



*Publication devoted to the interests of that, greatest of all, submerged "minority" of Europe—The Ukrainian People*

Volume 1

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No. 2

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"Ukrainian Nationality is a reality with at least a thousand years of authentic history behind it. No nation struggled more valiantly to assert its independence than it has done; the soil of Ukraine is soaked in blood. Because of its gifts, its lovely climate, and its unique situation on one of the world's greatest cross-roads, it has been continually invaded and oppressed, dismembered and divided.

"Thus it would be hypocrisy to deny that an independent Ukraine is as essential to Great Britain as to the tranquility of the world. Merely because it is inconvenient, and highly so, to attempt its solution, the problem has too long been ignored. But it is a problem which has deep and intricate roots in history, and in its modern form has assumed extreme urgency. Voltaire noted admiringly the persistence with which Ukrainians aspired to freedom and remarked that being surrounded by hostile lands, they were doomed to search for a Protector.

"Until they are assured of liberty they will be faithless to whichever state they are bound, and will continue freely to shed their own blood and of their conquerors. So long, too, as this situation continues other nations will be tempted to exploit it. What is the use of pretending that there is peace when there is no peace? Nor will there be any until the Ukrainian question is satisfactorily disposed of."

—Lancelot Lawton, in "Ukrainian Question and its Importance to Great Britain," London.

# UKRAINIAN TRIBUNE and REVIEW

IVAN J. DANYLCHUK, Managing Editor

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JUNE, 1939

## VISIT OF THEIR MAJESTIES

Canada rejoices with the visit of Their Majesties the King and the Queen. The Canadian citizens of Ukrainian descent are specially happy to meet their reigning monarchs in the land of the free. For nowhere is the ideal of liberty more dearly treasured than in Canada, and Ukrainians more than others appreciate this.

As they rejoice, they remember the distant and renowned Princes of Kiev and Ukraine,—Volodymyr the Great, Queen Olga, Yaroslav the Wise, and others. They remember Hetman Mazepa, Khmelnytsky, Doroshenko.

Ukrainians are happy to greet Their Majesties in this land of adoption, which has given them FREEDOM. They would rejoice more to know that their brethren in the far-away motherland are just as free and mind-easy as are the people in Canada. Canadian Ukrainians having lived under despotism and alien rule, know the joy of living in this great Dominion, to work for it, to live for it, and to heartily join with others in a sincere "God Save the King and Queen."

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## A TIMELY WARNING

There are some half-baked communists and fascists in Canada that wear sickle and hammer or the swastika either on their coat lapels or in their hearts. We call them half-baked, for none of them that go around the busy streets or market-square, or even the college campus parading for Stalin or Hitler would volunteer to pack their belongings and move to these professed havens. In their heart of hearts they know that neither Germany nor the Soviets is the place for them. They are convinced (to quote Prof. E. J. Urwick in the University of Toronto Quarterly) that "Fascists and Communists compel all citizens to accept dictated principles, standards, values, and aims,—and to like them if they can, or be liquidated." They also know what havoc was done to life, property and morals by

those two competing forces in Hungary, Russia, Spain, and is now brewing in Mexico. But being the agents of these dark powers, they work incessantly in many underhanded ways just the same.

In raising this point we have no thought of their reform,—for that is hardly possible (unless they be transported to Russia or Germany), but we speak to the sane men and women of Canada and beyond that they may be alive to the unwholesome acts and gestures of plotters and saboteurs, which only disrupt the moral and political standards of states.

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## DEMOCRACY

The totalitarian states are not bothered with minorities. They speak with one voice, because the hand of the government is at the throat of every man who does not cry Heil! The democratic states are bound to have minorities, and their voices will seldom be in perfect unison with that of the majority,—but if relations between majority and minority are what they should be, then, in all great issues greatly affecting the nation, their voices will blend in a harmony which will be far richer and more impressive than the totalitarian unison.

—B. K. Sandwell in "Queen's Quarterly."

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## TO HIS MAJESTY

By Myra Lazeczko

★ ★ ★ ★

We that have stood against the force  
Of the oppressor's reign,  
We that are pagan with hate  
Bitter and sharp as pain;  
We that were rich with heritage,  
To till the soil of the free,  
But bore the yoke of a burdened beast  
To the plough of anarchy;  
We that taste salt upon our lips,  
The salt of a bitter race,  
Bow, in obseisance, our humble  
Homage to His Grace.  
Under free skies, the sun's emblazoned  
All of the world above,  
This shall be his High Crown Supreme,  
Jewelled with gems of love;  
We shall lay down our loyalty,  
A cloak for his passing tread,  
His step will be soft as the kiss of one  
Whose soul is with the dead.

When cathedrals of faith are burned to ash,  
And the image of God is fallen,  
And the broken heart, heavy for sleep  
Is dusted with death's white pollen;  
And the pilgrim of peace has spent his power,  
And the sword of valour is rust;  
Only then shall your people turn aside,  
Only then shall they lose their trust.  
Oh, I know my own heart's sacrifice,  
If ever in life's last stand,  
Shall be in God, and the man I love,  
And in my Motherland.

## NO ROOM

Cordell Hull, U.S.A. State Secretary, speaking on the 25th of April last, said: "There is no room on this earth for nation or group of nations that would enslave all others."

This statement is full of meaning when we consider that Germany claiming the "living-space," decoured the Czech state. Likewise, just twenty years ago, Communist Russia enslaved many nations, among whom that of Ukrainian State with its many millions.

One cannot help but mention Poland, which having been freed of alien shackles, subjugated in turn a very numerous Ukrainian minority. Even now, when faced with Hitler, the Polish statesmen will not consider the way to give the Ukrainians a measure of fair deal, and thus to consolidate their (Polish) power of resistance.

It was well said by Prof. Simpson in his recent C.B.C. address (printed elsewhere in this issue) that, "In the interests of justice, in the interests of international stability, and in the interests of Poland itself, an immediate attempt should be made to solve the Ukrainian problem."

At the present European situation, the internal conditions of Poland is the matter of international significance. But unfortunately, from the numerous reports that we are receiving it appears that, in spite of Poland's need of State consolidation, no moves are being made to meet Ukrainian grievances. On the contrary, it seems that everything possible is being done to alienate the Ukrainians still further, thus creating a situation which can only be detrimental to Polish interests, in the event of emergency.

—UKBURO.

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## POLISH HEADACHE

Almost a third of the inhabitants of Poland are not Poles; and a good part of them are kept within the state at the point of the baponet. There are about five million Ukrainians, about three million Jews, close to two million Ruthenians (Note: Ruthenians are Ukrainians.—Ed.) and also Germans, Czechs, Lithuanians. Instead of coming to terms with the minorities the regime has oscillated between bitter persecution and campaigns to Polonize them. The minorities treaty has been forcibly removed from the hands of minority groups; civil liberties are denied them. Cultural oppression has reduced the number of Ukrainian schools from 3,000 to 100, and Ukrainian political organizations, if not broken up, are watched with suspicion. Whole villages have been beaten up. I was present in Parliament when a Ukrainian deputy revealed that troops had been torturing peasants.

The blood bath instigated by Pilsudski in the Polish Ukraine a few years ago and the constant police terror against other minorities have not stamped out the secret revolutionary organizations. In case of war some of those organizations would try to stab the government in the back.

—Albert Viton in "The Nation," May, 1939.

## BEWARE OF RUSSIA

It is better to regard Russia as a foe than as a friend. Once Russia is let in, how shall Russia be put out? France through the alliance with Russia, which was taken to give Russian agents full right of subversive propaganda and impunity in all destructive activities in France, nominally escaped revolution, and has suffered greatly and permanently in its substance. Nor shall we forget the fate of the League of Nations when it accepted Russian "help", the fate of Spain when it opened its doors to Russia; the fate of Czecho-Slovakia when it linked itself with Russia. Russia's friendship is fatal. The embrace of the bear is to be shunned.

We must beware of playing Germany's game, but we must equally beware of playing Russia's game. We must resist German hegemony, but we must not fall under domination of Russian forces of disorder and destruction. We must see that we do not fight to make the world safe for Communism.

—Sisley Huddleston in "Weekly Review," London.

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## STALIN AND SPAIN

Spain, if left alone, could have solved her problems. But Communists do not believe in letting a nation alone to solve its problems. The devil fishes in the troubled waters. Stalin, seeing trouble in Spain, sent in his agents to make confusion worse confounded. Such is Communist technique. It is working here in our own land. If Spain had got wise to the Bolsheviks and thrown them out as quickly as they came in, she would have saved herself an enormous deal of anguish.

—Catholic World, New York.

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## WHO REALLY WAS LITVINOFF?

The recent "resignation" of Soviet Foreign Commissar was a surprise in many political circles. It also was a very inopportune resignation in view of French-British-Russian Alliance plans.

The story of Maxim Litvinov would fill many books on criminology, as his acts fill the files of the political bureau of Scotland Yard. Suffice it to say that his real name is Meyer Moiseyevitch Vallakh, born in Bialystok, Poland, in 1879, a son of Jewish merchant family. He used aliases or pen-names to suit his purpose. Some of them were: Finklestein, Meer, Hinoch, Dehtiarick, Papasha, Nitz, and Mixitrovitch. In 1915 he married Miss Ivy Low, a niece of Sir Sydney Low, originally Loewe, a Polish Jew.

The acts of this "statesman", move Coster-Musica exploits far into the shade. Among other honors, he was made an honorary president of the Russian Godless Movement. After the U.S.A. officially recognized Russia in 1933, Litvinoff is reported to have said: "As long as there are idiots to take our signature seriously and to put their trust in it, we will promise everything that is asked and as much as we like, if only we get something tangible in return."

# The Western Ukraine Under Poland

By Prof. GEO. W. SIMPSON  
University of Saskatchewan

Radio Address, C.B.C Over CFQC, Saskatoon, May 11,  
1939—9.30 to 9.45 p.m.

Within the last few weeks Great Britain has entered upon a more revolutionary step in foreign policy than any she has taken in peace time for more than a hundred years. This involves an alliance with Poland. It was contracted to meet the abnormal situation created by the menace of aggression on the part of Germany and Italy; for no matter how much verbiage Hitler and Mussolini may employ in diplomatic exchange there is no denying the bald fact that the former, breaking all pledges, has brutally incorporated the Czechs, while the latter, no less crudely, has seized and swallowed another member of the League of Nations, Albania. To stop further aggression is an obvious necessity in the interests of international security and decency.

Heretofore, with one exception, and outside of the League of Nations' obligations which were all too lightly assumed and disregarded, Great Britain has limited itself to commitments in the West involving Belgium and the Rhineland, a region limited in extent, relatively stable in population, belonging definitely to the Western European industrial, social and religious community. Now that Great Britain has joined its foreign policy to that of Poland—and by implication Canada is also involved—it becomes more than ever necessary to examine the situation there with a view to ascertaining how far such an alliance can be reasonably expected to promote a stable Europe. It is certain that the Poles fear Germany; there is no doubt that they are fiercely determined to maintain the continued existence of their resurrected country; and there is also no question that a free Poland is necessary to the balance of power in Eastern Europe. There is, however, one factor in the situation which appears to have been overlooked, but which would be fatal to disregard, and that is the existence within Poland of over five million people who are not Poles and do not wish to be identified with Poles. I refer to the Ukrainians.

## ■ Important Factor in the Balance of Power

In the strict sense of the word the Ukrainians are not a minority any more than the French-Canadians in Canada are a minority. Just as the French-Canadians rightly regard themselves as the original white inhabitants of the country

they occupy, tillers of the land which their fathers and fore-fathers fertilized by their sweat, blood and bones, so the Ukrainian peasants of Eastern Poland regard that area as their own since their ancestors have continuously occupied it for over a thousand years, indeed for the same length of time that the Polish peasants to the west of them have dug and ploughed the stubborn soil of the Vistula valley. It is true that political and private ownership has changed with the changing centuries but the Ukrainian peasant is there today as his ancestors were a thousand years ago.

At one time the region formed a flourishing Ukrainian principality under Ukrainian princes. Subsequently it was absorbed by the expanding political power of Poland, its lands divided among Polish landowners or left with Ukrainian nobles who were willing to become Polonized. In this stage the relations between Poland and West Ukraine were like the relations in the same period between England and Ireland where the

great land owners in the conquered area belonged to an alien political authority, an alien social group, and to an alien church. In respect to religious affiliation the Ukrainian peasantry adhered to the Greek Orthodox rite. Even when the Greek Catholic Uniate Church was established in 1596 it was

distinctively a Church of the Ukrainian people although part of the Ukrainians remained within the Greek-Orthodox rite.

When Poland was partitioned in the eighteenth century a large part of the West Ukraine was taken over by Austria. While Austrian rulers introduced some reforms they did not disturb essentially the social structure. Serfdom, however, was abolished in 1848. At this time there were definite manifestations of the awakening of national consciousness among the Ukrainians, or Ruthenians, as they were then called.

## ■ Ukrainian National Upheaval After 1848

The great national upheavals elsewhere in Europe created tremors here as well. A small, struggling, emerging middle class began to voice national and liberal demands. Students, ethnographers and historians; publicists, priests and poets began slowly to swell the rising tide of national consciousness. In 1868 was established the Society, Prosvita, for the spreading of education among the people. This society has published and circulated over four million copies of books, school texts, calendars and pamphlets. It formed branches throughout the country and eventually was largely instrumental in the es-

### WILD GEESE

By Doris R. Beck

I watched the wild geese flying-flying,  
I heard the wild geese crying-crying,  
I listened to the wild geese,—sighing,  
For their freedom in the air.



tablishment of more than three thousand reading rooms. In 1883 was founded a Literary and Scientific Society similar to our Royal Society of Canada which was responsible for the publishing, prior to 1914, of over two hundred volumes of high scholarly merit. Journals and newspapers in the Ukrainian language were circulated. Folk schools were organized. A Chair in Ukrainian history was established in the University in Lemberg and in 1894 was occupied by the distinguished scholar and historian, Hrushevsky. Ukrainian political parties were formed. Thus by 1914 a lively national consciousness had been awakened. The activity so expressed did not as yet crystallize around any single political policy. Some nationalists looked to Russia as the liberator from Austrians and Poles while others looked upon Galicia as the Ukrainian centre of gravitation which, when Russia was defeated by the inevitable war with Germany and Austria-Hungary, might draw to itself the freed Ukraine as once the Piedmont in Italy became the basis of Italian unification.

The Great War came with crushing severity to Galicia. Overrun like Serbia, devastated like Belgium, this region of the West Ukraine was ground between the upper and nether millstones of opposing imperialisms. The collapse of both empires suddenly opened up the prospect of freedom. The West Ukraine was proclaimed as a Republic in November, 1918. An independent government was set up and an army was quickly improvised. What followed is a familiar story.

It was clearly the original intention of the Paris Peace Conference to give to the Ukrainians the right of self-determination in this region. Not only did the Ukrainians here wish to remain free from Poland but they desired also to join up with the other parts of the Ukraine to form a united Ukraine. It soon became clear, also, that the Poles who had not realized their hope of a resurrected country, desired to extend the boundaries of their newly created state as far south and east as possible. The Poles had the larger army. The Ukrainians had to fight not only Poles but Bolsheviks from the north-east and Russian counter-revolutionary armies. It was sometimes a two-sided, sometimes a three-sided, or even a four-sided conflict. Eventually the Poles remained in occupation of the Western Ukraine. The occupation of the Poles was finally by the Council of Allied Ambassadors in 1923 on the assumption that Poland would grant to the Ukrainian area a large measure of autonomy. When this was not realized the disappointment and bitterness of the Ukrainians was extreme.

The quarrel between the Ukrainians and the Poles is deep-seated. Generations of social and political oppression have bred in the Ukrainians a hostility toward the Poles similar to that bred in the hearts of the Irish against the English. But whereas the English have pursued for over half a century a policy of reform, and of liberal amends for former outrageous injustices, no comparable modifying attitude has as yet exerted its softening influence on relations between

Poles and Ukrainians. On the contrary, the history of the region from 1923 to the present day has shown increasing distrust. There are some liberal Poles who see the problem in its larger aspects, but unfortunately these do not influence governmental policy, which seems to be growing ever more narrowly nationalistic and dictatorial.

#### ■ Ukrainian Demands

The Ukrainians for their part desire first of all recognition of their existence as a separate national group competent to manage their own affairs in their own way. They have no aristocracy, nor have they in their predominantly agricultural community any large vested groups.

As common people, struggling from year to year to meet the hard problems of economic survival, they have built up one of the best co-operative movements in central Europe. This they believe ought to be proof of their essentially democratic spirit. To judge a national movement merely in terms of agitators, extremists and nuisance makers, is to make an altogether superficial evaluation. Agitators will inevitably spring up to organize existent discontents but the important fact is the reality of the discontent and the possibility of its removal.

#### ■ Measure of Fair Deal

**If Great Britain, tacitly supported by Canada, guarantees Poland's boundaries, Great Britain and Canada should frankly declare their interest in seeing that the Ukrainians in Poland should be given a fair deal.** By fair deal is meant first of all that the present pacification measures, arrests and persecution should cease. Secondly it should mean that the Poles should recognize the Ukrainians as brother Slavs and not as hereditary dependent subjects. Thirdly, if complete independence is not at the moment practical then full autonomy in a federal system of government with adequate guarantees such as the French-Canadians have in Canada is a matter of elementary justice.

The Ukrainians in Poland would be only too happy to be associated with democratic Great Britain and America. To the hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian emigrants in America nothing could give greater satisfaction. The complete ignoring of the Ukrainians in the international situation makes the task extremely difficult. Normally one country does not interfere, and should not interfere, with the internal affairs of another nation; but, if we are under the greatest of all obligations, the obligation to go to war to guarantee the security of a country, we cannot escape the question as to whether that country's policy is, on the whole fair, just and reasonable. In the light of past history these adjectives cannot be applied to the Polish treatment of the Ukrainians. **In the interests of justice, in the interests of international stability, and in the interests of Poland itself, an immediate attempt should be made to solve the Ukrainian problem.**

And so, to all listeners of the C.B.C., good evening and good night.

# TURBULENT WATERS

By J. P. SVARICH, B.Sc.

Recent headlines appearing in various newspapers throughout the world have startled and alarmed the peace-loving peoples: "Ukrainian National State Nazi Plan, say Observers"; "Say Hitler Plans Next Coup Aimed at Poland Territory"; "Ukraine Seen Next Menaced in German Plan"; "Adolf Hitler Determined on Ukrainian Coup". One newspaper in its week-end edition, in addition to its headline "Hitler's Objective—the Ukraine," published a colored map of that portion of the Ukraine which is under Soviet rule. These are only a few of the outstanding charges that have appeared in the press in the recent past.

## ■ Why the Interest?

Bringing the names "Ukraine" and "Ukrainian" to the forefront and to the attention of the reading public could not have been done better by the Ukrainians had they carried out a systematic propaganda themselves. And there's no denying it that they hadn't tried, but, any such news emanating from Ukrainian sources was always questioned by editors and deemed of insufficient interest for publication. Yet today, without any effort on the part of the Ukrainians throughout the world, they are getting immeasurable publicity. Why? Is it because Hitler has interested himself in the Ukraine? Are the one-time Allied Powers alarmed that Hitler's dream may become an eventuality? And if so, in what position would that place them? It would be very interesting indeed to know what goes on in the minds of leading statesmen today. But the really pertinent question that arises is,—could this state of insecurity in Europe have been averted? And the answer is, yes, if the powers-that-be had taken the necessary steps, not last fall or a year ago, but six, seven or eight years ago. That was the time to deal with a question, which if settled then, would not have given rise to the forthcoming grab of the Ukraine by one who holds a club over Europe today.

## ■ An Old Problem

The Ukrainian question is not a live problem of recent birth. This has been a problem since the Ukrainians were denied "self-determination" at the end of the World War. Had the allied powers created a Ukraine then, it is doubtful whether the USSR would have existed with its accompaniment of Communistic propaganda throughout the world; and without doubt Hitler's future move would have been curbed. It was a very serious error on the part of the map makers of 1919 to have denied 45 million people their independence and placed about one-quarter of them under the control of nationalities of much fewer numbers, Poland, Roumania and Czecho-Slovakia (the C.S. portion now having been grabbed by Hungary).

Some may argue that it is only recently that the Ukrainian question has risen to the fore-

front. That the words "Ukraine" and "Ukrainian" were practically unknown. But this argument is not borne out if one refers to the newspapers of a few years ago.

Perusing the press of a few years ago we find that the Ukrainian problem is an old one, and that various groups of people, chiefly public men in the British Isles, were quite alive to the situation existing.

Time after time, Ukrainians in Convention have declared that there can be no peace in Poland unless the League of Nations and the allied powers intervened and granted independence to the Ukrainians. In the fall 1930 members of the British Parliament addressed a petition to the League of Nations asking for an investigation regarding infractions of the Treaty signed between Poland and the Allied Powers on June 29, 1919. This treaty guaranteed the rights of Ukrainian minorities in Poland.

In 1931, one western newspaper carried an editorial "Ukrainians and Poland," in which it was stated, "Our delegates to Geneva must seek to inform themselves fully with regard to the situation and use their influence to bring about a righting of such wrongs as the Ukrainian peoples may be shown to have suffered. The danger to European peace of having so large a group at the heart of the continent smarting under what they deem the gravest injustices cannot be questioned, and the problem is obviously one with which the League will have to grapple."

In May, 1931, Mr. M. Luchkovich, then M.P. for Vegreville, raised the question on the floor of the House. Without doubt his statements received full publicity throughout Canada.

Another newspaper under the caption "Chief Danger Spot in Europe," stated "The Manchester Guardian and the New Statesman are among the leading journals which have espoused the cause of the Ukrainians in Poland," and further on, "Col. Cecile Malone, a prominent member of the British Parliament, has written a statement in which he declares the Ukrainians are the largest and worst treated minority in Europe, and that Poland is sitting on a volcano, which may at any time erupt and light a flame throughout eastern Europe."

In an editorial "The League Marks Time," the Manchester Guardian on May 29th, 1931, took to task the League of Nations Council for its slow handling of the Ukrainian-Polish situation.

In a later edition, the Berlin correspondent to the Manchester Guardian stated that the Ukrainian minorities were disappointed with Geneva report. "The communique of the committee of three (consisting of representatives of the Norwegian and Italian governments, with A. Henderson as chairman), appointed to inquire into the Ukrainian petition has caused the deepest disappointment in the Ukraine.

And finally, the Manchester Guardian published a report from its Geneva correspondent in

which he stated, "Poland found guilty—Mild report adopted by League."

One of the most outstanding champions of the Ukrainian cause, Cecil L'Estrange Malone, shows that he is fully cognizant of the importance of the Ukrainian question by his statement, "It is not generally recognized that Ukraine—and by Ukraine I mean not merely the relatively small area under Poland, but the territory which is historically Ukrainian and stretches from Galicia to the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov—may, in the near future, play an important role in international affairs, is which not only Canada, but the whole British Empire is interested. Any developments in Ukraine will have repercussions of a far-reaching character, and the several hundred thousand Canadians of Ukrainian extraction and their spokesmen are only doing their duty in calling attention to events in that part of Eastern Europe."

Reynold's Illustrated News published an article on Sept. 3, 1933, from its Lvov (Lemberg) correspondent under the heading — "Europe's Lost Nation Battles for Justice—Black Crime of Post War Martyrdom—the suffering Ukraine."

#### ■ Must be Settled

The above quotations are taken only from a few articles that have appeared in the press relative to the Ukrainians, but they are sufficient to prove the contention: That the Ukrainian question was serious then and so remains today; that this problem was realized several years ago and was inadequately settled; that it has become of still greater importance today, especially so, since Hitler has interested himself in it; that it must be settled in the near future if peace is to be maintained in Europe and indirectly in the rest of the world; that there is only one way to settle it and that is to grant independence and self determination to all Ukrainian territories. A state subjugated or controlled by Germany or any other nation or nations will not be a peaceful solution to the problem.

In conclusion it would not be amiss to give proper recognition to the statesmen and public men of the British Isles who have always interested themselves in the Ukraine, and upheld the cause of the Ukrainians. At the Peace Conference, Britain was anxious to grant self determination to the Ukraine, but was overruled by France and the other allies. Britain, then, alone was able to foresee the necessity but it remains for the whole of Europe to decide today.

■ ■ ■ ■

#### READ:

"CONTEMPORARY RUSSIA," edited by Lancelot Lawton, 92 Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.

"TARAS SHEVCHENKO," by D. Doroshenko, with preface of Prof. C. A. Manning of Columbia University.

"UKRAINIAN SONGS AND LYRICS," by Honore Evach.

"BRIEF SURVEY OF UKR. LITERATURE," by A. P. Coleman, Columbia University.

"UKRAINE—THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE"—by Prof. S. Rudnitsky, University of Lemberg.

## Ukrainian Minority Given Attention in British House

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By C. H. J. SNIDER

Associate Editor, The Telegram

LONDON—Britain has recognized the importance of just treatment of the Ukrainian minority in Poland to the extent of questions being asked in the House of Commons, suggesting that this should form a part of the negotiation between Britain and Poland for mutual defence.

The questions are asked as the result of the efforts of Dr. Kisilevsky and the Ukrainian Bureau in London. This seems a mere leaf on the stream of events but it is rather urgently important that Poland should gain the goodwill of the millions of Slavs over whom the League of Nations made her stepmother.

#### ■ Poland's Sore Spot

A minority like the Ukrainians in Poland suffering under unredressed grievances year after year is a menace to the country charged with their protection even in time of peace. Poland has denied ill-treating Ukrainians and the Polish gentlemen in Toronto and Ottawa who have assured The Telegram the accusations were false sincerely believed what they had been told to say. All the denials from St. Peter's onward will not remove the evidence of hundreds of photographs of frightfully beaten bodies, burned homes, destroyed schools, looted shops, confiscated churches and abused prisoners. When such evidence is admitted, it is explained that these are pacificatory measures against outbreaks of violence such as rick burning. It is impossible to believe that confiscation of two hundred churches is a cure for a tendency to burn haystacks. Firebugs don't go to church.

Poland had a bitter lesson in a century of repression and has not learned mildness to minorities, even those innocent of oppression in Poland's dark hour. The Ukrainians of Lwow, the centre of the Ukrainian national minority movement in Southern Poland, had no more to do with the dismembering of Poland between Russia, Germany and Austria a hundred and fifty years ago than had the ten thousand Ukrainians who are good Canadian citizens of Toronto.

The Ukrainian minority in Poland is important from its numbers, from its industry and from the fact that twenty-five per cent of Poland's army is recruited from Ukrainians. These men are loyal to the Polish flag, though it be a foreign one. They are corrupted neither by Communism nor Nazism nor Fascism. Their fidelity is worth preserving at all times, especially now, and it is more likely to be preserved by just and kind treatment of their kinsfolk, who only seek their own religion, their own education and their own economic system among themselves.

(Reprinted from Toronto Evening Telegram)

# Ukrainian Problem and the Anti-Nazi Block

By O. BENDAS, B.A., L.L.B.

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To stop aggression of some countries, is the vital problem of France and Great Britain. Poland and Russia would be instrumental in this insofar as they solve their internal minority questions.

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Since the annexation of Bohemia and Moravia the threat of German aggression and Hitler's avowed intention to dominate Europe by force of arms and ruthless subjugation of all non-German people has become a fact. So far the acquisition of these new territories has been of little economic value to the German Reich; it was directed to countries forming part of the German empire at one time or other in the history of Germany. Now there is no doubt whatsoever that Hitler intends to continue his policy of aggression and conquest to states and nationalities adjoining Germany. To oppose effectively Hitler's thrust, to organize a common defence, and to consolidate their internal position, is an urgent necessity for all these states against which Germany's next move might be directed.

It is a well known fact that in most of the countries against which Hitler might decide to move there is a substantial number of Ukrainians, deprived of most political, cultural and economic rights. Hitler's policy is to play on the dissatisfaction of the Ukrainian populations in these countries and thus to disintegrate and weaken internally the states against which he intends to strike.

There are about thirty million Ukrainians living in the Soviet Union. Although nominally they are autonomous, their cultural, economic and political activities are definitely restricted to conform with Moscow ideology. Ukrainian intellectuals such as Hrushewsky, Sergej Efremov and thousands of others have been shot or exiled without proof of any crime against the Soviet Union except that they were working for the cultural advancement of their people. Economically the Ukrainians of the Soviet Union are exploited. Although living in the richest part of the world the Ukrainian peasants died by millions during the famine of 1932 and 1933. Surely such a policy of ruthless extermination of Ukrainians will not assist in consolidating the forces of defence against German aggression.

In Poland the Ukrainian population is being treated in the same manner. About eight million Ukrainians are exposed to constant repression on the part of the Polish government. The Ukrainian language was banned from the schools in territories settled by these people. Home rule solemnly promised by Polish government has been refused. Ukrainian co-operatives and other economic organizations are being denied equal opportunities with trading insti-

tutions in hands of Polish proprietors. Brutal attacks of Polish soldiers on Ukrainian villages and churches, continued colonization of Polish settlers in Ukrainian territories, are facts that cannot be denied. Hence the uncompromising antagonism of Ukrainians against Polish domination.

In Roumania about one million Ukrainians are completely denied any cultural or political rights.

Considering these facts one cannot expect the Ukrainians to become loyal to their oppressors. The only logical way to regain their loyalty and to have them join with other Slav nations in the effort to check the eastward expansion of Germany is to recognize their just demands and grant them equal rights and opportunities with those people with whom history has made them partners.

## ■Co-operation Is Urgent Necessity

The European nations—outside the Berlin-Rome axis—are determined to block German expansion and are considering organizing a united front against Hitler's policy of aggression. Whether these efforts will result in an actual treaty to that effect remains to be seen. At any rate some co-operation between the European democracies is an urgent necessity and unless something is done in that respect within a short time, the opportunity for such a treaty may be lost forever.

To block the German aggression more effectively, it is essential to solve the Ukrainian problem. There are forty millions of these people living in conditions that are a disgrace to humanity. Given the opportunity, these people would become the most loyal supporters of democratic institutions. Over a million Ukrainians are living in Canada and in the U.S.A. and their loyalty to these countries is beyond question.

At no time were Ukrainians in favor of any form of foreign domination over their country, least of all of any interference in their home affairs. In 1918 the powerful German army was forced to withdraw from the Ukraine notwithstanding the fact that the Germans arrived as "liberators" and "allies" of the Ukrainians. In the years following the Great War the Ukrainian armies were defeated by Poles and Bolsheviks because of the lack of ammunition and medical supplies. The Ukrainian territory was divided between Poland, Russia, Roumania and Czechoslovakia. Thus suppressed and divided, the Ukrainians were ready to accept any assistance that was offered them in their struggle for independence. When Hitler, in his September speech, proclaimed himself champion of the cause of minorities, the Ukrainians believed that



he was speaking sincerely. Hitler's interest in the Ukrainians was considered by the Ukrainians as an indication of his sympathy for their cause. However, recent events proved beyond doubt Hitler's actual intention with respect to Ukraine.

### ■ Hitler's Disregard of Promises

The predatory adventures of Hitler in Czecho-Slovakia have created favorable ground for winning over the Ukrainian movement to the cause of defence against German domination. The occupation of Bohemia and Moravia and the relegation of the Czech nation to a status of Helots in the German Reich <sup>(1)</sup> is a clear indication of the way in which Germany would "settle" the Ukrainian problem should Hitler "liberate" the Ukraine. But the most profound distrust of Ukrainians as regards Hitler's plan with respect to their country was aroused by his attitude in the Carpatho-Ukrainian question. It was with Hitler's assistance that the Carpatho-Ukraine came into existence; he guaranteed the boundaries of that little state; nevertheless, the Hungarians were allowed, with his secret consent, to invade that land and, by force of arms, to suppress all resistance. Such a flagrant disregard of solemn promises caused a complete re-orientation of those Ukrainians who believed him, in their struggle for liberation. Any assistance that may promise them alleviation from their present condition would be accepted by these people with open arms. Now is the most opportune moment for the western democracies to change their traditional attitude of indifference towards the Ukrainian problem and to assist these people in their just demands for free political, economic and cultural development. In doing this the western democracies will avail themselves of a most trustworthy ally against both the German threat to the East or Russian expansion of the West. **The Ukrainian problem has reached its zenith and will have to be solved soon** with, or in spite of, the wishes of the West, and before the movement has assumed uncontrollable proportions. Like a stream of water that rushes its way onward and eventually reaches the shores of the sea, so shall also the determined will of a forty-million nation in its striving for freedom in the end achieve its goal. There is now an opportunity for the western democracies to make use of this limitless human energy by directing it into channels favorable to their cause.

(1) See Paragraph 2 of Hitler's Proclamation annexing Bohemia and Moravia wherein he states that: German inhabitants of the protectorate become German subjects. Remaining inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia are made subjects of the protectorate.

■ ■ ■ ■

There is no defeat except from within. There is really no insurmountable barrier save your own inherent weakness of purpose.—Emerson.

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Let us have faith that right makes right, and in that faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.—Abraham Lincoln.

## THE UKRAINIAN THEATRE

By MARY HOLOBEK

When and wherever nations have struggled for independence, the Theatre has always played an important role; the Ukrainian Theatre is no exception, and it is not surprising to find that in the three hundred years' struggle for Ukrainian independence it had, in the words of a renowned Russian politician, become "not merely a theatre but a policy", acting as a strong girder to support Ukrainian nationalism, language and culture.

History tells us that the drama played quite an important part in Ukrainian life in the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries, and in the 17th century Ukrainian drama took on a definite form. Its later development may be divided into two periods; that of the 16th and 18th centuries when itinerant performers wandered through the country in groups or companies, giving more or less impromptu performances, and that of the 19th century, when the Ukrainian Theatre came to be regarded as a serious artistic institution in which only professional actors were employed.

A transitory phase arose at the end of the 18th century when "Serf Theatres" were formed at the courts of the larger Ukrainian magnates. Not only the more talented of the serfs played in these theatres but even members of the aristocracy acted. Later these were supplanted by German and French artists who first introduced French and German plays into the Ukraine.



Ukrainian Ballet Dancers, introduced into Canada by Vasile Avramenko

### ■ Early Plays

The early plays performed by students of the itinerant theatres usually represented episodes taken from the Bible; some portraying the life of Christ; very primitive performances. During this itinerant period the well-known "Lwow Brotherhood" or theatrical school arose, to be followed later by the Jacob Gavatowys theatrical group which, starting in 1619, proved to be the first step from primitive dialogue to the more cultured forms of theatrical art.

The first attempt was a complicated tragedy-comedy, "The Play about the Destruction of Hell," produced in the seventeenth century. This was partly in verse and partly in prose, and required an enormous cast.

Simultaneously with the development of the Lwow school in the 18th century, successful plays were produced by the "Mohilansky Academy" at Kiev; chiefly the works of the 17th century writer Danilo Tuptalo (whose real name was Demetry Rostovsky). This academy was ad-

mirably supported by Theophan Phokopovich (1681-1736), the well-known philosopher and head of the Kiev Theological Academy. He wrote a theoretical treatise on verse and tragedy, showing the forms they should take on the stage. His tragedy, "Vladimir", was acknowledged as the classical example and his code of dramatic rules was observed by most of the Ukrainian writers, including Trophymovych, Dovhalevsky, Konyskiy, and many others.

### ■ **Natalka Poltavka**

The second period opened by the performance of "Natalka Poltavka," described as a "gay comedy with singing music," which became, from the literary point of view, a classical



Scene from "Cossacks in Exile"—a famous opera by Semen Artemovsky, written in 1816 and recently produced into a movie-film in America.

Ukrainian stage play. The enormous success of the author, Ivan Kotliarevsky, was not only due to his literary talents but to his perfect knowledge of stage technique.

Amongst a long line of talented playwrights were Kvitka, Shevchenko, and Kostomarov, who devoted their energies to the Ukrainian theatre, which had by this time (early part of the 19th century) become an acknowledged artistic centre.

### ■ **Role of Theatre**

The theatre played a great role in arousing a national conscience. The subjects of the plays were for the most part Ukrainian folklore, with a background of life in the Ukrainian villages. Historical events were their main theme, in which figured Ukrainian heroes invariably drawn from the ranks of the Cossacks.

Thus the Ukrainian theatre, unlike most others in the world, was essentially national, a fact which obviously had a very inspiring effect upon public opinion in the country.

The Tsarist government, which, in 1876, prohibited the use of the Ukrainian language. The pressure of public opinion demanding the right to use the national tongue at least in the theatre was so strong that the prohibition only remained in force for five years. However, the right to use the Ukrainian language was only granted for theatrical performances. Thus the theatre became the spiritual leader and upholder of the ideal of Ukrainian national independence.

The constant performance of Ukrainian plays awakened national feelings which sometimes slumbered in the breasts of the people. The influence of the Ukrainian theatre acted as a counter balance to the Russification policy of

From this time onward the Ukrainian Theatre continued to produce talented players, such as Starytzky, Tobylevich, and many others, and it was through the Ukrainian theatre that composers like Niginsky and Lyssenko sought to express their ideas. The level of theatrical art in the Ukraine grew extremely high and with it came the more spirited drive for the ideal of independence. This policy succeeded in attracting to the national cause many Ukrainian nobles who had by this time been completely "Russified" and "de-nationalized". The Ukrainian language and national songs echoed from the stage into the hearts of the people, their highly developed poetical instincts were awakened by the scenery depicting their own lands; thus the great Ukrainian theatre welded the national ideal with the determination to resist oppression throughout the country.

■ ■ ■ ■

## LANGUAGE

"Languages are the pedigrees of nations."

—Dr. Johnson.

Language is not an absolutely distinguishing characteristic of a nation, as is shown by the examples of the Swiss, the North Americans, and the Spanish and Portuguese daughter-nations in America. If the Ukrainians, determining to be considered an independent nation, had the remaining characteristics of an independent nation, they would certainly be one even if their language was identical with the Russian or Polish.

But in this regard, the Ukrainians are in the favorable position of calling their own an independent language. To be sure, the opinion has been to a great extent spread throughout Europe that the Ukrainian language is a rural dialect of Polish or Russians. But common sense and Slavic philology, with the exception of a few, is decided on the point that the Ukrainian language is related to Russian and Polish only to the extent that the Serbian or Bulgarian is. The investigations of Malinowsky, Dahl, Maksimovich, Ohonovsky, Baudoin de Courtenay, and others, have proved beyond doubt that the Ukrainian language is not a dialect but an independent language. The same opinion has been expressed most forcibly by the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. The Academy emphasized expressly that the Russian and Ukrainian languages are two independent languages of equal rank.

It is very likely that in a far distant prehistoric time, all eastern Slavic tribes spoke a common tongue. But soon after the beginnings of

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 11)

# Struggle of Nations Within U.S.S.R.

By **PROF. ROMAN SMAL-STOCKI**

University of Warsaw

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He occupied a post as Minister during the period of Ukrainian Independence, and represented Ukraine abroad.

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The Russian Revolution opened the doors to the freedom of all the subjected peoples under Russian rule. Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine, Kubania, and the Caucasian countries became free and independent, whilst the whole of Turkestan and the various Tartar peoples were swept by a great national revival. Unfortunately, this freedom was short-lived. For, on the ruins of Tsarist Russia there appeared, firmly installed within the walls of Moscow, a Red imperialism which at once declared war upon the national aspirations of these nations and violently opposed their right to independent State existence. Shortly afterwards, conflicts broke out between these peoples and Moscow: fighting raged upon the whole front—from Finland to Turkestan. Some of the nations emerged victoriously from the strife: the Finns, the Esthonians, the Latvians, the Lituansians and the Poles set up their independent States. But other peoples—the Ukrainians, the Kuban Cossacks, the Caucasian peoples, the Turkomen and the Tartars were unsuccessful and remained in subjection.

The governments of these latter peoples, all their political parties, the members of their armies and the educated classes were obliged to seek refuge in exile. Large centres of such emigration arose and still exist in Turkey, Roumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Poland, in the Baltic States, in France, Germany and elsewhere.

What happened in the countries left under Russian subjection? Did, in actual fact, independent Soviet Republics arise in the name of which the Bolsheviks fought and occupied these lands? The answer is in the negative. Russian Communism, already during the course of the fighting, clearly demonstrated how it understood Lenin's enunciations on the right of nations to self-determination. At first, these fictitious Soviet States were suffered to exist—Soviet Ukraine and Soviet White Ruthenia, for example. But very soon, in Moscow in 1923, an act of federation was signed with Ukraine and with White Ruthenia, thereby marking the inception of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics—the U.S.S.R. Still later, this specifically comprehended "right of self-determination" as viewed in Communist eyes, became more clearly marked and the process of complete unification commenced in earnest. The separate commissariats for home affairs, for agriculture, and for justice were abolished. The scope of authority of the

various Republics was restricted until it consisted solely of local autonomy in matters of education and public health. Now, even local government in public instruction is being liquidated and higher schooling is being partly Russianized. Concurrently with this action, even the Communist Party of each of these countries was fused into the Moscow organization and deprived of all features of independent political structure. Today, they are but integral parts of the Russian Communist Party and are ruled by means of the old Tsarist precept and command: "Silence! And no reasoning."

## ■ Repressive Measures

It will be asked: What happened to the masses of those nations who did not, and could not, leave their native soil and go into exile? Those of the educated classes who remained believed that, basing themselves upon advocacy of loyalty to the Soviet régime, the possibility would exist of working in the domain of their national culture and even of developing it. But when national independence movements began to grow in force under the influence of such trends, and commenced to oppose the predominance of Russian influences within these new forms of the Soviet system, the central authorities at Moscow immediately began to apply repressive measures. The various national movements were firmly stifled. In this connection, I will only recall to mind such characteristic events as: the Kharkov trial of the Union for Ukrainian Liberation, the numerous arrests amongst the educated classes of White Ruthenia, the persecution of the Kazan and of the Crimean Tartars, the execution of Kasinov in Turkestan, and the mass deportation to the Solovetsky islands of the leaders of the various national movements. These few examples will suffice to demonstrate that a ceaseless struggle is still in course of progress between the subjugated peoples and the new Muscovite imperialism.

We see that the old, rapacious Russian nationalist spirit, re-born under the guise of internationalism, is making desperate attempts to master the various national independence movements and to maintain Russia's predominant position in the East. In support of this objective, Stalin has already changed the old Tsarist slogan of "a one and indivisible Russian Empire" into "a one and indivisible Socialist Motherland."

What is the present position of the struggle conducted by these subjected peoples? Everything goes to prove that they have not tamely submitted to the fate thrust upon them but are continuing their fight for liberty. Examine the tims of these peoples, their ideology, the work carried on by their exiled leaders and emigrants, and what constructive political thought do we find built up by them?

## ■ Struggle of Ukraine

One of the most important questions in U.S. S.R. is that of Ukraine, in order to understand which, it is necessary to begin with an examination of the events of 1920. After the German forces of occupation had left the country with General Skoropadsky, the Government of the Ukrainian Peoples' Republic found itself in a very difficult situation. The young Ukrainian army was forced to wage war on all sides—with Denikin in the east, with the Bolsheviks in the north, and with the Poles in the west. Relations with Roumania were also very tense. The western front, against the Poles, was soon liquidated, not only for reasons of military necessity but also in view of a profoundly thought-out political conception, of which the chief exponent was the late Ukrainian Generalissimo, Simon Petlura, and the chief realizer Andrew Liwicki, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The menace of Moscow was a common bond binding Ukraine to Finland and the Baltic States, Ukraine to Caucasia, Turkestan and the Tartars, and also Ukraine to Poland. Another tactical point was the need for support from the victorious Allies. It was thought possible through the intermediary of Poland and Roumania to attract the Entente to the sphere of Ukrainian interests. The advantages of such contacts furnished a second consideration favorable to the idea of an alliance with Poland.

I shall not elaborate this matter. The realization of such a conception as that of Petlura demanded a long period of military and diplomatic preparation; but events moved so fast that sufficient time was not available. The alliance effected by Pilsudski and Petlura did not lead to success. The government of the Ukrainian Peoples' Republic was forced to flee the country. The Ukrainian Commander-in-Chief, Petlura, was killed by the bullet of a Bolshevik emissary in Paris. But this assassination furnished Ukrainian political emigration with its legendary hero; it lent that emigration the halo of martyrdom and protected it against the moral disintegration into which the Russian counterpart had fallen.

Ukrainian political emigrés gain a sustenance by their everyday work, whilst the educated classes have during the past ten years accomplished an amazing volume of work in the domain of cultural endeavor. They created the Ukrainian University at Prague, the Podebrad Academy, a Pedagogical Institute, a School of Fine Arts, secondary schools, scientific publication and a well-developed press. About four thousand of the Ukrainian youth have graduated from academic schools outside of Ukraine, and these form a nucleus for future work in this direction.

The territory of the new Russia is important for the British Empire not only because at many points it borders with British possessions, but because it is of the greatest significance for the trade and industry of England. Sooner or later,

the national and racial problems of Red Russia will appear before English public opinion in all its wide scope and profound meaning. It is for these reasons that I have deemed it necessary to give this short survey of the situation, and so sketch out the general outlines of the political problems of Soviet Russia: for these intimately concern not only the affairs and interests of Europe and Asia as a whole, but also and primarily, those of the British Empire.

NOTE: This is an abridgement of a long article published in booklet form by the Anglo-Ukrainian Committee, Essex Court, Temple, London, E.C., and originally reprinted from "Contemporary Russia."—Ed.



## LANGUAGE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9)

historical life in eastern Europe we see these Slavic races divided lingually into groups. The disruption of the Empire of Kiev into loosely connected principalities, the formation of the Muscovite political centre, the decline of Kiev—all went to strengthen the lingual antithesis between the ancestors of the Ukrainians and those of the Russians. The Tartar oppression finally separated the Muscovite group permanently from the Ukrainian, forcing each to lead a separate historical life.

The Ukrainian language is distinguished by advantages which insure it a high place among Slavic languages. The great wealth of vowels, the full tone, the softness and flexibility of many vowels to the i-sound, the absence of the massing of several consonants in one syllable, make Ukrainian the most melodious Slavic language. After the Italian language the Ukrainian is best adapted for singing. Most important, however, is the great richness of the Ukrainian language. This is all the more remarkable in that it did not come about through centuries of development of the language in literature and science. The common people have collected and preserved the treasures of the Ukrainian language. While the vocabulary of an English farmer, according to Ratzel, does not include more than three hundred words, the Ukrainian peasant uses as many thousands. And, incidentally, the purity of the language is remarkable. Barely a few borrowed words have been introduced into the language of the people through the centuries of contact with neighboring peoples. But even these disappear entirely amid the wealth of pure Ukrainian words. The Ukrainian language has given proof, through its development of a thousand years, that it is capable of giving expression to the loftiest products of human feeling and human intellect.



To conquer with arms is to make only a temporary conquest; to conquer the world by earning its esteem is a permanent conquest.—Woodrow Wilson.

# The Most Urgent Problem

By **PROF. G. W. SIMPSON**  
University of Saskatchewan

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This talk was delivered over the C.B.C. radio network on Jan. 3, 1939. The author, who is a keen student of European affairs, takes up the most urgent problem of nationalism in Europe today, effecting a population equal to that of France and a territory more extensive than that of Germany.

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## ■ Power of Nationalism

For over one hundred years nationalism has been one of the most persistent and intrusive problems in Western Civilization: disturbing, fermenting, and explosive. Continuously statesmen have refused to recognize the existence of the spirit of nationalism in other lands, and observers have repeatedly underestimated its yeasty power. Such statesmen and observers have proved to their own satisfaction that it is irrational, extreme, inated by self-regarding interests, and dangerous to the peace and comfort of society. Nevertheless nationalism still remains a power shaping men's loyalties. Only those who feel no strong national attachment of their own can justly condemn it in others.

Canadian nationalism resisted for generations the colonial status of subordination to London, and even to this day has its touchy and intolerant exponents of extreme isolation. Englishmen for decades would not face the facts of Irish nationalism until the persistence and toughness of Irish resistance compelled recognition on the basis of equality. European statesmen in crisis after crisis have ignored the fundamental reality of group consciousness, group self-respect, and group desire for political expression and freedom, with consequent disaster to European stability.

Nationalism is not the exclusive and final law of men's political being; nor does it include the whole decalogue of political wisdom; but, it is a phenomenon of our times, it **has** roots deep in tradition and political instinct, and, to ignore it is to live in a wishful world of unreality.

## ■ Genuine Wish of Ukrainians

For various historical reasons Ukrainian nationalism has been one of the latest of European national movements in its modern manifestation. As with the beginning of every other national movement those who are adversely affected declare that the movement is artificial, that it is the result of foreign intrigues or personal ambitions, that its historical justification is unfounded, that its language basis is unsound, that there is no capable leadership, and that the realization of its objective is impracticable. With regard to all these objections when applied to Ukrainian nationalism one can only say that

those who maintain them are unaware of the nature of national movements generally or are misinformed in respect of the recent developments among the Ukrainian people in Europe and elsewhere. The Ukrainian national movement is a widespread and genuine expression of nationalism and conforms to the traditional pattern of group consciousness seeking political expression. It has for its ultimate objective the creation of a united, independent Ukrainian state, including roughly the eastern autonomous section of Czecho-Slovakia, now called Carpathian Ukraine; the southeastern section of Poland, known generally as East Galicia; Bukovina and a part of Bessarabia, now belonging to Roumania; and the present Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. The mere recital of these regions and countries indicates the tremendously complicated international situation which stands in the way of achievement of an independent Ukraine, a situation so involved that many casual observers dismiss the whole project as fantastic. To do so is once more to underestimate this force of nationalism, or to fail to realize how much the international situation has changed since the fateful Conference of Munich, which ensured provisional peace to the World at the cost of Germany's temporary domination of Central Europe.

## ■ Concurrent Hitler's Ambition

The Ukrainian question is at present definitely associated with Hitler's notorious ambitions in Eastern Europe. It is, however, important to note that Ukrainian nationalism existed long before the rise of Hitler to power and it will continue long after the shade of Hitler has joined the ghostly procession of those dictators who have violently run their course across a single page of history. It is a conjunction or coincidence in international affairs which at the present time links Hitler's ambition for power with Ukrainian aspirations for national independence. Such a situation is by no means unusual or novel. It is interesting to remember at this point that the War of American Independence was won through the help of a military alliance with the absolutist government of France coupled to that of Spain, with the assistance of Holland, and with the sympathetic support of half of Europe. It probably would have been gained eventually in any case, but its success at that time was due to timely international complications which caught England at its lowest diplomatic ebb. Although French assistance has been so vital to American success, ten years later American statesmen broke the alliance with France and five years after that there was virtual war between the former allies.

## ■ Counterbalancing Force

To return to the question of Hitler's present association with Ukrainian affairs I think I can say that the people of Canada for the most part



still admire the best traditions of Germany and feel a sense of kinship with the vigorous, enterprising, fundamentally decent German people. They view, however, with loathing and disgust Nazi persecution, ruthlessness and lust of power. They regard with deep suspicion Nazi ambition to extend its power to Ukraine, and they fear a further propagation of fascist doctrines to Eastern Europe under the fostering care of storm-troopers, concentration camps and secret police. Hence Ukrainian nationalism is suspect and colored by its association with current German foreign policies. With regard to this one is compelled to observe, first, that outside Carpathian Ukraine doctrines of violence and suppression already exist and have already been put into tragic practice by a succession of arbitrary non-German rulers and parties. Secondly, the chief hope of ultimately achieving a balance of power in Central Europe against the preponderance of German power lies in an effective combination of Slavic states. Such a combination is impossible until Ukrainian nationality is freely recognized along with other Slavic national states already achieved, such as Poland, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, and Jugo-Slavia. When this has been done there is no reason to suppose that such states, larger in the aggregate, in population and territory, than Germany itself, will submit indefinitely to German domination. The very attempt of the Nazi leaders to exploit the resources and the people will inevitably hasten the consolidation of the counterbalancing force. Nor is there reason to suppose that the German people themselves will not ultimately accept the principle of that equality and respect for other nations which they have demanded in such drastic fashion for themselves. If they do not, other nations will apply the same drastic measures to ensure it. So much for general principles which I believe to be fundamental to the problems as a whole. A word only concerning the different Ukrainian territories.

#### ■ Ukrainian Territory

The Carpathian Ukraine, with a population of roughly half a million, lies in the southern embrace of the northeast Carpathian mountains and has been called the Ukrainian Switzerland. Most unpromising of all the Ukrainian regions it has been the first to achieve real autonomy. Its national consciousness long suspended between varying tendencies has at last crystallized around the Ukrainian ideal. Its present premier, Voloshin, is a Greek-Catholic priest, wise and experienced, cultured and kind, whom no one can accuse of fanaticism or mad political ambition.

In Roumania are also over half a million Ukrainians, chiefly in the northern province of Bukovina which formerly belonged to Austria. The Roumanian government has been consistently hostile to Ukrainian culture, and especially within recent years has adopted a reactionary policy of repression.

In Poland the Ukrainian minority numbers some five million, equal to half the population of Canada, concentrated chiefly in the southeast. Poland secured her international title to this

area in 1923 on the distinct understanding that she would grant autonomy and observe the stipulation of the Minorities' Treaty of 1919. Poland formally repudiated her obligations under the Minorities' Treaty in 1934, and only a few weeks ago definitely refused to consider a project for Ukrainian autonomy. Thus Poland, blindly unmindful of her own nationalist struggles in the past and of her own best interests—as I believe—leaves the Ukrainians little alternative between subjection and outright resistance.

The Socialist Soviet Ukraine with over thirty million Ukrainians represents a special problem. In the thick fog of censorship and propaganda which obscures that region it is very difficult to appraise the situation. Several facts, however, stand out even in the fog. The Ukrainian nationalist movement is still in active force. While the Communist Party is in actual control, there have been considerable purgings in leadership. On the other hand there have been notable social experiments, some of which will undoubtedly be continued whatever happens. The cultural freedom which has been given under the communist constitution is a relative term, for as the communists have discovered, you cannot disassociate culture from national and religious traditions.

#### ■ Urgent Necessity

In conclusion one may say that the greatest political need of our times is stabilization and a reconstructed balance of power. The most urgent necessity is social amelioration so that the fruits of scientific achievement may not be transformed into the cold ashes of international strife. But stable political relations no less than cultured social intercourse depend on fairness, mutual respect, and the willingness to allow to others what you demand for yourself. Because of this I believe that Ukrainian nationalism constitutes one of the pressing problems of our day about which we must speak frankly.

Because the British Commonwealth of Nations has achieved at least some measure of success in solving national problems on a basis of equality, respect and freedom, and because there are in Canada over a quarter million people of Ukrainian origin it is altogether fitting that the Canadian and British people should regard at least understandingly the national sympathies of those whose destinies have thus been so closely and strangely linked with their own. ■ ■

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#### COMRADES: STALIN AND HITLER

"News was that an agreement between Stalin and Hitler had been drafted, and had been brought home by Kandelaki, Stalin's confidential emissary in Berlin,"

"It was, of course, no secret in the inner Soviet circles that Stalin had long striven for an understanding with Hitler."

"Now in April, 1937, with the arrival of Kandelaki in Moscow, Stalin was confident that the deal with Hitler was as good as consummated. At the very time he has been conducting negotiations with Hitler, he was liquidating his old comrades as German spies."

—"Saturday Evening Post."

## They say:

### INTERNATIONAL BRIGADE

The nucleus of the International Brigade was 500 to 600 foreign Communists sent from Russia. Not a single Russian was among them. Later, when the brigade swelled to nearly 15,000 fighters, not a Russian was permitted to join its ranks. An impenetrable wall was deliberately erected between this force and the units of the Red Army that were detailed for service in Spain.

In every foreign country, including the United States, the recruiting agencies for the International Brigade were the local Communist Parties. Some independent groups of Socialists and other radicals attempted to organize columns. But the overwhelming majority of recruits were enlisted by Communists and drawn from the spreading networks of "fellow travelers," who are often entirely unaware of the Communists exercising remote control over them.

A military attaché of the Ogpu is detailed to every pivotal Communist centre in the world. This agent, and he alone, is the link between the Communist Party and the Military Intelligence of the Soviet government.

—*"Saturday Evening Post"*, Apr., 1939.

### THE PROBLEM

The Ukrainian Problem is bound to grow in importance, however, not only because of the Ukrainians themselves. While the Ukrainian movement in the nineteenth century was largely the work of a handful of intellectuals, the spirit of nationalism is now taking hold of the Ukrainian masses, already resentful because Poland has done little to overcome their poverty. It is not unnatural to believe that the Ukrainian nationalist movement—like the American Revolution—would accept foreign support whenever and wherever it came.

—R. L. Buell, in *"Current History"*.

Poland's future depends upon the skill and the speed with which she settles many serious internal problems. — Ukrainians number five million and constitute Poland's largest minority.

—*"Current History"*, May, 1939.

### STALIN'S HAND

"Stalin was determined to support with arms and man power only those groups in Spain which were ready to accept his leadership without reservation. He was resolved not to let the Catalonians lay hands on Russian planes, with which they might have won a military victory that would have increased their prestige and their political power in the republican ranks.

During these days, while with one hand Stalin kept military aid from Barcelona, with the other he addressed his first public message to José Diaz, leader of the Communist Party of Spain. On October sixteenth, Stalin wired to

Diaz: "The toilers of the Soviet Union only do their duty when they give all the aid within their power to the revolutionary masses of Spain."

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### "VIELIKA KHVEDORA—DA DURA"

Klementi Voroshilov, War Commissar of Russia, is quoted as saying in his May Day speech that Russia's army is ready to fight a big war and will not be involved in petty adventures. Evidently the psychology of Russia's leaders has not changed much. What was true in the past is true today. "Bevildered by the vastness of their country, they are unable to understand the difference between vastness and greatness." They cannot understand that a nation numerically ten times smaller may be leagues in advance of them culturally. They cannot worship anything but gigantic in size. Small wonder that even their great Tolstoi (of German parentage) was wont to say of Russia: "Vielika Khvedora—da dura", meaning, "Russia is large but foolish".

Need we remind the world that it was the Russians who made "czar-kolokol", the "giant bell", the largest in the world, but which never rang; the "czar-pushka", "the giant cannon", also boastfully called the largest cannon of the world, but from which no shot was ever fired? And in modern times, did we not hear the boasts of the Russian generals just before the declaration of Russo-Japanese war that in the case of war with Japan, Russia will not need to do any actual fighting because the Russian army is so large that its soldiers will smother the Japs with their caps? Did we not read of the sumptuous Russian banquets celebrating the future naval victories of the Russian fleet in the battle of Formosa by the very same Japanese whose doom was many times sealed with toasts of Russian vodka? Again, what has happened to the much advertised "Russian steam-roller" during the Great War? Mistaking vastness for greatness to satisfy their vanity, they even changed their former name of "Russians" to that of "Great Russians".

(From "Ukrainian Contributions to the Russian Culture" by W. Burianyk, to be published soon.)

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### PRIZED PASSPORTS

"Genuine American passports are highly prized at Ogpu headquarters in Moscow. Nearly every diplomatic pouch from Spain that arrived at the Lubianka contained a batch of passports from members of the International Brigade.

Several times, while I was in Moscow in the spring of 1937, I saw this mail in the offices of the Foreign Division of the Ogpu. One day a batch of about 100 passports arrived; half of them were American. They had belonged to dead soldiers. That was a great haul, good cause for celebration. The passports of the dead are easily adapted to new bearers, Ognu agents, after some weeks of inquiry into the family histories of their original owners."

—Gen. Krivitsky in *"Saturday Evening Post"*.

# More Than Wheat Tempts Rival Powers to Compete for Wealth of Ukraine

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KIEV, UKRAINE — The much heralded wheat fields of the Ukraine are a tempting source of wealth to several nations, and it is often referred to as Europe's bread-basket. But behind the agitation lies many other factors and sources of wealth.

Just to mention one source of wealth besides the wheat fields are the gigantic Zaporozhtal iron and steel plants. The Zaporozhtal plant has completely mechanized blast-furnaces, large electric furnaces, "the largest European plant producing instrumental steel, the only slabbing mill in Europe, an iron-plate shop turning out 1,300,000 tons of plates annually, and a ferro-alloys plant unparalleled in its output capacity."

Stalin rules over the Ukrainian people with the same ruthless cruelty as Peter the Great. With the assistance of international finance, Stalin enslaved Ukraine. The Ukrainians have a thorough hatred for their oppressors.

One of the real reasons why Stalin is afraid of an Independent Ukraine Republic, as promised at L'viv on November 1, 1918, and subsequently on January 22, 1919, is because Russia has too much to lose: the rich regions of the Donetz Basin, Kryvey Rih, Crimea, Northern Caucasus and the Black Sea area. Loss of these would lock Russia out of Europe and make her entirely an Asiatic and second-class power, something contrary to the plans of the international money group behind Russia. Likewise, it would throttle Russian imperialism toward Iran (Persia), the oil reserves and the wealth of India.

Today the force that binds the Ukrainians together is their twenty years of suffering and an intense nationalism, which has its roots in the glorious past of the Ukrainian Republic—the old Empire of Kiev, the great free Cossack state, the noted Hetmans Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Ivan Mazepa and Philip Orlyk and their struggle for the independence of Ukraine.

Naturally, in the desire of the Ukrainians for freedom, in their unequal struggle against international finance operating through Russian despotism, they look on all sides for aid. The Ukrainians appeal not only to Berlin and Rome, but also to Paris, London and Washington. It is for these last three to decide and act whether they will aid elemental justice by supporting the demand of the Ukrainians for their freedom and independence, or whether they will continue to support the real enemy of democracy, Russia.

(Reprinted from "Social Justice" of Detroit.)

## AN APPEAL AND REMINDER

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The following letter was published in the "Ukrainian Voice" of Winnipeg.

Similar letters were sent to British and French Governments.

April 18th, 1939.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Esq.,

President United States of America,

Washington, D.C.

Mr. President:—

Your courageous appeal of last Saturday addressed to Chancellor Hitler and Premier Mussolini has obviously found an immediate response in the hearts of all peace-loving nations and men. It is sincerely hoped that your great prestige as the leader of a great nation will profoundly affect the present dangerous course of international events so that nations will gradually turn from the pursuit of their own destruction and direct their energies towards peace, happiness and prosperity of mankind.

We, the undersigned, on behalf of thousands of our members, who are Canadian citizens of Ukrainian descent, although we share the common desire for peace among nations, nevertheless feel that it is our duty to call your attention to the tragic fate of more than 45,000,000 Ukrainians in Europe presently partitioned among four states, namely, Soviet Russia, Poland, Rumania and Hungary.

Impartial foreign observers agree that the Ukrainians are the worst treated minorities in Europe. Their rightful claims to self-determination in 1918 and 1919 were disregarded by the Allied and Associated Powers. Consequently, although the Ukrainian nation profoundly loves peace, it loves and values liberty above all else, and will continue to shed its blood and that of its oppressors until it is either completely annihilated or secures complete national liberation. But centuries of history prove that the Ukrainian spirit of liberty is indestructible. It is therefore our opinion, Mr. President, that permanent peace in Europe cannot be secured until statesmen of the great liberty-loving nations recognize the existence of the Ukrainian problem in Europe; concede the inherent justice of its claims and courageously undertake its obvious solution. European democracies cannot hope to take a successful stand against their enemies as long as they continue to deny the very essence of democracy to 45,000,000 people within their own borders.

Your great predecessor in office formulated and proclaimed to the world the great principle of self-determination of nations as the truest guiding rule in the post-war reconstruction of Europe. In consequence of the recognition of that principle many small nations achieved complete national liberty and sovereignty in post-war Europe. This, however, was denied to the Ukrainian nation. As his successor and the leader of a great liberty loving nation, it would be most fitting that you give leadership towards the solution of the Ukrainian problem in Europe—the last great example of the negation of the principle of self-determination of nations and the last great barrier to lasting peace in Europe.

We enclose a copy of a Declaration dealing with the problem raised herein, for your kind attention.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

We remain, Sir,

Very respectfully yours,

THE UKRAINIAN SELF-RELIANCE LEAGUE  
OF CANADA

(Signed) P. J. Lazarowich, President,  
J. J. Danylichuk, Secretary.

## Those New Fangled Systems

\* \* \*

Socialism: You have two cows. You give one to your neighbor.

Fascism: You have two cows. You give both to the government. The government gives you part of the milk.

Naziism: You keep the cows and give the milk to the government. The government sells part of it to you.

Communism: The government shoots you and keeps both cows.

New Idealism: The government shoots one cow, it milks the other, and pours the milk down the drain.

—London Daily Telegraph.

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## Prison Sonatas

By Ivan Franko

\* \* \*

NOTE: Dr. Ivan Franko (1827-1916), born near the town of Drohobich in Western Ukraine, received all his fundamental education at the philosophical study in the University of L'viv. He continued his studies in Vienna. Considered as the Milton of Ukraine, he was a great poet, novelist, critic and social reformer. His collected works published in thirty-two volumes which contain hundreds of poems and short stories, several novels and plays and a great number of essays. His works, like Shevchenko's, were filled with a burning love for freedom. His stories, his historical novels, his poems, all served toward the two-fold end: to create through art a picture of life and to arouse the Ukrainian people to an appreciation of their heritage and a consciousness of their destiny.

Amid my dreams two goddesses appeared.  
The face of one was dazzling clear and bright,  
Her deep blue eyes with happiness were filled,  
Her golden curls destroyed the shades of night.

The other's face was shaded by a scarf.  
Her eyes were black as any thunder cloud.  
Her jet black hair was shining in the gloom  
Just like a stormy summer dawn she bowed.

"Weep not, my child, my glory and my pride,"  
Thus spake the first,—her voice was soft and low.

"Take this my gift, a bloom no ill can woe."

She gave me blossoms that can conquer woe.  
A crown of thorns the other gave to me.  
And since that time I know both joy and pain.

—Trans. by Prof. C. A. Manning.

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## A CREED

There is a destiny that makes us brothers,  
None goes his way alone;  
All that we send into the lives of others  
Comes back into our own.

I care not what his temples or his creeds,  
One thing holds firm and fast—  
That into his fateful heap of days and deeds  
The soul of a man is cast.

—E. MARKHAM.

## JEWS

Recently, the Jews all over the world have taken vigorous action to defend their claims in Palestine in the face of conciliatory action of the British government. It is to be regretted that the Jewish leaders are not more considerate in matters concerning their problems and those of others. We are reminded by one of our readers, that during the Revolution of 1918-19 in Russia and Ukraine, when Ukrainians struggled to set their government in their own ethnographic territory, the Jews played a very dark and unwholesome role in this struggle. They did all in their power to oppose the rightful rule and order in the land which had given them a place to live. Likewise, the government of Carpatho-Ukraine gave Jews equal rights and privileges, but when it came to defending this spot of short-lived freedom, these same Jews were among the first to turn against the Ukrainians.

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## ALL IS NOT WELL

The press from Prague and Budapest assures the world that all is quiet in Carpatho-Ukraine. But that same world will remember for many a day the heroic stand of Ukrainian "Sitch" against the Hungarian aggressors. Even with the undignified withdrawal of well-equipped Czech army, with the scantest of war machines, Ukrainian heroes have contested nearly every inch of their territory with the superior power of the invaders. Together with peasants they have, for many weeks, engaged in guerilla warfare against the Hungarians, defending their rightful homes. This certainly is the overwhelming proof of devotion of Carpatho-Ukrainians to the cause of their national freedom, and it will be manifest in many ways and in spite of all possible persecutions.

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**FATHER AUGUSTIN WOŁOSZYN**  
Exiled Premier of Carpatho-Ukraine

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It is reported by "Dilo" at L'viv that a Memorial Service arranged by the Ukrainians in Berlin for those who fell while resisting the occupation of Carpatho-Ukraine by Hungary, was at the last moment prohibited by the German authorities.





While unveiling the National War Memorial at Ottawa,  
on Sunday, May 21st,

## His Majesty King George VI

made a speech which contained the following significantly  
royal thought:

**"Peace and freedom cannot long be separated . . . .Without  
freedom there can be no enduring peace, and without  
peace no enduring freedom."**



Canada's heroes gave their all to ensure freedom and bring forth peace. The  
present unrest in the world is caused by forces that oppose freedom.

Peace and Freedom are eagerly sought by millions of Ukrainians in their own  
ethnographic God-given territory.

The sole and only object of the "UKRAINIAN TRIBUNE AND REVIEW" is to  
work for Peace and Freedom, to disseminate information that is essential to all, and to  
present the case of the Ukrainian people before those who read and think. It gives you  
comprehensive, authoritative information and unbiased factual opinion of the greatest  
unsolved problem in Europe. Will you help in widening our circle of readers?



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