukraine and all other captive non-Russian nations in the USSR.

The President of the UCCA since 1949, has been Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, a native American educator, born in New York of Ukrainian parents, who is a prominent scholar and outstanding leader, and professor of economics at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

#### **Ukrainian American Veterans**

Ukrainian American Veterans re-elected their entire National Executive Board to another term in office at the final business session of their 22nd Annual Convention, held at the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association Resort, Verkhovyna, on June 27-29, 1969.

Re-elected at the convention were: William M. Dubetz, national commander; Michael Wengryn, Sr. vice-commander; William Drabyk, jr. vice-commander; Peter Michalowicz, finance officer; William Harrison, judge advocate; Walter Maik, quartermaster; Walter Halchak, chaplain; Edward Tencer, historian; Emerick Prestash, welfare officer.

Past national commander Eugene Sagasz and his committee received words of praise from Mr. Dubetz for planning and executing the convention program.

The convention committee consisted of Eugene Sagasz, chairman; Peter Michalewicz, co-chairman; Michael Wengryn and William Harrison, reservations; William Drabyk, publicity; Walter Maik, banquet; and Jerry Fedorczuk, sports.

Commander Dubetz gave the opening address and report to convention delegates, at the same time presenting the UAV plaque which, upon approval by the Department of the Army, will be placed in Arlington National Cemetary. A large turnout is expected for the formal presentation and installation of the plaque in Washington.

Also on the agenda was a discussion of the recently published UAV enlistment brochure which is to be used for increasing membership in UAV posts.

Commander Dubetz reported that a donation for an orphanage in Vietnam had been made and that a pamphlet entitled "Operation Help Out, the UAV in Vietnam" is being prepared for publication. The pamphlet gives a picture history of assistance to Vietnamese orphans.

National recognition of the UAV came under discussion and it was resolved the National Executive Board would soon publish a position paper on the issues in guestion, which would be distributed to the membership.

The reports of national officers were accepted by the convention, and a series of resolutions was passed. The resolutions will be published shortly.

The program of the convention banquet included talks by Mr. Dubetz; Mr. Batiuk, president of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association; and Mr. Edward Popil, financial secretary of the UWA. Toastmaster at the banquet was Mr. Jerry Promko, editor of the newly published English language magazine "Forum," and the English edition of "Narodna Volya."

An Installation Ball followed the banquet.

Mr. Dubetz has appointed Harold Bochonko as his adjutant while the service officer and liason officer will be appointed shortly.

# Simon Petlura Symbol of a Free Ukraine

## By PAUL NEDWELL

On May 10, 1879 Simon Vasylovych Petlura was born in the suburbs to an impoverished Kozak family. Simon Petlura earned a distaste for the existing social system and for the realities of human exploitation early in his life. Many of his early writings reflect the influence of Marxism; however, they also reflect his ardent advocacy of the Ukrainian national movement.

In 1895 he entered the seminary in Poltava as a young theology student. In 1898 he joined the Ukrainian seminary society and became head of the society. And in the year 1900, while he was still in the seminary, he became a member-founder of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, which was the first of the modern Ukrainian political parties to put into their party platform the watchwords: "an independent Ukraine by the path of political-national struggle, and not only by cultural work."

In 1901 Simon Petlura was an active participant in the conference of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, and he was a delegate to the All-Ukrainian Student Congress from the Ukrainian seminary society, although he was still in the seminary. In the beginning of 1901, he was expelled from his last classes after the discovery of his constant activity in secret societies which professed the desire for revolution and agrarian reform.

In 1902 Simon Petlura began his literary activity. In the spring of 1902 there erupted a great peasant revolt in which the Poltava seminarians played a leading role. Simon Petlura was placed under arrest and sent to the Kuban district on the Black Sea where he was a teacher in the city school of Katerynodar for a short while. Afterwards he worked in the archives of the Kuban Army under the command of F. A. Shcherbyn. At the same time he was active in the Free Black Sea Society of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party in Katerynodar, and he collaborated in the illegal publishing of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, that was put out in Lvov. As a result of this activity he was arrested in the middle of December 1903 and spent about three months in prison. He was released on bail; and he returned to Kiev, from which he traveled in 1904 outside of the borders of Imperial Russia to Lvov.

In Lvov Simon Petlura resumed his political and journalistic activity.

In December of 1904 there took place a conference of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party concerning the business of a possible unification with the Russian Socialist-Democratic joined the faction that opposed the union.

Petlura returned to Kiev after an amnesty near the end of 1905. He traveled to Lvov again to attend the Congress of Western Ukrainian Social-Democrats, where Svatoslav Tagon spoke. Svatoslav Tagon was from the Ukrainian Socialist-Democratic Workers' Party.

Petlura, with the majority of the members of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, had formed the Ukrainian Socialist-Democratic Workers' Party, in the ranks of which they remained until February 1919. He did not go along with a minority of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party which had earlier broken away to form the Ukrainian National Party, because he believed that the national-state liberation of the Ukrainian nation was intertwined with the social liberation of the Ukrainian masses. Also, the higher social and economic strata of Ukrainian society was almost entirely Russianized or Polonized.

Petlura was working as a co-editor of "Ukrainian Life" when the revolution of 1905 broke out. As a member of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, Petlura took an active part in the revolt against the Czar and after the revolution spent itself he fled into exile.

After a general amnesty, Petlura returned to Kiev. In Kiev Petlura published and edited the first Ukrainian daily paper, "The Word." In 1906 in Petersburg he edited the paper, "Free Ukraine." A little later on Petlura edited the Ukrainian paper, "Rada," in Kiev. He moved to Moscow in 1911, and in 1912 he edited the Ukrainian monthly journal in the Russian language, "Ukrainian Life." The journal, "Ukrainian Life," was founded in Moscow on the initiative of Mykailo Hrushevsky, who hoped to make Ukrainian affairs familiar to Russian society by the publication of the journal.

The Petersburg Academy of Sciences was interested in the journal. One of its academicians, Fedir Korsh, went to Moscow to meet with the editor personally. On a private letter to one of his friends, Korsh wrote the following prophetic words: "I met with the editor of the journal, Petlura... It seems to me that Ukrainians themselves do not know who they have among them. They think that he is a distinguished editor, patriot, public servant, etc. This is true, but it is not all. This man is in infinitely greater than they think. He is of the race of leaders, a person of such clay, that founded imperial dynasties in early times, and that in our democratic age stand as national heros. He lives under unfavorable circumstances, and he himself is not able to discover this in himself. But who knows whether all will not turn about, and when it turns about he may be able to stand as leader of the nation..."

During World War I, Petlura directed the economical and statistical section of All-Russian Zemstvo Union. He continued in this position until the March Revolution of 1917.

The background of Petlura was therefore not a military character. In civilian life Petlura was mainly a journalist. Even with the outbreak of World War I, Petlura shunned military service and preferred working with the Zemstvo Union.

After the Third Universal of the Central Rada, which proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic, Petlura returned to Ukraine and almost at once took to military work, arriving as a delegate to the first Ukrainian Military Congress, that opened on May 22, 1918 in Kiev. Because of his great popularity, Petlura was elected President of the Ukrainian Military Congress and selected a Minister of War in the Ukrainian Rada.

General Salsky, a professional soldier from Czarist times, and a co-worker of Simon Petlura on the staff of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic, was to write: "He was not versed in military skill, he did not study military matters in the schools, but he was unique among us, of the political workers, who from the very beginning of the Russian Revolution understood the meaning and need of armed forces for Ukraine in the new conditions of her historical life . . . "

Due to his leanings toward the Entente, Petlura was imprisoned briefly after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk when General Pavlo Skoropadsky, by an arrangement with the German forces of occupation, was elected "Hetman of all Ukraine" by a congress of the Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party, which convened in Kiev on April 29, 1918. Hetman Skoropadsky removed the Rada in a bloodless manner and took over the government. Hetman Skoropadsky set up an autocratic government which rejected all the socialist reforms of the Central Rada. There is little doubt that Hetman Skoropadsky was a Ukrainian patriot, but he did not have the support of the Ukrainian masses. During his 8 month rule, Hetman Skoropadsky brought law and order to Ukraine. However, after the defeat of the Central Powers and the release of Simon Petlura, it was not difficult to remove Hetman Skoropadsky, who had little backing from the Ukrainian masses.

At this moment Vynnychenko tried to rally the forces of the former Central Rada by forming a Directory of the various Ukrainian socialist parties. He included Simon Petlura in the new Directory.

More important for the Ukrainian Cause, however, was the work of Simon Petlura. At the first sign of the weakening of the forces of Hetman Skoropadsky, Petlura felt that action was needed more than just words, so he went to Bila Tserkva and won over one of the Hetman's forces, the Rifles of the Zaporozhian Sich, a crack rifle regiment. With this as a nucleus, he started an uprising which spread throughout all Ukraine and ultimately carried him and the Directory into Kiev.

On December 14, 1918, a detachment of the Ukrainian Army under the command of Colonel Eugene Konovalets entered Kiev. On December 19, Petlura entered Kiev to re-establish the Ukrainian National Republic.

It had been two years since the establishment of the Rada and one year since the declaration of independence Petlura and other Ukrainian patriots had to reorganize a disorganized and devasted Ukraine. The task of Petlura was becoming more difficult all the time. It was a time for only true and steadfast Ukrainian patriots.

Petlura's dream was for a national democratic Ukrainian republic, but the newly proclaimed Ukrainian National Republic of January 22, 1919 was strife with anarchy and foreign intervention.

These were hard days for the Ukrainian nation. Poland had her eyes on West Ukraine, part of her ancient empire; Denikin, waging a civil war against the Bolsheviks, would not hesitate to turn his armies on Petlura's forces, because of his intense hatred for Ukrainian independence. The Bolsheviks a threat in Petlura, because of his constant anti-Bolshevik propaganda, his recall of Ukrainian units from the Bolshevik Army, and his refusal to allow the Bolsheviks to fight the counter-revolution on Ukrainian soil.

The West was not even inclined to give moral support to the Ukrainian nation. France sought only the welfare of Poland and supplied her with arms which were used against Petlura's forces. The United States refused to then acknowledge Ukraine's claim to independence, wanting instead to see a unified Russia under Denikin. Great Britain's Lloyd George was mildly sympathetic to the Ukrainian Cause, but his was a voice crying in the wilderness.

The odds against the establishment of one, undivided, independent Ukraine were tremendous. Petlura tried to save a nation, when neither Alexander the Great of Macedonia nor Napoleon Bonaparte could have saved it.

During the winter of 1918-1919, the pressure of the Poles on the Western Ukrainian Army never let up. The Poles, who were supposed to be fighting the Bolshevik forces, turned against the Western Ukrainian Army and drove it eastward.

The Allies, faced with restraining Poland by force of arms and thereby weakening her, yielded to Polish demands. On June 25, 1919 the Supreme Allied Council notified Poland that she could advance to the Zbruch River in order to check the Bolsheviks. The Polish forces, under General Haller, rapidly advanced till by July they had conquered all of West Ukraine. Seventy-five thousand men of the Western Ukrainian Army retreated to join Petlura at Kamyanets-Podolsky.

These events in West Ukraine added to the difficulties of the Directory in Kiev. Vynnychenko finally resigned, and Petlura accended to power as head Otaman of the army and head of the cabinet.

On February 4, 1919, Petlura, together with the government and army, was forced to evacuate Kiev under pressure from the Bolshevik forces. He withdrew towards the northwest until he reached the city of Kamyanets-Podolsky, where he was joined in July by the Western Ukrainian Army.

In spite of the many difficulties, order was restored out of the chaos. The united Eastern and Western Ukrainian Armies, under Petlura's able leadership, re-entered Kiev and re-established the government of the Ukrainian National Republic. Petlura had instilled the Ukrainian movement with such life and vigor, that even the Bolsheviks in Moscow tried to profit by it by recognizing

the independence of their own Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and by preaching an independent Ukrainian Communism.

Simon Petlura made one great mistake. Thinking that the forces of Denikin would hasten the retreat of the Bolshevik forces back to Moscow, Petlura ordered his troops not to fire on Denikins soldiers under any circumstances. The Ukrainian Army had taken Kiev by storm on the evening of August 30, 1919, but the Ukrainian troops did not destroy the bridges across the Dnieper River, neither did they secure the approaches on the opposite side, since the order "not to fire on Denikin's soldiers" had not been recalled. Denikin's General Bredow waged a sneak-attack on Kiev during the night and met no opposition due to Petlura's order. Petlura immediately recalled his troops. The Kievan failure and a new war with Denikin's forces endangered the very existence of the entire Ukrainian Army.

To make matters worse, a terrible epidemic of typhus spread out among the soldiers and the civilian population. In October of 1919 almost 90 per cent of the Ukrainian Army fell victim to the deadly typhus. All of Petlura's pleas for help came to nought, although medical supplies were stored in nearby cities.

By the spring of 1920, nearly all of Ukraine was in the hands of the Bolsheviks. Petlura, with the remains of his forces withdrew onto Polish soil.

At that moment, Petlura made a momentous decision. He signed a treaty of peace with the Polish government which recognized the Directory as the government of an independent Ukrainian National Republic. In return for Marshal Pilsudski's military assistance in driving the Bolsheviks from Ukraine, Petlura had to agree to the placing of the Western Ukrainian territories under temporary Polish occupation.

The treaty was signed on April 21, 1920; and four days later the Polish Army marched on Kiev together with the forces of Petlura. There was little opposition, and on May 6 a division of the Ukrainian Army, with its Polish allies, entered Kiev. It now seemed that it would be possible to begin rebuilding the nation.

But disappointment befell Petlura, as the population did not rally to his side. The Polish forces in Kiev far outnumbered the Ukrainian forces. The sight of the Poles angered many of the Ukrainians, and they blamed Petlura for the alliance with the Poles and for his abandonment of Western Ukraine.

Early in June, the cavalry forces of Budeny succeeded in crossing the Dnieper River and placing themselves in the Polish rear. The Poles were forced to make a speedy retreat to Poland, abandoning Ukraine. Petlura and his forces had to retreat with them, leaving Kiev to the Bolsheviks.

The Poles stopped the Bolsheviks in a great battle on the Vistula between August 13 and 20. The Bolsheviks were thrown back in a disastrous rout. The Treaty of Riga was signed on November 12, 1920. By the terms of the treaty, Poland kept the Western Ukrainian territories and relinquished the remaining Ukrainian territory to the Bolsheviks.

Petlura fled to Warsaw, and later he left for Paris. For nine years, Petlura refused to give up the struggle for an independent Ukrainian state never wavered in his years of exile. He had come from the national masses, and he understood their needs; and they, the masses, trusted Petlura, for they saw in him their own elect, their own champion, and their own representative.

He had an intense energy and a devotion to the greater ideal of an independent Ukrainian statehood for which he tirelessly worked during his years in exile.

His faith in the final victory of the Ukrainian national-state aspirations was boundless. In the emigration he wrote: "In the solemn legislated statements, in the war for freedom and in the uprisings, our nation discovers its own unyielding freedom to live an independent state life. In the struggle for this, our nation does not cease and will not cease. Let it be long and stubborn, let it take new and new sacrifices, but an independent Ukraine — whether Europe wants it or not — still will be."

Petlura worked hard for the liberation of Ukraine after he withdrew to foreign soil. In the emigration he headed the State Center of the Ukrainian National Republic and guided it for the purpose of counterbalancing the "soviet" government of Moscow. His untiring efforts help to pave the way for the eventual liberation of the Ukrainian nation.

At this same time, a national class — conscience grew stronger in Ukraine along with the popularity of Petlura among the masses. This popularity worried the Muscovite Bolsheviks, for it was even to be found among some Ukrainian Communists. In Ukraine a Petlura movement grew. Chuvar, head of the government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, confirmed this in a speech he delivered to a congress of the Ukrainian Young Communist League. This speech appeared in the "Proletariat Truth" in March of 1926, just two and a half months before the death of Petlura, and it stated: "In your own everyday work you yourselves cannot imagine, that alongside the government of workers and peasants there is yet a second government beyond the borders, the Ukrainian National Republic of Simon Petlura — a 'government' without territory, without people. But this government prepares for the victory of Chamberlin to again attempt to destroy our building, to damage the workers' laboring to go by the peaceful road to socialism. In order to finally destroy this peril, we must . . . keep our eyes on that danger, in order that among us here there will not be adherents of a new struggle, adherents of an association with the bourgeois. Let this not appear as some kind of abstraction to us, but it is in us and in the people, who are inclined towards a Petlura movement, towards a petty bourgeois regime, that leads an underground struggle. They introduce themselves as champions of a national republic, as independent from Russia ..."

Petlura had used his remarkable personality to good advantage in Paris. He gathered around him other exiled Ukrainian emigrees, who fought with and remembered the brave soldier, who earned respect by his courage in battle, often leading the army at the front lines with a riflle in his hands. Petlura also founded a weekly newspaper, "Trident," in Paris. His success was feared and hated by the Bolsheviks, who sent a young Russian Jew, Samuel Schwartzbard, to kill Petlura and end this menace plaguing their grip on Ukraine. Schwartzbard was a deserter from the French Army during World War I, who joined the Bolshevik forces to fight in the Civil War. After the war he lived three years in Russia, before returning to Paris. On May 25, 1926, Schwartzbard encountered Petlura on the Rue Racine.

"Are you Petlura?" he asked him. Petlura simply raised his cane, and Schwartzbard poured five bullets into Petlura.

The trial was a human tragedy. The Bolshevik agent procured one of the best defense attorneys in France and defended himself eloquently in a packed courtroom, claiming that the murder was a revenge for Petlura's pogroms against the Jews. The press and public opinion mistakenly sided with the sadfaced Bolshevik, and the confused jury brought in a verdict of not guilty despite testimony by Prince Tokary and General Shapoval that Petlura's regular troops never participated in the massacre of the Jews. In actual fact Petlura condemned the pogroms and even appointed a number of Jews to the Directory and foreign posts. One such Jew, Arnold Margolin, tells how Petlura "with tears in his eyes implored his men not to commit them." On August 26, 1919, Petlura issued his Daily Order No. 131 to the troops of the Ukrainian National Republic:

"This order will be read in the divisions, the brigades, the regiments, the battalions, and the companies of the armies of the Dnieper and of the Dniester and the detachments of the insurgents:

"The sinister men of the 'Black Hundred' and the 'Red Hundred' are but one band. They are assiduously weaving the spider's web, provoking pogroms of the Jewish population, and on many occasions they have incited certain backward elements of our army to commit abominable acts. They have thus succeeded in defiling our struggle for liberty in the eyes of the world and in compromising our national cause.

"Officers and Kozaks! It is time to know that the Jews have, like the greater part of our Ukrainian population, suffered from the horrors of the Bolshevik — Communist invasion and follow the way to truth. The best Jewish groups such as the 'Bund,' the 'Unified,' the 'Poaley-Zion,' and the 'Folks Party' have willingly placed themselves at the disposal of the sovereign and independent Ukraine and co-operate with us.

"It is time to learn that the peaceful Jewish population, its women and children, have been oppressed in the same way as ours and deprived of national liberty. This population has lived with us for centuries and divines our pleasures and our sorrows."

"The chivalrous troops who bring fraternity, equality and liberty to all the nationalities of Ukraine, must not listen to the invaders and provocators who hunger for human blood. Neither can they remain indifferent in the face of the tragic fate of the Jews. He who becomes an accomplice to such crimes is a traitor and an enemy of our country, and he must be placed beyond the pale of human society."

"Officers and Kozaks! The entire world is amazed at your heroism. Do not tarnish it, even accidentally by an infamous adventure and do not dishonor our Republic in the eyes of the world. Our enemies have exploited the pogroms against us. They affirm that we are not worthy of an independent and sovereign existence and that we must be enslaved once again."

"Officers and Kozaks! Ensure the victory by directing your arms against the real enemy and remember that our pure cause necessitates pure hands. I expressly order you to drive away with your arms all who incite you to pogroms and bring them before the courts as enemies of the State, and the tribunal will judge them for their acts and the most severe penalties of the law will be inflicted upon those found quilty."

Evidence indicates that the members of the Black Hundred and the Bolsheviks stirred up hatred against the Jews to discredit Petlura and the Ukrainian National Republic. Although most historians now discount Petlura's responsibility for the pogroms, the enemies of the Ukrainian national struggle have repeatedly used them as a tool of propaganda against the Ukrainian people and against an independent Ukraine.

After the death of Petlura, Ukraine under the Muscovite-Bolshevik occupation covered itself with mourning. One example should suffice to show the mood of the Ukrainian people at that solemn moment in Ukrainian history. In Kiev in the Cathedral of Saint Sophia there took place a requiem to the Chief Otaman, announced outside as a requiem to Ivan Franko. This requiem was organized by the Union of Ukrainian Youth, that existed through the secret organization, the Union of the Liberation of Ukraine. Members of the Union of Ukrainian Youth distributed to those present a poem written about Petlura, by a young student, Boris Matushevsky.

When the promoters of the Union of Ukrainian Youth and the Union of the Liberation of Ukraine were brought to a showcase trial in Kharkov, the public prosecutor asked Boris Matyshevsky why he wrote the poem about Petlura. To that he proudly replied: "Because I consider Petlura a national hero." This was heard by radio throughout Ukraine. This trial, that had tried to compromise Petlura and the Ukrainian National Republic in the eyes of the Ukrainian people, had made quite a different impact on the people.

The architect of Ukrainian national freedom was only a mortal man and did not possess superhuman powers to unite a war-torn Ukraine on all sides. His stubborn refusal to listen to ministers due to his uncompromising conscience, which was truly needed at that moment by the suffering Ukrainian nation, led to the unfortunate Polish alliance which even Eugene Konovalets

bitterly opposed. But the Polish alliance was Petlura's last card. It was not Petlura's fault that the cards were stacked against him. His realistic willingness to concede a part of Ukraine temporarily to Poland in order to save all of Ukraine eventually, alienated many of Petlura's former supporters.

There was no one else to accomplish the founding of the Ukrainian nation. The tasks fell to Petlura, who gave his tremendous energies to the struggle of the Ukrainian people in their crusade for independence. He offered himself to the people as their Washington, but Ukraine had no outside support and was the target of too many greedy eyes just as was Czechoslovakia in August of 1968.

The destiny of leading a great independent Ukrainian nation was postponed for another man at a future time. However, in the future independent Ukrainian state, Petlura will be fully recognized as the one great symbol of a free Ukraine at peace with all its neighbors.

It is necessary to recognize the epoch-making times of Petlura and the Ukrainian National Republic for the liberation of Ukraine. Petlura did not carry the day. But have other nations that fought for their national liberation, achieved it by the space of a few years? Nothing of the sort! Greece, Italy, Bulgaria and other nations fought for centuries for their national liberation. The name and ideas of Simon Petlura will irradiate future Ukrainian patriots, who, because of his words and inspiration, will complete the unfinished victory of the Ukrainian liberation struggle.

In the most turbulent and trying times of the Ukrainian nation, God has seen fit to give her a leader worthy of the world's respect and acclaim. In the future life of the Ukrainian nation, another great leader, who may already be among the Ukrainian people, shall rise up and lead his people from the bondage of Muscovite domination.

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#### **Ukrainian Culture Courses**

Miss Elaine Woloshyn of Youngstown, Ohio, age 17, was judged the winner of the Stephen Shumeyko Memorial Scholarship Award to the Ukrainian Cultural Courses at the UNA Estate, Kerhonkson, N. Y., as a result of her essay on "Why the Ukrainian Cultural Courses are Important to Ukrainian Youth". Her essay follows:

The United States of America is a great melting pot. She is a nation of immigrants who have blended together their distinctive characteristics to make this country the most powerful in the free world.

Their reasons for coming to live here were many and varied, but each brought with him a dream of freedom, for America is "The land of the free."

Throughout the history of the Ukraine, we find this dream kept alive through centuries of oppression, so it is natural that the United States, based entirely upon this ideal of freedom, should become the new home of thousands of Ukrainians.

The Ukrainian Cultural Courses afford Ukrainian youth the unique opportunity to study the language and culture of their forefathers in an attempt to discover their own identities. For truly we are a part of those who have come before us. Even without our knowledge, their ideals and characteristics have been passed down to us and in a society where "identity" is an off-used word, a knowledge of our past is an important key to our present and future.

We now live in an ethnic society. Most of the stigma attached to being of foreign beginnings have been removed.

An Englishman watches television with pride as a future king is invested as the Prince of Wales, an Irishman marches proudly in a St. Patrick's Day parade, a Ukrainian rises to sing "Sche ne Vmerla Ukraina" at an Independence Day celebration, and a young Negro signs up for "soul" courses at a University.

All are Americans. Yet all maintain a feeling of closeness to the land of their parents, grandparents and great grandparents.

Their pride is based upon the knowledge of the greatness and individuality of their nationality.

The individuality of Ukrainians as people is clearly evident despite the harsh attempts of conquerers to deny them a culture of their own. Such glowing ideals as freedom and liberty have always been a part of the Ukraine and they are a part of our lives now in America. American patriots who in the early days of our country risked their lives for independence may easily be compared to the Kozaks who valued liberty far above life itself and tirelessly fought suppression.

Ukrainians may be proud of a language rated among the most beautiful in the world, fine artists and poets and aspects of a culture that is entirely our own. We may be proud of the Ukrainian people, who throughout history have engaged in a never-ending struggle for freedom. Thus if pride is based upon knowledge, indifference or shame is based upon ignorance. The young person who looks upon being Ukrainian with scorn is displaying his own foolishness and lack of knowledge. If a person is to reject being Ukrainian completely, he must base his rejection on solid reasons. He cannot reject that which he knows nothing about.

The cultural courses provide youth an opportunity to get the facts on what being Ukrainian really is. Knowledge cannot be bad. If we can study French or Spanish in high school because it enriches our lives and provides insight, will not Ukrainian with which we maintain personalities be that much more beneficial?

Though known today as the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and a charter member of the United Nations, the Ukraine is in actuality merely a colony of Soviet Russia, in fact, the largest captive nation behind the Iron Curtain in Europe.

In their attempt to submerge the Ukrainian people the Communists primary target is the youth. They foresee a day in the near future, when there will be no Ukrainian culture in the Ukraine.

Therefore, our target must also be the youth. The Ukrainian-American and Canadian young people must be acquainted with the Ukrainian culture in the event that the Communist goal is reached and we are left to perpetuate the traditions, customs, and ideals of the Ukraine.

#### As Ivan Franko wrote:

"Oh God, I hear our mother tongue,
Our ancient songs still being sung!
The glorious memories of our nation
Still live in this new generation.
For still they sing of Kozak fame
Their blood fights they still acclaim
Here's proof that my beloved race
Is not yet locked in death's embrace."

"The Kozak Immortal" Ivan Franko

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