

THE TRIDENT

"One Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State!"

Published by Organization for Rebirth of Ukraine

GERMANY AND RUSSIA



THE
UKRAINIAN-AMERICAN
CONGRESS



UKRAINE IN EUROPE
(A MAP)



THE UKRAINIAN
CULTURAL GARDENS



UKRAINIANS IN CANADA



STALINISM



THE GERMAN-SOVIET
PACT



UKRAINIAN NEWS



BUKOVINA AND
BESSARABIA
(A MAP)



TRIDENTIA

15 Cents

June, 1940

Vol. IV — No. 5



THE UNEQUAL STRUGGLE

Ukraine has many enemies.

(See p. 12)

STEPHEN KUROPAS
3301 N. NEWLAND
CHICAGO, ILL.

CONTENTS

	Page
GERMANY AND RUSSIA, Friends or Enemies? An Editorial By V. S. DUSHNYCK	1
THE UKRAINIAN-AMERICAN CONGRESS WITH TEXTS OF MEMORANDUM AND RESOLUTIONS	4
UKRAINE IN EUROPE, a Map	5
THE UKRAINIAN CULTURAL GARDENS IN CLEVELAND WITH PICTURES	13
UKRAINIANS IN CANADA By PAUL YUZYK	17
STALINISM (Concluded) By MYKOLA SCIBORSKY	22
THE UKRAINIAN PROBLEM IN VIEW OF THE GERMAN- SOVIET PACT	34
UKRAINIAN NEWS By THE UKRAINIAN PRESS SERVICE	42
BUKOVINA AND BESSARABIA, a Map	43
TRIDENTIA	46

Next Issue of The Trident

NAPOLEON AND UKRAINE, by Professor Evhen Onatzky. How the "Little Corporal" sought to help Ukraine.

UKRAINE IN FIGURES, by Mykola Sciborsky. Statistics show that Ukraine has the wealth and resources to be independent.

MAZEPPA AND THE SOVIETS, by V. S. Dushnyck. What the Soviets have done to besmirch the name of this great Hetman of the 17th century.

AVE DICTATOR! by Yury Horlis Horsky. A prisoner of the Soviets tells his experiences.

THE CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE OF WESTERN UKRAINE, by Yury Klen. Another chapter on the life and works of prominent authors.

THE TRIDENT

Published by the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine

Office of Publication:

149—2nd Avenue, New York, N. Y.

GRamercy 5-8793

V. S. DUSHNYCK

ROMAN LAPICA

Editors

ROMAN LAPICA

Business Manager

JOSEPH IVANIW

EMIL HRYSHKO

EDWARD SEREDYNSKY

Associate Editors

OLGA ZADORETZKY

THEO. MOTORNEY

MICHAEL KOSCIW

Associate Business

Managers

Mailing Address: Post Office Box 13, Station D, New York City

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION—\$1.50 (American) :— SINGLE COPY—15 c

Published monthly except January-February and July-August when published bi-monthly

Reentered as second class matter January 12, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. IV

June, 1940

No. 5

Germany and Russia Friends or Enemies?

(An Editorial)

Southeastern Europe is witnessing the next act of the great human tragedy on which the curtain rose when Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia signed their "black pact" of last August. Today the Red Bear is again swallowing new territories and new peoples, while the Brown Menace sweeps over Western Europe. This time the historical Ukrainian territories of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, under Rumanian domination for twenty-two years, have fallen victims of the latest aggression of Red Moscow.

The question arises: Does the invasion of Rumania by Russia have the benevolent blessing of Germany, as in the case of Hungary's invasion of Carpatho-Ukraine in March, 1939, and of Russia's occupation of Western Ukraine in September, 1939?

Or has Russia profited by the war in the West and presented the Axis partners with a **fait accompli**?

In other words, are Germany and Russia still marching together according to preconceived plan or has Germany reversed its Eastern policy and is preparing to complete the schedule of **Mein Kampf** and strike against Russia?

June, 1940

1

EUROPEAN KAMPF

The New German Game

Relations between Germany and Russia have cooled considerably in the last few weeks. The lightning conquests of Luxembourg, Holland, Belgium and France have frightened the Kremlin dictator. Leland Stowe reports that Moscow is seriously convinced the renewal of the German "**Drang nach Osten**" against Russia is not far off.

Therefore, it is questionable whether the "bloodless" Russian occupation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia had the German **placet**. So it is even more improbable that Russia had German consent to the occupation of such Black Sea ports of Rumania as Constanza and Braila and Galati in the Danubian estuary.

The "new" German attitude toward the 900,000 Ukrainians now under German domination in former Polish territory is significant. Ukrainian newspapers now being published in Cracow, Kholm and Prague, such as the **Krakovski Visty**, **Kholmski Visty** and **Nastup**, report augmented Ukrainian activities.

Ukrainian schools are allowed. German authorities have ordered the restoration of Ukrainian churches previously confiscated by Poland. Ukrainian social organizations are permitted. The people may sing the national anthem, "*Sche ne vmerla Ukraina*."

The German paper, **Krakauer Zeitung**, Cracow, reported on April 20 that Governor-General Hans Frank received a Ukrainian delegation headed by Professor Volodymyr Kubiovych, noted geographer, and informed it that Ukrainians in German-occupied territory can continue to carry on their activities "without hindrance and under the protection of the German government." In answer the delegation was supposed to have pledged loyalty to Germany.

There were also some 120,000 Ukrainian troops of the former Polish Army interned in Nazi concentration camps at the close of the Polish campaign. Nothing has been heard of them since, but ostensibly if the Nazis are planning any action, they might use these troops as the spearhead of a so-called "liberation" drive on Ukraine.

On June 6 **Novoye Russkoye Slovo**, a Russian newspaper in New York, reprinted a dispatch from the Paris **Posledni Novosti**, quoting an eyewitness to the effect that Germany was organizing a Ukrainian army and that blue-and-yellow Ukrainian flags were displayed on the German-Russian frontier.

If all these reports are true, one might ask: Why has Germany suddenly begun to support the Ukrainian movement? Perhaps the Nazis would like to raise the value of the Ukrainian problem in order to bargain more effectively with the Soviets and in the end renounce their "Ukrainian ambitions" as they did in the case of Carpatho and Western Ukraine.

Repercussions in Western Ukraine

The evident coolness in Soviet-Nazi relations, and the apparent change in German policy toward the Ukrainians have already had repercussions in Western Ukraine. **Le Trident**, organ of the exiled Ukrainian government in Paris, on May 15 quoted a Ukrainian refugee from Western Ukraine that Soviet authorities were using every means to liquidate the "bourgeois order" in Western Ukraine. They were dissolving local councils and replacing them with imported "Soviets," wiping out banks, industrial enterprises and the well-developed cooperatives, and taking youths eight to fifteen years old to Russia for "Communist education." The Ukrainian intelligentsia that had not escaped was being exiled to Turkestan, Siberia and the Far East. The GPU was concentrating on all persons suspected of being members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

Evidently this Soviet drive against the Ukrainians was inspired by fear of possible German action.

Only Another Chapter

The Ukrainian people, whether under German or Russian occupation, are powerless to help themselves. For years they were persecuted by Poland and Rumania together with Russia. They retained their faith in the Entente and the League of Nations, but to no avail. Tiltman reports that prior to 1931 Western Ukrainians "addressed no fewer than thirty-eight petitions to the League, appealing for an international investigation into their grievances."¹ But nothing was ever done about them.

Now they have been trampled by the dictators, who are acting on the principle of "**Pereat mundus, fiat iustitia mea!**"

As for Americans of Ukrainian descent, our attitude is wholly in accordance with that of President Roosevelt. Oppressed people must be given an opportunity to reestablish themselves. Therefore we as free citizens of the last free great democracy will continue to bring the attention of our kinsmen's plight before all free men.

Meanwhile the Ukrainians continue to believe in their destiny and their strength. Regardless of the present tragic situation, Ukraine lives on because its people have the tradition of liberty deeply rooted in their hearts.

Neither Germany nor Russia, whether they remain friends or become enemies, can force Ukraine to lay down its arms. This is but another chapter in the harsh history of a great people.

V. S. DUSHNYCK

¹Tiltman, H. Hessel. *The Terror in Europe*. London, 1931, p. 355.

The Ukrainian-American Congress

With Texts of Memorandum and Resolutions

In the greatest manifestation of solidarity in the history of the Ukrainian immigration in America, more than 1,000 Ukrainian-Americans representing 1,425 organizations met in Washington, D. C., on May 24 to pledge their loyalty to the United States and appeal to the public for an understanding of the democratic independence struggle of 45,000,000 of their kinsmen in Europe.

Officially convened as the Ukrainian-American Congress, the 805 delegates and 207 guests heard 11 congressmen promise them support in their desire to help Ukraine free itself of the shackles of Russian, Hungarian, Rumanian and Nazi occupation. They also passed resolutions upholding the foreign policy of President Roosevelt, denouncing Nazi aggression in Europe and pleading for American aid in behalf of the Ukrainian cause.

In the evening the Ukrainian-American Congress Mixed and Male Choruses, directed by Professor Alexander Koshetz, presented a choral pageant of the history of Ukraine, which brought ovations from the audience and laudatory reviews from newspaper critics. Maria Hrebenetska, soprano, appeared as soloist.

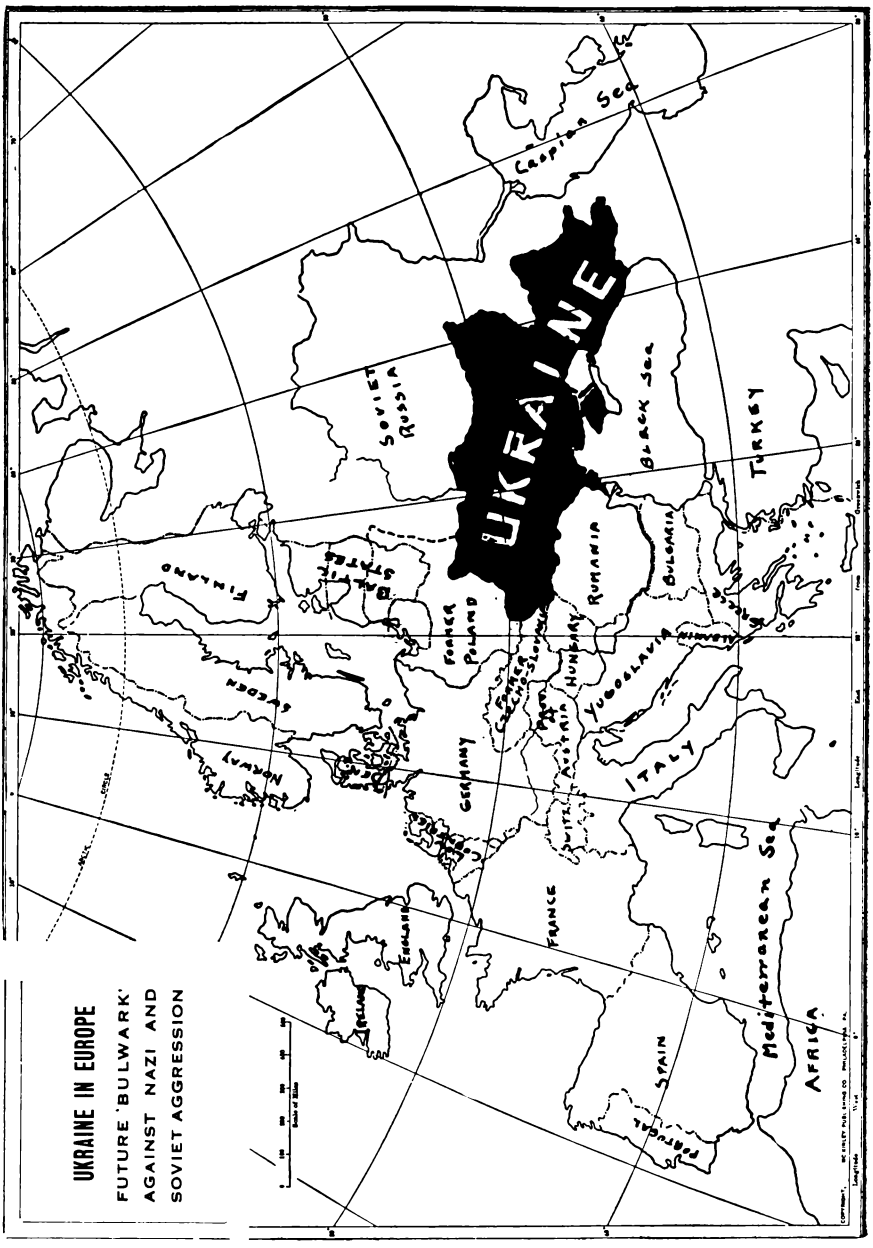
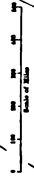
A congress committee, consisting of the four leading Ukrainian beneficial associations, was elected to represent the three-quarters of a million Americans of Ukrainian descent.

Among the speakers were Senators James J. Davis, Pa., Joseph Guffey, Pa., and Francis Maloney, Conn. The representatives were Patrick J. Boland, Pa., J. Harold Flannery, Pa., Francis E. Walter, Pa., Jerry Voorhis, Calif., Adolf Sabath, Ill., Caroline O'Day, N. Y., Lewis Rockefeller, N. Y., and Michael Edelstein, N. Y. Lawrence W. Robert, secretary of the National Democratic Committee, completed the American list of speakers.

The Ukrainian list included Dr. Luke Myshuha, editor, Svoboda; Miroslav Sichinsky, president of the UWA; Professor Volodymyr Timoshenko, Stanford University; John M. Kiselicia, president, the Ukrainian Catholic Youth's League; Mrs. Marie S. Gambal, former editor of Our American Page, Narodna Wola; Stephen Shumeyko, editor, The Ukrainian Weekly, and Michael Piznak, attorney, who introduced many of the congressmen.

The memorandum and resolutions follow:

UKRAINE IN EUROPE
FUTURE 'BULWARK'
AGAINST NAZI AND
SOVIET AGGRESSION



A MEMORANDUM

BY THE AMERICAN-UKRAINIAN CONGRESS
Representing Ukrainian Organizations in the United
States of America

WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 24, 1940

We, American citizens of Ukrainian descent, convened at Washington, on Friday, May 24, 1940, as representatives of Ukrainian organizations in the United States, do take a stand in defense of the right of Ukraine to an independent national existence, through the establishment of an independent and democratic state on her national territory.

I.

The World War in which Americans fought for their own safety and the cause of democracy and national self-determination, brought political freedom to the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Croats, Slovenes, Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, and other people. The Ukrainians alone did not succeed in gaining their freedom at that time, although they fought bravely and sacrificed much in the struggle. The peace treaties of Versailles and of Riga, followed by the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors, of March, 1923, placed millions of Ukrainians under the domination of Russia, Poland and Rumania. In the spring of 1939 Carpatho-Ukraine, federated with Czechoslovakia, was invaded and occupied by Hungary.

Following the outbreak of the present European war started last Fall by the totalitarian powers, ninety per cent of the Ukrainian people found themselves under the

oppression of Soviet Russia, while those inhabiting the remaining Ukrainian territories, are now under the German dictatorship and the Hungarian and Rumanian regimes.

All these Ukrainian territories, though occupied by foreign armies, constitute an ethnographic unit lying between the 43rd and 54th degrees north latitude, and 21 and 50 degrees east longitude (from Greenwich). The Ukrainian national area is 362,162 square miles, extending from the slopes of the Caucasus beyond the Carpathian Mountains, across which lies the shortest land route between Western Europe and Central Asia and India. In 1931 this area was populated by more than 42,000,000 Ukrainians. Its present population is approximately 60,000,000, of which 70.3 per cent is Ukrainian, 15 per cent Russian 5.8 per cent Jewish, 4.5 per cent Polish, 1.3 per cent German, and 3.1 per cent other nationalities.

At present Ukrainian ethnographic territory is divided among foreign powers as follows:

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics occupies most of it, including a goodly portion of Western Ukraine, formerly under Poland, absorbed last September. Though the Soviet constitution designates a large portion of these Ukrainian territories as Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, actually Russia has again deprived it of all political and economic autonomy.

Rumania is in possession of the Ukrainian parts of Bukovina and Bessarabia. Hungary rules over Carpatho-Ukraine, Germany over the regions of Lemkos, Kholm and Pidlissie; while Slovakia has annexed the district of Priashiv.

The above mentioned Ukrainian territories are sufficiently rich in natural resources and agricultural products to provide a firm economic basis for Ukraine's political independence.

They have abundant deposits of anthracite coal, high grade iron, manganese, salt, and rich wells of oil. The productivity of the Ukrainian black earth is world-known. The country raises huge quantities of wheat and other grains, and yields large harvests of sugar beets, potatoes, and maize.

All this economic wealth, however, does not make the country prosperous because it is ruthlessly exploited by the foreign governments, which rule by force of intimidation and terror.

II.

Foreign occupation and national enslavement has not always been the lot of the Ukrainian people. Their historical tradition includes periods of independence. They created one of the first States of Eastern Europe, centuries ago, and they defended Europe against the continuous invasions of nomadic tribes of Asia. The authority of the Ukrainian State of Kiev was limited by Popular Assemblies and by a nationally promulgated code of laws.

Toward the end of the 16th century the Ukrainians again organized their statehood and in the middle of the 17th century they achieved independence in the form of a Cossack Republic which elected their leaders.

At the close of the Great War, they rose once more establishing two independent Republics, Eastern and Western, which in January, 1919, united into the Ukrainian Peoples' Republic, based on democratic principles and guaranteeing the rights of all minorities. This Republic, however, was overrun during the Revolution and the Civil War by the Soviet and White armies, and the military forces of Poland. Thus all Ukraine again became subject to foreign rule and misgovernment.

III.

After the conquest of Ukraine by the government of Soviet Russia Ukrainian independence was abolished and the country was forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union. It was then despoiled to such an extent by the armies of the Communist Party that when in 1921 a drought befell the country, Ukraine, the granary of Europe, suffered a famine unparalleled in her history. Attempts were made by the authorities to conceal the extent of the disaster, but it was revealed in the reports of Fridtjof Nansen and other relief commissions.

In spite of the speedy impoverishment of the Ukrainian population caused by the maladministration of the Russian rule, still the Moscow government continued to export Ukrainian foodstuffs and the products of Ukrainian industry. Another great famine swept the country in 1931 and 1932, especially in those parts of Ukraine where the process of forcible collectivization of land was most rigid. This resulted in the death of several million people. The official denials of the outrage were refuted by many witnesses and newspaper correspondents, such

THE TRIDENT

as William Henry Chamberlin and Walter Duranty.

During the twenty years of their rule, Soviet Russia gradually placed all phases of Ukrainian life under the direct control of the Moscow government. Those who dared to oppose this terroristic rule were annihilated. Thousands of Ukrainian patriots, political leaders, writers, scholars and scientists were executed by firing squads. Thousands were sent to the prison camps and Siberia.

This rule of exploitation, oppression and terror was brought also to the people of Western Ukraine by Soviet Russian rule as a result of the occupation of Western Ukrainian territories by the Soviet troops in the Fall of 1939. Reports from that region indicate that mass arrests, exiles and even executions are common there also.

IV.

The Polish rule in Western Ukraine was characterized by the deliberate denial to the seven million Ukrainians of all the elementary rights guaranteed to them by the Polish Constitution and the minority treaties. From the very outset the Polish regime which later became well-nigh totalitarian, refused to allow Ukrainians to occupy governmental posts, discriminated against them in trades and professions, colonized their lands with settlers imported from Poland proper, censored their press and imposed exorbitant taxes upon them. Ukrainian political, cultural and economic progress was retarded at every step by the Polish administration. Especially vigorous were the attempts on the part of the government to denationalize the Ukrainian people. The education of the country particularly

suffered. To give just one example: The entire 14 Ukrainian chairs at the University of Lviv were abolished. Out of 16 High Schools only 4 were left, and out of 3,662 public schools only 120 remained.

In 1930 the Polish Government engaged in a bloody pacification of Western Ukraine, during which Polish soldiers destroyed several thousand Ukrainian co-operatives, libraries and private buildings; caused the death of several scores of people; and inflicted brutal beatings upon several thousand Ukrainian peasant leaders, priests, teachers and employees of co-operative enterprises. These acts of terror were reported by the press of almost all nations, and were criticized in the British and the Canadian parliaments, and also investigated by the League of Nations. No alleviation, however, ensued, and the terrorism under which the Ukrainians in the Polish Republic lived, continued without abatement.

Another pacification followed and was later repeated several times, until the very end of the Polish Republic. Immediately prior to its downfall last year the Polish government caused the forcible closing and outright destruction of about 150 Ukrainian churches in the Kholm region. Even during the Polish-German war, Polish troops did not hesitate to execute defenseless people of Western Ukraine, burning and destroying their homes and villages.

As for the Ukrainians in Rumania, it was only recently that they were recognized as a separate nationality by the Rumanian government. Until that time they were forbidden, under severe penalties, the use of their mother-tongue in public schools, courts, and even in their churches.

In Carpatho-Ukraine the Hungar-

ian invasion and occupation in the Spring of 1939 led to executions without trial of war prisoners, and thousands of Ukrainian patriots were mistreated and tortured in concentration camps.

V.

Although they have suffered the severest oppression, exploitation and terror at the hands of their conquerors, the Ukrainian people have never given up their centuries-old struggle for national independence. Nor have they ceased their preparation for an independent national life. When public schools and universities in their own country were closed to them they valiantly strove for self-education. Ukrainian students, driven out of their native land because of patriotic activities, emigrated to foreign lands to study, often enduring the greatest hardships to achieve their ambitions.

Thus the courage and spirit of the people of Ukraine remained unbroken and they resolved all the more firmly to struggle against all odds to win what they believed was rightfully theirs—national freedom. This determination inspired hosts of young people to shoulder the responsibility and strive for the aims of those who had fallen in the struggle.

VI.

The forcible subjection of Ukraine and the denial to her of independent statehood is one of the many causes of the European turmoil which resulted in the present debacle. The great wealth of Ukraine was and will be the tempting prize of warfare among powers desirous of military expansion. If Ukraine should regain her independence, it

would be more possible for her to effectively curtail the competitive struggles for the mastery of her resources.

This is not the first time that Americans of Ukrainian descent have tried to bring to the attention of America and all the other civilized nations, this vital need for Ukrainian independence. They have been emphasizing that a free Ukraine would be a grave obstacle to the growth of aggressive policies of either Russia, Poland or Germany. In her own interests Ukraine would be a peaceful intermediary between the industrial West and the agricultural East and a stabilizing influence in the affairs of Eastern Europe. Her national resources, her agriculture and industry would cease to be the prey of foreign invaders and would, instead, tend to become available to all nations through free trade agreements.

The restoration of the Ukrainian independence, the victim of not only warfare, but of peace treaties concluded at the end of the last great War, will benefit both the Ukrainian people and the cause of European peace in general.

VII.

We, Americans of Ukrainian descent, feel confident that the Ukrainian state will be reconstructed, founded on principles of democracy and equal rights for minorities. Such a state, we are confident, would recognize and respect the rights of Ukraine's neighbors to an independent life in their territories. We are confident that possible disputes would be settled by peaceful means and by mutual agreement, and that the Ukrainians would favor broad measures leading to the liberation of international trade.

We know that the political tradition of Ukraine was always opposed to conquest of foreign territory. They have always proclaimed their desire for friendly relations with their neighbors, but they are a stubborn people and as long as they are denied the right of self-determination and self-government, that long will they defend their claim to freedom.

Today it is possible to speak only, freely and truthfully about such matters as the independence of Ukraine only in these United States of

America and in other democratic countries. We appeal, therefore, to the American people and to the government of the United States that they take cognizance of the present plight of the Ukrainians in Europe. We hope that America in her efforts to promote a more stable peace, will support the aspirations of the Ukrainian people in their native land to establish an independent and democratic nation in the territories where the Ukrainians are in the preponderant majority.

Declaration and Resolutions

Representatives of Ukrainian organizations in the United States of America, convened on May 24, 1940, at the American Ukrainian Congress in Washington, D. C., HEREBY RESOLVE:

I.

We, American citizens of Ukrainian descent, again call the attention of America and other nations of the world to the fact that forty million Ukrainians, the second largest group of Slavonic people, have been deprived of independence. They have been divided by foreign occupants and are subject to political oppression and economic exploitation.

At a time when foundations for a lasting peace in Europe and throughout the world are being discussed, we once more raise our voices on behalf of Ukrainian independence: Ukraine has the right to the same measure of national freedom and independence as will be enjoyed by other people in Europe after the war.

II.

We affirm once more before America and the world in general, that Ukraine desires to become, can, and should be, an independent state, and that the recognition of her right to national self-determination is in the interest of her people and in the interest of peace in Europe.

Ukraine DESIRES to be independent. The Ukrainian people have expressed this desire throughout the course of their history, forming their own state whenever they had an opportunity to do so. A Ukrainian state existed within various boundaries from the ninth century to the eighteenth century, and lost its independence as the result of the aggressiveness of her neighbors.

In 1917 Ukraine was re-established as an independent democratic nation, but, after several years of heroic struggle, her territory was occupied by the military forces of Russia, Poland and Rumania. Since then, and to this day the will of the Ukrainian people for independence has manifested itself in bloody wars

of defense, rebellions, revolutionary activities, and organized mass resistance to occupant rule. The people suffered terror, executions, imprisonments and other harsh measures of political oppression and economic exploitation at the hands of their foreign rulers. At this moment, as the result of recent European events, Ukrainian territory is partitioned among Russia, Germany, Hungary and Rumania.

Ukraine CAN be independent. She has a compact territory of some three hundred thousand square miles north of the Black Sea. She has a homogeneous population of more than forty million people, with various small national minorities. The soil of Ukraine is known for its fertility and for its rich mineral deposits, which are useful for the development of industry. These natural resources, thus far exploited by foreign occupants, constitute the economic base for a Ukrainian state and for the welfare of her population.

Ukraine SHOULD be independent. Under foreign rule, her natural resources will continue to be the loot of imperialistic intrigue. In her present, or in a similar situation Ukraine must continue to be a source of unrest, revolutions, rebellions and disturbances, which will affect peace in that and other parts of Europe.

An independent Ukraine would alleviate tension in Eastern Europe, and greatly aid in the stabilization of peace. Under conditions of free trade, her riches would be available to other peoples and states. She would become a good neighbor of, and an effective intermediary between Western and Eastern Europe and Asia.

III.

The American Ukrainian Congress is in complete accord with the foreign policy of the present Administration of this country, since it aims to free and widen the scope of international trade, to bring about gradual world disarmament, and recognizes the right of all peoples to self-determination.

Considering the present dangerous situation throughout the world, caused by totalitarian governments, the Congress is fully cognizant of the need for measures necessary to the defense of America and her liberties. Therefore, we appeal to our people to support such measures of the government of the United States in every way.

The American Ukrainian Congress condemns the ruthless violation of the sovereign rights of neutral countries by totalitarian states in the present war in Europe. We express our firm belief that these countries will regain their independence.

The American Ukrainian Congress believes that the United States should be adequately prepared against possible attacks by foreign powers, and should be strong within, in order to attain the ideals of her democracy. The defense of democratic liberties,—one of which is the right of self-determination of peoples—is, and should continue to be one of our chief aims.

IV.

The American Ukrainian Congress is fully aware that Ukrainian independence can be realized only through the efforts of the Ukrainian people in their own native land. The Congress appeals to the people and the government of the United States and to all liberty loving coun-

tries to recognize and support this historic right of the Ukrainian people to organize their own state and to live as a free nation, in peace with their neighbors.

V

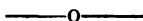
The American Ukrainian Congress instructs the presiding body of the Congress to present these Resolutions to the American public and to the government, and to co-ordinate the future action of Ukrainian organizations here in support of the Ukrainian movement for independence, and in aid to the victims of the struggle for Ukrainian freedom. The assembled delegates promise their cooperation in such action, and urge all Americans of Ukrainian descent to assist.

The American Ukrainian Congress expresses a deep reverence for the memory of those kinsfolk abroad who fought for freedom, independence, democracy, and unity of Ukraine, and who suffered persecution, torture, and death at the hands of their oppressors.

VI.

The Congress salutes the Ukrainian people abroad and wishes them to know that we are doing all in our power to tell this country and the world about the justice of Ukrainian demands for self-determination. We also promise to aid the Ukrainian people in their struggle for liberty and to continue that help to the best of our ability until they regain their freedom. Remembering clearly the misery which drove us from our enslaved native land, and appreciating the opportunities for a better and fuller life which we found in free America, we, Ukrainian immigrants and our American-born children, express a sincere hope that the Ukrainians in Europe, will unite all their forces in their struggle for an independent, united, and democratic Ukraine.

The strength of the Ukrainian people lies in the justice of their cause. Their destiny is inseparably bound to democracy, liberty and good-will toward other nations.



The Unequal Struggle

The cover shows a Ukrainian nationalist fighting a four-headed dragon representing the occupants of Ukrainian territory before Munich—Russia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania.

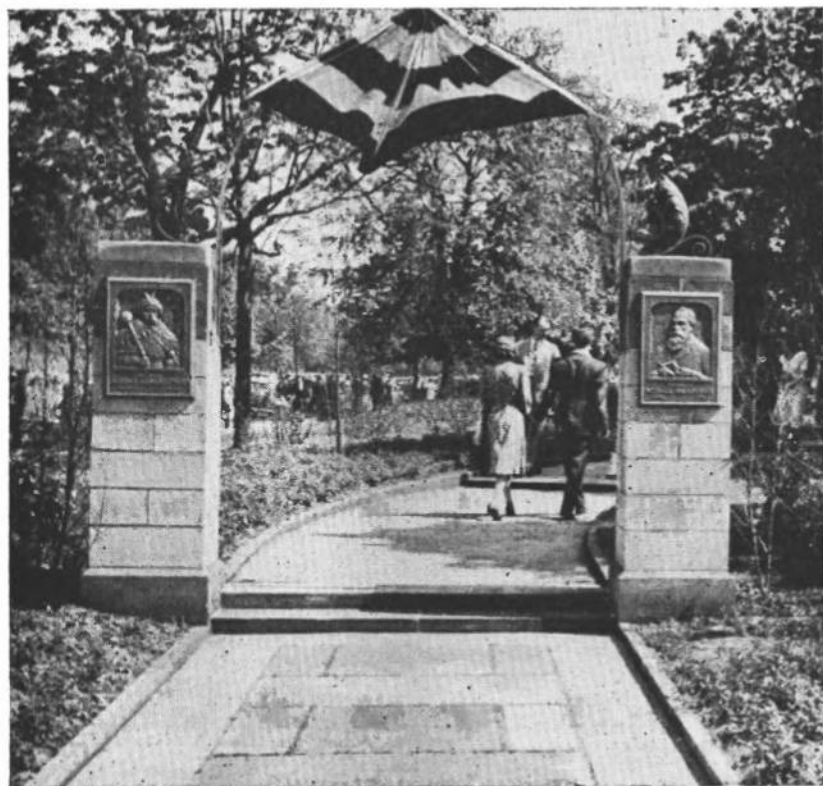
Today Poland and Czecho-Slovakia have been wiped out, the first by Nazi and Soviet aggression, the second by Nazi-Hungarian aggression. Rumania, meanwhile, has relinquished its Ukrainian territories of

Bukovina and Bessarabia to Red Russia.

Hungary, Germany and Russia remain as occupants of Ukrainian soil. The first has Carpatho-Ukraine; the second, parts of the provinces of Kholm, Lemkivschyna and Pidliashche, and the third, approximately 97 per cent of all Ukrainian territory in Eastern Europe.

But the struggle goes on!

The Ukrainian Cultural Gardens in Cleveland



Photos by Steve Bobeczko

THE ENTRANCE

The first of their kind in America, the Ukrainian Cultural Gardens in Rockefeller Park, Cleveland, O., were dedicated on Sunday, June 2, before 5,000 persons.

The Gardens are featured by busts of three famous Ukrainians, Volodymir the Great, Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko, and plaques of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and

Historian Michael Hrushevsky, flanking the entrance (above).

Khmelnytsky (died 1657) freed Ukraine from Poland and established the Ukrainian Cossack State. Hrushevsky (died 1934 in Soviet exile) was president of the Ukrainian National Republic and Ukraine's outstanding historian.



VOLODIMIR THE GREAT

Prince of Kiev (972-1015) Volodimir (also Volodymyr) founded the Ukrainian Empire that extended from the Black Sea to the Baltic. He also made it Christian.

"He was one of the great men of the first millenium after Christ, a great missionary, a great ruler, a

great educator," said Professor Clarence A. Manning of Columbia University at the dedication exercises.

This and other busts were made by Alexander Archipenko, Ukrainian sculptor renowned for his ability to give the illusion of life and motion to his creations.



TARAS SHEVCHENKO

The Bard of Ukraine, Shevchenko (1814--1861) was serf, prisoner and exile for most of his life, but he awakened Ukraine from its 19th century lethargy.

"Shevchenko belonged to the heroic age," said Manning.

Other speakers were Governor John W. Bricker of Ohio, Mayor Harold H. Burton of Cleveland, Chief Jus-

tice Carl W. Weygandt of Ohio, Bishop Theodorovych, Dmytro Halychyn, secretary of the Ukrainian National Association, and Miroslav Sichinsky, head of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association.

Credit for the Gardens must go to the United Ukrainian Organizations of Cleveland, whose president is Omer E. Malisky.



IVAN FRANKO

Called the "other outstanding representative of the Ukrainian genius" by Manning, Franko carried on the struggle for the rebirth of Ukraine in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He died in 1916, but two years later Ukraine arose.

Today Eastern and Western Uk-

raine are united again, but under the Red Terror. "The final union of both Ukraines within the Soviet Union bids fair to top all previous troubles and all previous attempts at extermination," Manning said. "Yet the struggle must go on."

UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

By PAUL YUZYK

Driven by poverty, oppression and despair, thousands of Ukrainians left their native land in Europe and emigrated to other countries and the new world. Today, Ukrainians are found in all parts of the world.

Many thousands of Ukrainians made their homes in Canada, where contrary to conditions in their native land, they found liberty and opportunity for a new life. As far as can be ascertained, the first Ukrainian pioneers were Vasil Leynak, Ivan Pilipiwski and Yurko Panischak, all from Nebilow, Galicia, who arrived in Winnipeg in 1892. The first settlers made their homes in the bush country around Teulon, just north of Winnipeg. In 1900 there were several thousand Ukrainian immigrants, whose number increased to more than 100,000 prior to the World War. Another influx of Ukrainians into Canada came before the depression, chiefly from the province of Galicia, at that time under Polish domination. It is estimated that today there are more than 400,000 Canadians of Ukrainian descent. To obtain an exact statistical report is difficult, for Ukrainians were registered as Austrians, Russians, Poles, Bukovinians, Ruthenians, Rumanians, Galicians, Rusnaks and other nationalities.

This incorrect classification has been clarified to some extent and the term "Ukrainian" is now accepted and recognized.

The Ukrainian population in Canada is approximately divided as follows:

Nova Scotia	5,000
Quebec	15,000
Ontario	70,000
Manitoba	95,000
Saskatchewan	90,000
Alberta	85,000
British Columbia	20,000

The following cities have the greatest Ukrainian population:

Winnipeg	25,000
Toronto	10,000
Montreal	10,000
Edmonton	9,000
Vancouver	5,000
Saskatoon	3,000

c

The majority of the Ukrainians are located in the three prairie provinces, where they have settled in colonies and are

chiefly engaged in agriculture. However, they may be found in other work as well, including many professions and even in the government.

The Development of the Ukrainian Immigration

The majority of the immigrants who arrived before the World War were poverty stricken and illiterate. Notwithstanding these handicaps they became laborers and homesteaders. They have made great progress and today there are many well-to-do farmers, teachers, agriculturists, writers, doctors, lawyers, musicians, government officials, engineers, pharmacists, and others. There are about 700 Ukrainian teachers in Canada. The Ukrainian Canadians have hundreds of churches, national homes and stores and several institutes. They are also represented in cultural and social life, their theater, music, dances and choruses, both folk and national, being of the highest degree. One prominent English journalist wrote, "Where there is a Ukrainian group there is a choir and an orchestra."

The Ukrainians were an important factor in the building up of the West. They helped construct railroads, roadways, towns, bridges, etc. Many communities are to be found bearing Ukrainian names, e. g., Odessa, Kiev, Petlura, Tarnopol and others. The Honorable Dr. J. T. M. Anderson wrote in his book, *The Education of New Canadians*: "No better material can be found among our newcomers from which to mould a strong type of Canadian citizen."

The Ukrainians defended and will defend their adopted homeland. Lancelot Lawton, a prominent British publicist, wrote: "Half a million Ukrainians are British subjects in Canada and 10,000 Ukrainians enlisted voluntarily in the last World War." These Ukrainians were known as the "Irish Guards." In the present conflict Ukrainian Canadians have a proportionally high percentage in the Canadian Army.

The Ukrainians also play an important part in Canadian politics. They have been ably represented in the Dominion Parliament for two terms by Michael Luchkovich, who was even the official representative of the British Empire. In recent elections a popular and energetic young Ukrainian, A. H. Hlynka, was elected from the same constituency to the Dominion Parliament. Still other Ukrainians were elected to provincial parliaments, as follows:

Manitoba

N. V. Bachynsky *
N. A. Hryhorchuk *
J. Wawrykow *
F. D. Ferley
W. Risowsky *
D. Yakimischak

Saskatchewan Dr. G. E. Dragan
O. Zerebko *

Alberta J. M. Popil *
W. Tomy *
G. Woytkiw *
Is. Goresky
P. A. Miskew

The Religious Life of the Ukrainian Immigration

Ukrainians are staunch adherents of Christianity. The church was the first institution to be created in each new community. There are two large dioceses, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church under Bishop K. Ladyka with about 350 parishes, and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church with 125 parishes. There are also several Protestant parishes. The early rivalry among the churches brought harmful consequences, but generally speaking, it has spurred the Ukrainians to higher standards. Today the Ukrainian churches play an important and leading role in the improvement of the moral, social, economic and national status of the Ukrainian immigration.

Organizations and the Press

There are four leading Ukrainian organizations, each having its own newspaper.

The leading and youngest organization is the Ukrainian National Federation founded in 1932. This is a nationalist organization, which besides fostering a spirit of Canadian democracy, seeks the liberation of Ukraine. It supports the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine and believes that the alien invaders of Ukraine must be driven out, and that a Ukrainian Republic should be established. Ukrainian Nationalism believes in the unity of the Ukrainian nation brought about by a common ideal and a national consciousness. Opponents have tried to brand Ukrainian Nationalism as German intrigue but this is absolutely false as it is based entirely on the strength and ability of the Ukrainians themselves. The Ukrainian Nationalists are awaiting a general upheaval for an opportunity to liberate Ukraine.

The Ukrainian National Federation has three other sections—the Ukrainian War Veterans Association, the Ukrainian Women's Organization of Olga Besarabova and the Ukrainian National Youth Federation. The branches total more than 150 and are scattered throughout Canada. The official organ, The New Pathway (Novy Shlakh), a widely read newspaper, is a bi-weekly and is published in Saskatoon.

* Present sitting members.

The Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics is a religious organization, promoting the interests of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and also the liberation of Ukraine. It has many branches throughout Canada. The official publication, *The Future of the Nation* (*Buduchnist Naciyi*) is published in Yorkton, Sask., and has the support of *The Ukrainian News*, a weekly Edmonton newspaper.

The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League represents a national democratic trend, also aiding the cause of an independent Ukraine. It opposes the Ukrainian Nationalists but seeks to remain neutral. It is composed of Ukrainian Orthodox Church members and has two other sections—the Ukrainian Women's Association and the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association, the latter having a greater membership. They are chiefly interested in cultural work and have two fairly large student institutes. Their organ is *The Ukrainian Voice*, (*Ukrainsky Holos*), a weekly published in Winnipeg.

The United Hetman Organizations, a comparatively small group, publishes a weekly, *The Toiler* (*Robitnyk*), in Toronto. They seek to place ex-Hetman Paul Skoropadsky, who was driven out of Ukraine by the Ukrainian people in 1918, on the Ukrainian "throne." They have the support of part of the Catholic clergy, but still barely manage to exist.

The Ukrainian Relief Association is a mutual benefit society founded in 1926, which pays benefits in case of accident, sickness or death. It has about 6,000 members and capital of more than \$100,000. Donations are frequently made towards various national and cultural causes. Its official organs are *The New Pathway* and *The Ukrainian Voice*. The Ukrainians also have several other mutual aid organizations, which are comparatively small.

The Ukrainian Communists with their organ, *The People's Gazette*, (*Narodna Gazeta*), published in Winnipeg, attained the peak of their strength in 1931-1932. Ever since then they have been rapidly declining in membership and influence, being hampered by the untiring and incessant work of the Ukrainian Nationalists. They uphold Communism, as practiced in the Soviet Union, denouncing vehemently the capitalistic system in Canada, and cooperate with the Communist Party of Canada. Their youth section, the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Federation, expounds little love for Canada or Ukraine. However, it is pleasing to note that they exert less and less influence on Ukrainian life in Canada.¹

The Canadian Farmer (*Kanadiyski Farmer*), a weekly published in Winnipeg, is the oldest and most widely read Ukrainian publication in Canada. Its policy is to be neutral

¹ The Ukrainian Communist organizations have now been banned in Canada.

and independent although at the same time it upholds the cause of Ukrainian independence. Occasionally Hetmanite leanings can be noted.

All these organizations, except the Hetmanites, hold annual conventions or conferences in various Canadian cities. It is at these gatherings that accomplishments are reviewed, future plans discussed and new executives elected. The question of the liberation of Ukraine and ways of helping it are always discussed.

The Ukrainian Representative Committee

The four Ukrainian organizations, the Ukrainian National Federation, the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics, the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League and the United Hetman Organizations, have been discussing plans for the formation of a central body ever since the outbreak of the present war in Europe. Its purpose would be to represent the Ukrainian Canadians and inform the proper Canadian circles and Allied Powers about the importance and the necessity of the establishment of an independent Ukraine based on ethnographic territories, as a means of achieving permanent peace in the future.

At present the two largest organizations, the Ukrainian National Federation and the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics, have formed the Ukrainian Representative Committee to which they have drawn some prominent Canadians. It is hoped that the four organizations can come to a definite understanding and unite in these critical times.

Lord Tweedsmuir and the Ukrainian Immigration

The late Lord Tweedsmuir, former Governor-General of Canada, was very sympathetic towards his Ukrainian subjects in Canada. His well-spoken words in Fraserwood, Manitoba, on September 21, 1936, should be remembered by all Ukrainians, especially the youth:

"You have become good Canadians... The Ukrainian element is a very valuable contribution to our new Canada... I want you to remember your old Ukrainian traditions, your beautiful handicrafts, your folksongs, dances and your folk legends. I do not believe that any people can be strong unless they remember and keep in touch with the past. Your traditions are all valuable contributions toward our Canadian culture... You will be better Canadians for being also good Ukrainians."

Stalinism

By MYKOLA SCIBORSKY

From *Ukraina i nacionalna polityka Sovietiv*

Part IX

The Trend of Stalinism in Ukraine

Stalin's present campaign in Ukraine is developing in several directions. First of all, there is the liquidation of Ukrainianization and its cultural achievements. At present it is hardly possible to speak of legal, national and cultural activity in Ukraine. The right of existence and circulation is reserved, first of all, to the "All-Union" (Russian) culture translated into Ukrainian. The privileged position of the latter in Ukraine is apparent, first of all, in literature. At the All-Union Convention of Soviet Writers in Moscow¹⁴ Kulyk, the official representative of Soviet literature in Ukraine, declared that their principal duty was to combat nationalism in literature. One glance at Stalin's cultural program shows that things could not be otherwise. But the regime is no longer satisfied that the All-Union culture should be translated into the Ukrainian language. It would rather have Ukraine accept this culture in the Russian original. Every effort is being made to spread the Russian language in schools and government institutions. This assimilating action is carried on so openly that the official organs wax with sincere indignation because Ukrainian people resist forced Russification.

Komsomolskaya Pravda, of October 16, 1937, published an article under the title, "**Yazykovy Musor**" (Dirt in the Language), in which the editor complained that in schools in Ukraine as well as in other Soviet republics, the teaching of the Russian language was confronted by great difficulties. Students spoiled the great Russian language with much local lingual dirt. In this sabotage of the Russian language, **Komsomolskaya Pravda** saw the hand of enemy nationalists. Similar articles are often found in the Soviet press.

Efforts are made to assimilate the Ukrainian language itself. Agents of Soviet authorities placed in the Ukrainian Academy of Science have carried out a unique "purge" of the language. This philological experiment had a clear political purpose—to make the Ukrainian language mechanically closer to the "brotherly" Russian language.

Every effort is being made to de-nationalize Ukrainian youth. To this end the government provides or withholds the

¹⁴ The All-Union Convention of Soviet Writers, August, 1934.

opportunity of acquiring a higher education, obtaining satisfactory employment or advancing in the hierarchy. The cult of the "father of nations" is extended not only to youth but also to babes in arms. Here is an example of a Soviet cradle-song:

Sleep, my little one,
Sleep, my little girl,
We have defeated the cold and the night;
The enemy will not take away your joy,
There is a man behind the walls of the Kremlin
Known and beloved by the whole land.
Your joy and fortunes come from him—
Stalin is his great name.

How does Ukrainian youth react to these efforts to maim its national spirit? The answer is found in Soviet sources. Disintegration within the Comsomol and numerous examples of the participation of Ukrainian youth in national revolutionary action show that the national spirit remains unaffected by hostile influences. This national resistance was foreseen by Zatonsky, at one time Commissar of Education in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, who said:

"The problems of Ukraine are closely bound up with the national problem, and it might result in the Ukrainian youth's following the path of national re-birth with its own romanticism."

A twenty-year experiment on the younger generation of Ukraine did not give Moscow the desired results. Directed by a healthy national instinct, the youth followed the slogan of Mykola Khvylovy,¹⁵ who said:

"Ukraine will never agree that its decreed over-lord should be Moscow."

Why the Soviet Constitution was Adopted

The regime also liquidated the pitiful constitutional remnants of former days. This liquidation was achieved by the new Soviet Constitution that has been proclaimed by Moscow as the "most democratic in the world" and the "most brilliant creation of the epoch." The question arises: Why did Stalin need this new constitution? It is not enough to say that it served to entrench his position. The old administrative legal forms, and especially the GPU, were sufficient to insure his authority. It is very likely that the international situation

¹⁵ Soviet Ukrainian writer who led the struggle against the Soviets in the field of literature and committed suicide in 1933 after he was denounced as a nationalist.

played an important part. The threat of war forced Moscow to search for external support. This was not an easy task. The policies of the Comintern undermined faith in the Soviet government, even among those groups in Europe that were ideologically sympathetic to Moscow. Few people want an ally who would stab them in the back at the first opportunity.

Stalin's regime was faced with the absolute necessity of reorganizing foreign policy along lines that would give it the appearance of being a stabilizing factor in the existing international situation and not an inciter to world revolution. This was done. But it was necessary to explain this sudden change to the outside world. A satisfactory solution was found in a new "ideology" that explained the Soviets' determination "to fight the universal danger of fascism." Then came the popular fronts in which moderate socialist and even democratic groups stood side by side with the communists. Through its local branches, bolshevism came out in various European countries as an exponent of national solidarity and legal reforms. This does not mean that the regime had cast aside its mission of world revolution. Even under those trying conditions, it did not miss the opportunity to provoke disintegration, especially where this could be done by inciting others who were not admittedly communists. But it is true that under existing conditions world revolution was not its principal occupation. This is quite understandable—one whose house is on fire is not in a position to rush to the aid of somebody else similarly affected.

This unnatural partnership of Stalinism and bourgeois democratic circles had other repercussions. Bound to traditional social and political forms, these circles had no sympathy for the Soviet regime despite the fact that they were resisting fascism. Foreign criticism of Stalin's regime was very painful to Moscow. It felt the necessity, therefore, of at least formally adapting the Soviet regime to the traditional tastes of future partners abroad. That was why "the most democratic constitution in the world" became necessary.

Constitutional changes were also forced by internal conditions. The building of socialism was not very successful. Former legal forms adapted to this process were outmoded. A new form of private property was developing; old classes were replaced by new social differentiation accompanied by economic disparity. Simultaneously, there developed psychological processes that had nothing in common with socialism. At the March 1918 Convention, the Communist Party adopted a resolution that was really prophetic:

"We shall not desist from taking advantage of bourgeois parliamentarianism if events throw us back to the historical position we occupied before our revolution."

That is exactly what happened and Stalin's regime had to reconcile it with the remnants of Marxist and Leninist theory. Events forced Stalin to adopt the complicated maneuvers of the last few years with only one purpose in mind: to do everything possible to maintain the regime. That is why the new constitution admitted private personal property and did not place the same restrictions as formerly on the accumulation of material wealth. That is why the regime has invented a curious formula: "To everybody according to his ability, to everybody according to his work"; a slogan quite similar to that used by bourgeois capitalists.

Changes in the electoral system were forced upon the regime by the party itself. Having become used to privilege and overlordship, the party became an end in itself. It was bureaucratic and careless in official and social duties and continuous "purges" did not seem to correct the defects. The new electoral system was a kind of injection meant to enliven the party. However, the regime came to the conclusion that the support of the party was no longer enough. In the face of internal and external danger, it tried to make peace with the population, at least with that section anxious to be included among the privileged. The change in the electoral system was designed to open the way for the so-called non-party bolsheviks upon whom Stalin had to rely more than upon the party.

An Analysis of the Soviet Constitution

If internal contradictions mark the whole constitution, then that part which deals with the rights and powers of the separate Soviet republics achieves a new record. Here the cynicism of the authors of the constitution reaches a limit. It seems that they did not even try to reconcile separate sections of the law. The reasons are self-evident. That part of the constitution, which deals with the national rights of the people of the USSR, was definitely designed for effect abroad because the Soviet government knows that the average outsider will not study the separate sections carefully enough to discover their contradictions.

The Soviet press itself testifies that the declarations of Stalin's constitution were intended for export in order to increase sympathy abroad. Moscow's **Pravda** wrote:

"The changes in the constitution will draw all thinking and leading people of the world towards the USSR."¹⁵

The official government organ, **Izvestia**, wrote:

"The international significance of this document will be very great. At a time when fascism destroys the remains of bourgeois democracy with an iron boot, our constitution raises the banner of the fullest and most

¹⁵ **Pravda**, No. 37, 1965.

perfected democracy... Appropriate articles express the tremendous growth of national cultures already socialistic in their continued amalgamation. The great policy of brotherhood is celebrating its triumph."¹⁶

Article 13 of the constitution declares: "The USSR is a union of states formed on the basis of free union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics: the Russian SFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, the White Russian SSR, the Azerbaidjan SSR, the Georgian SSR, etc." (eleven in all). Article 15 and 16 note that every Soviet republic performs its state duties independently and has its own constitution that takes into consideration the peculiarities pertaining to that republic. Finally, Article 17 declares that each republic reserves the right of voluntary secession from the USSR.

We see, therefore, that Stalin's constitution did not break with the old declarations of Lenin's national policy. That part was valuable for export. How can one convince an average Frenchman, for instance, that the Ukrainian independence movement is not German intrigue? Does not the constitution state plainly that the Ukrainian people can freely leave the union? If they do not do so, then clearly they do not choose to do so!

What then are the rights and powers of the several Soviet republics which, according to the constitution, rule themselves independently? Article 60 states that the Supreme Soviet of each republic ratifies the constitution of that republic. We have before us, therefore, a fundamental mark of sovereignty. But this is annulled in Article 16 which says:

"Every associated republic has its own constitution, taking into consideration the peculiarities of the republic and so designed that it is in full agreement with the constitution of the USSR."

This would mean, therefore, that the constitutions of the separate republics are, after all, nothing more than translated copies of the All-Union Constitution. Moreover, Articles 19, 20 and 21 state:

"The laws of the USSR have the same force on the territories of all the allied republics; in case there is disagreement between the law of an associated republic and the All-Union law, the All-Union law is supreme; every citizen of the USSR is subject to one All-Union citizenship and every citizen of an allied republic is a citizen of the USSR."

Article 14 states that the Soviet government, that is, the central Russian government, is supreme in such matters as

¹⁶ *Izvestia*, No. 136, 1936.

international relations, ratification of treaties, matters of peace and war, administration of the constitution of the Union within the republics, the change of boundaries of the republics, command of all armed forces, foreign trade, the assurance of internal order and public peace, determination of economic plans of the Union, the general budget and taxes in the republics, control of banks, industry, agriculture, commerce, transport, the monetary system, credit, state insurance and loans, education and health insurance, the organization of a unified system of national economy, the fixing of workers' statutes, legislative functions in court procedure and criminal and civil law, legislation relating to foreigners and acts of amnesty.

This list of the powers of the All-Union government indicates the extent of centralization. What functions remain to the national republic? Article 14 gives a humorous answer, stating that the sovereignty of the republics is limited only by the above-mentioned powers vested in the All-Union government. Experts in constitutional law might argue over what remains for these "independent republics."

But if the constitution does away with the sovereignty of the Soviet republics, perhaps their governments have some rights of autonomous administration. The organization of Soviet state institutions excludes this possibility. According to Article 77, the following people's commissariats are responsible to the Russian government: national defense, foreign affairs, foreign trade, communications and heavy industry. In other words, all the decisive functions are under Moscow.

Aside from these, there exist other executive functions of government, but the individual republics have been deprived of them as well. Along with the centralized commissariats named, Article 78 establishes so-called parallel people's commissariats that exist in Moscow and in the republics. They are the commissariats of food supply, light industry, forest industry, agriculture, sovhosp, finance, internal commerce, home affairs, judiciary and health. The practical significance of these commissariats within the republics can be seen from Article 87:

"The people's Commissariats which exist in the USSR as well as in the several republics are responsible to the Soviet of People's Commissars of the given republic, as well as to the particular Commissariat of the USSR."

We see, therefore, that the republics' commissariats are reduced to the role of local branches of the Moscow soviets or ministries. The same applies to the governments or the Sovnarkoms of the national republics. In their turn, they are only technical branches, subject to the Moscow Sovnarkom. Articles 67 and 69 leave no doubt on that point:

"The decisions of the Sovnarkom of the USSR are binding for the whole territory of the Soviet Union; in all functions of administration and national economy the Sovnarkom of the USSR has the right to cancel the decrees of the Sovnarkoms of the separate republics."

The question arises: What do these republican governments do? The answer is supplied in Article 81:

"The Sovnarkom of each Soviet republic has the right to publish the decrees and orders of the Sovnarkom of the USSR as well as the right to see that they are executed."

Now we know their functions—to translate the decrees of Moscow into the local language and to see to it that they are promptly executed!

Stalin's constitution completed the centralization of the Soviet state. We have seen that even formerly the Soviet government consistently carried out the Russian tendency toward centralization without considering the legal constitutional rights of the national republics. Stalin's regime has completed this tendency and has given a finished integral character to the "one and indivisible Russia."

It has been shown that Moscow assumes a monopolistic attitude in matters of government. But it is no less monopolistic in relation to the population and economic resources of the national republics. The elements of national sovereignty, territory, population and government have been completely absorbed by the government in Moscow. Article 6 of the constitution states that:

"Land, forests, waters, plants, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, banks, means of communication, enterprises organized by the government authorities (Sovhosps, MTS, etc.) as well as basic resources in cities and industrial centers, are state property..."

In this way the territories of the several Soviet national republics are the property of the Soviet Union, and the Russian government is the supreme ruler. The constitutional article that provides a common citizenship for all the inhabitants of the USSR spreads the authority of the government to the population of all the national republics. In short, Stalin's constitution has completely usurped every element of sovereignty of these republics—their territories, their inhabitants and their governments.

Under these conditions it is nonsense to speak of the independence of the Soviet republics and of their right of voluntary secession from the USSR. These declarations were

meant to create a favorable effect abroad, but in themselves they are undoubtedly expressions of the most disintegrating attribute of bolshevism—its lack of moral scruples. Lenin, who inherited Russian tradition, persistently taught his students: "You must know how to lie." A whole generation of bolsheviks has been reared on that slogan. Stalin's constitution is the best example.

It would be superfluous to prove that it is impossible for any one of the republics to leave the USSR. After all, this right of free secession granted in Article 17 is cancelled in Article 133, which states:

"The defense of the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the USSR. Betrayal of the fatherland, breach of the oath, desertion to the side of the enemy, hindering the military forces of the state, espionage in favor of a foreign state are to be penalized with all the forces of the law as the grossest crimes."

We do not have to search far for evidence of this. It is provided by the mass executions, arrests and exile of Ukrainian, Georgian, White Russian and other "enemies of the people and foreign spies." The Soviet president, Kalinin, who has been making official speeches for many years but has never learned diplomatic dexterity, once enumerated the blessings given to the people by the Stalin constitution. Towards the end he said, inadvertently:

"But the Soviet Government has done and is doing everything that it can so that not one of our brotherly nations should ever get the idea of separating itself from the common Soviet fatherland."

That is quite true. Stalin's constitution reduced Ukraine and the other national territories of the USSR to the position of ordinary provinces within the Russian Soviet imperialistic system; provinces reminiscent of the general governorships of Tsarist Russia. Under Stalin, Soviet national policy reached its culminating point. Born on the ruins of the Tsarist Empire, it made a complete circuit within a closed circle and after twenty years of evolution came back to where it started: to the historical tradition and cult of a "one and indivisible Russia."

The Development of Ukrainian Nationalism

Together with the evolution of Soviet national politics, the Ukrainian liberation movement was passing through its own evolution. Temporarily demobilized from 1917 to 1923, it passed through a reformation and welded itself into revolutionary nationalism. Its goal is an independent Ukraine.

Bolshevik terror gave Ukrainian nationalism stimulæ for

enduring growth. We are witnesses of the newest historical processes of the development of Ukrainian-Muscovite antagonism. Between these two historically national and political factors of Eastern Europe, there is a competitive drive into the future. At the present time not all international powers realize the full significance of the processes through which the Ukrainian nation is passing. It is probable that in the near future they will be convinced that their explanation of the Ukrainian problem did not correspond with the facts.

But Stalin's regime evaluated it correctly. Its struggle with nationalism is its chief occupation in Ukraine. It takes in the masses, the party, the Comsomol, the army and various industrial enterprises. Does it produce satisfactory results for Moscow? Let Soviet sources give us the answer. In 1933 after the government had carried out an intensive campaign of repression against the Ukrainian nationalist movement, the representatives of the Soviet government in Ukraine reported to Moscow. Balitsky, who was then the head of the OGPU in Ukraine, said:

"Only in 1933 did we render a decisive blow against Ukrainian counter-revolution."¹⁷

A similar report was made by the vice president of the Sovnarkom of Ukraine, Liubchenko:

"Having strengthened its leadership, the Communist Party of Ukraine reorganized its cadres, raised their resistance potential, destroyed nationalistic leanings, and destroyed nationalistic fractions in agricultural, cultural and other organizations. Ukrainian nationalists and their foreign bosses will remember for a long time the significance of the GPU."¹⁸

This liquidation of the Ukrainian nationalist movement was also stressed by the Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine in the following resolution:

"1933 was the year of the destruction of the nationalistic counter-revolution. This Congress honors the great work done by the Communist Party in Ukraine in shattering the nationalistic elements."

It would seem that after all these victories in Ukraine calm would have been restored. But the Seventeenth Congress of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, held in

¹⁷ Speech at the Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine. January, 1934.

¹⁸ Speech at the Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine. January, 1934.

Moscow in 1934, devoted a great part of its time to the new growth of nationalist revolution in Ukraine. Petrovsky, "president" of Soviet Ukraine, made this statement:

"We find it very difficult to fight the breaches along the nationalistic front... During the last period it has not been so easy for us to repel nationalistic attacks... These nationalistic tramps are developing plans for attacking and undermining the fortress of the USSR."

During the Seventeenth Congress, *Izvestia*, organ of the All-Union government, wrote:

"Work in Ukraine is conducted in the face of strenuous combat with Ukrainian nationalists... We have cleaned out four thousand Ukrainian nationalists from various institutions where they carried on work hostile to the Union and influenced the youth in the nationalistic spirit."¹⁹

The gravity of the situation in Ukraine was even more lucidly expressed by Sukhomlin, who pointed out that in only four oblasts of Ukraine (Kiev, Odessa, Vinnytsia and Donets) 51,712 Communist Party members out of a total of 267,900 were expelled from the party. At a meeting of Soviet writers in Moscow, Liubchenko again spoke of the destruction of the Ukrainian nationalists, stating: "The Soviet Government blasted the Ukrainian nationalists to pieces." However, he was forced to add that: "They are again advancing in closed formation."²⁰

Ukrainian Nationalism in Recent Years

The situation in Ukraine has grown more tense in the succeeding years. It would be possible to publish a separate book on Soviet material concerning the growth of revolutionary action in Ukraine expressing itself in masked and sometimes unexpected forms. Assassination of government representatives, sabotage in industry and kolhosps, all types of destructive work in various branches of the government are part of the record of "brotherly" Ukrainian-Muscovite relations. These reports include alternative statements of the liquidation of nationalistic counter-revolution and new warnings about the growing danger.

Later, Moscow made every effort to conceal the hostility of Ukrainian nationalism and described it as an internal party opposition. That is why the official reports speak of Ukrainian nationalists as Trotskyists, Bukharinites, etc. Undoubtedly this general struggle with Stalinism in Ukraine includes undercurrents of internal party opposition, but that the principal

¹⁹ *Izvestia*, January, 11, 1934.

²⁰ Speech at the All-Union Congress of Writers. August, 1934.

basis is national opposition cannot be denied, despite whatever Moscow chooses to call it.

On June 6, 1937, TASS reported the resolutions of the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine. These resolutions called upon all party organizations to "inspect" their units in view of the fact that they are "fouled by Ukrainian nationalists who are holding even the most responsible posts within the Party." This subject was again discussed by **Pravda** on July 20, when it demanded a far-reaching investigation of the Communist Party of Ukraine. The day before, this paper reported that numerous arrests in Ukraine had followed the discovery of a fascist organization, whose aim it was "to strengthen the Ukrainian national state banner on the ruins of the USSR." This was taken by **Pravda** to mean the realization of German and Italian plans of aggression.

On July 24 **Pravda** reported alarming news that within the many cities of Ukraine there were fascist groups composed of members of the Comsomol. The following day the official organ of the All-Union Communist Party printed a hysterical article about nationalism in the Comsomol in Ukraine. It said in part:

"There is uncovered again the unseemly sight of the work of counter-revolutionaries and spies within the Comsomol of Ukraine. Masking themselves in a base fashion, they carry on disruptive counter-revolutionary work. They consciously fouled the cadres of the Comsomol and the propaganda apparatus and they ruined political education. They served the fascists, conducted spying activities and prepared sabotage and terroristic acts... These enemies of the people placed their own men in executive posts. When these men fell at one post they were immediately transferred into another region."²¹

During this period of tension in Ukraine, another event occurred that was reminiscent of the fate of Skrypnyk. On September 11, 1937, Liubchenko, the head of the government of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, committed suicide. The Soviet press published an official explanation of this extraordinary event. It read:

"Having become involved in his anti-Soviet connections and evidently afraid to face responsibility before the Ukrainian people for betraying the interests of Ukraine, the former head of the Sovnarkom of Ukraine, Liubchenko, ended his life by suicide."

What anti-Soviet acts could Liubchenko have been involved in? Although his end reminded one of Skrypnyk, it is

²¹ **Pravda**, July 25, 1937.

hardly possible to compare him with that old "national communist." A traitor to the Ukrainian people,²² Liubchenko owed his career to faithful service to Moscow. During the appearance of intra-party opposition in the ruling Russian centers, he "took a course" in favor of Stalin and honestly considered himself among his faithful servants. During his last few years he was a frequent guest at Russian congresses, appearing as an apologist for Stalin's policies and "in the name of the Ukrainian people" (amid "enthusiastic applause"—as the Russian press always emphasized) warning fascists who had designs on the whole socialist fatherland. Liubchenko characterized himself during his address in favor of the approved Stalin constitution:²³

"Today when we examine the new constitution of Soviet Ukraine, we personally turn to the great Russian people with delight and gratitude and declare that the Ukrainian people never will forget that the liberty and independence of Soviet Ukraine were bought at the price of blood shed by the finest sons of the Russian people. By the cradle of its struggle for sovereignty and independence and for the victory of socialist construction stood the finest sons of our party and above all the finest of the followers of the great Lenin, teacher and leader of our party—Stalin."

How could such a creature raise his hand against his superiors? The only possible explanation is that his nerves could no longer endure the growing struggle in Ukraine, which weakened his will and aroused his doubts as to the goal of further service to Stalinism. Russia understood this and his death was to its benefit. Still it was writing on the wall. It indicated that even such Ukrainians as Liubchenko were no longer desirable to Moscow.

Later the Soviet press again published official reports that the "Iron Commissar," Yezhov, had succeeded in destroying Ukrainian nationalism. It appeared that now Moscow could rest. But conditions were otherwise. At the Kharkiv conference of the Comsomol, Kosariév, Moscow's representative, stated that "the struggle with the nationalists of Ukraine is only beginning."²⁴ And that is the truth. In this decisive moment of the historical Ukrainian-Russian controversy, this struggle is only beginning.

²² Liubchenko at one time was a member of the Ukrainian Central Rada. Later he went over to the Bolsheviks.

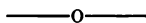
²³ Speech at the XIVth Congress of the Soviets of the USSR, January, 1937.

²⁴ *Komsomolskaya Pravda*. September 23, 1937.

Not long ago Stalinism celebrated another anniversary of the founding of the Soviet regime. A similar officially controlled manifestation was held in subjugated Ukraine. Unhappy Ukrainian masses were forced to march in the streets of Kiev and other cities. Mechanically they shouted: "Hurrah for the great Stalin!" and displayed artificial enthusiasm. For that was necessary. The next day in the factories and buildings and in cities and villages, they again cursed their enslaved life, thinking of the future and working further to achieve it.

Today the Ukrainian people await the twelfth hour of their historical national revenge, that passionately and secretly dreamed-of hour when they will again fill the cities and streets of Ukraine, not to manifest loyalty before tribunals of hated oppressors, but in iron columns of the nationalist army commanded by their elected leaders, to march to the decisive battle, bearing on their victorious banners the slogan:

"Death to Moscow! Long live an independent sovereign Ukraine!"



PART X. THE UKRAINIAN PROBLEM IN VIEW OF THE GERMAN-SOVIET PACT

In 1938 the European situation took a turn for the worse. It became clear that war was not far away, and the only question that remained was where it would break out: in Eastern or Western Europe. The general impression at that time was that Germany and the other members of the anti-Comintern bloc would strike at the Soviet Union at the slightest excuse. Moscow attached great importance to such a possibility.

The European developments had their echo in Ukraine. The Ukrainian population saw in war a possibility for destroying its hated Russian occupation and restoring an independent Ukrainian state. Together with this, revolutionary activity was intensified in Ukraine, seizing upon the imagination of the masses and appearing in the form of extensive sabotage against the Soviet government.

As in former years, the leading element in the revolutionary activation of the Ukrainian people was the Ukrainian nationalist movement. Mobilized under the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, whose founder and leader was the late Colonel Evhen Konovaletz, this movement offered the greatest menace to Russia's occupation of Ukraine because of its revolutionary dynamism, popularity among the masses and ideological-programmatic conceptions of struggle against all occupants.

The Assassination of Colonel Konovaletz

All attempts by Moscow to paralyze the Ukrainian nationalist movement failed, as was pointed out previously. The Soviet government was faced by the seemingly paradoxical fact that Ukrainian nationalism was nourished and grew stronger as the Russian terror grew worse. Because of the failure of previous efforts to crush Ukrainian nationalism, the Soviet government was forced to depend on a new plan. This plan was the assassination of Colonel Konovaletz by GPU agents and the simultaneous liquidation of the headquarters of the movement abroad.

After several unsuccessful attempts, Moscow finally succeeded on May 23, 1938, through GPU agents sent to Rotterdam, The Netherlands. The head of the Ukrainian nationalist movement was given an infernal machine which killed him on the street. The bomb was so powerful that several passersby were wounded. Immediately the Soviet government sent diplomatic demarches to several foreign states, demanding the expulsion of other leaders of the Ukrainian movement, who had entered the countries as political refugees under the right of asylum. The demarches accused these men of being "German agents."

Moscow's plan was clear. Destroying in gangster fashion the man who was the soul of Ukrainian nationalism and making impossible the work of his aides through diplomatic intervention, the Soviet government believed that the nationalist movement would collapse in Ukraine. But the results of the assassination destroyed Stalin's calculations.

Instead of Colonel Konovaletz, Colonel Andrey Melnyk, former Chief of Staff of the Ukrainian Army and hero of the liberation war, assumed the leadership of the Ukrainian nationalist movement. The ranks of the nationalists in Ukraine were so strong and well-organized that they quickly mastered the situation created by the tragic death of Konovaletz. Moscow's hope that the Ukrainian nationalist movement would die was in vain.

Konovaletz's death brought Moscow another surprise—the human sacrifice that he had laid on the altar of his fatherland became a symbol and testament of further struggle for the Ukrainian people. His assassination not only did not demoralize the people, as Moscow had expected, but strengthened their resolve to continue the conflict for freedom. In fact as a result of the tragedy in Rotterdam, the Ukrainian liberation movement emerged, not weaker, but even stronger spiritually and politically.

Colonel Melnyk had an opportunity to present evidence of its vitality and ability to fight and work before the entire world soon after Konovaletz's death.

The Rise and Fall of Carpatho-Ukraine

As a result of the Munich Pact, Carpatho-Ukraine was given its own government. The reconstruction of statehood on this small and most-neglected Ukrainian territory met with great difficulty. The unfavorable geo-political situation—small population, lack of economic resources and the difficulties placed before it by the Czech government—made the task of reconstruction almost impossible. Despite all this, the people of the Carpathian section of Ukraine managed to accomplish so much in a short time in the way of state organization that foreign observers were amazed. The mind and soul of this reconstruction was the nationalist movement.

When the political balance established by Munich collapsed, Carpatho-Ukraine was invaded by the Hungarian Army with the approval of the two guarantors of the little state, Germany and Italy. What were the people to do? It seemed that there was no alternative but to bow before foreign power. But the population of Carpatho-Ukraine made a different decision. Lacking an army and even weapons and necessary material, they speedily organized themselves to meet the regular Hungarian Army, which was armed with planes, artillery and tanks. The heroic resistance of the militarized branches of the nationalist movement in Carpatho-Ukraine against tens of thousands of Hungarian troops also astonished foreign opinion. In contrast the Czechs, who had their own state and a modern well-equipped army for twenty years, did not even fire a single shot in defense of their independence against Germany.

The Munich agreement placed the Soviet Union in an apparently catastrophic position. With Litvinov's policies of "indivisible peace" now bankrupt, Moscow found itself in dangerous isolation. The panic-stricken Soviet government, awaiting armed German intervention, reached its apogee. Realizing that the flames of national revolution would sweep Ukraine in event of war, Moscow mobilized its full strength to crush the Ukrainian people. At the same time it was necessary for it to discredit the Ukrainian movement abroad. For that reason Moscow energetically began to disseminate abroad the old story that the Ukrainian question was a "tool" of German imperialism.

History repeats itself. The tendency to present the Ukrainian liberation movement, not as an organic result of the existence of a great Ukrainian nation, but as an artificial creation of various secret international "intrigues," especially German, is not a recent one. This legend that Ukraine had been "thought up by Germans" was first used by Tsarist Russia with a similar aim: first, to destroy the faith of even the Ukrainians in Ukrainian ideals, and second, to have "legal"

justification for the persecution of the most stubborn and courageous. Under Russia's influence, these distorted views regarding the Ukrainian cause found expression abroad.

In line with its own interests, Germany had helped Ukraine in 1918 under the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. This was the reason that the newly created Polish state on one hand and White Russian emigres on the other gave the world new arguments against Ukraine, particularly that there was no such state and that it was only the "invention" of German policy.

With Hitler's rise to power in Germany, this anti-Ukrainian campaign grew more intense. The director of the campaign was again Moscow, no longer Tsarist but "socialist," which saw a deadly menace in the gradual development of the Ukrainian liberation movement. The clever politicians in the Kremlin drew out the Tsarist "documents" from the archives and played the old melody with a new name: "Hitler invented Ukraine."

This argument was seized upon by Soviet sympathizers everywhere. Having newspapers, money, connections and influence, those sympathizers obediently furthered Moscow's attempts to discredit the Ukrainian independence movement. Unscrupulously they used every means to convince world opinion that the Ukrainian movement endangered general peace, that it was the result of "German intrigue" and therefore that it should be opposed.

Naturally this attempt by Moscow to continue its domination of the Ukrainian people was masked by high-sounding words, such as peace, humanism, democracy, etc.

The chief target of this campaign was the Ukrainian nationalist movement, which the Bolsheviks described as a "blind tool of Germany."

The campaign was intensified because of the anti-Comintern bloc, which the Ukrainians hoped would turn against their greatest enemy, Soviet Russia. They regarded the bloc favorably not because the sponsor was Germany but because the consolidation of Europe against Russia coincided with the interests of the Ukrainian people, and because the destruction of Bolshevism was one of the basic aims of Ukrainian nationalism.

Had this anti-Russian front been initiated, not by Germany, Italy and Japan, but by England, France and the United States, Ukrainian nationalists would have supported these countries since they were then and are now ready to fight Moscow to the end despite the fact that it is now a "friend" of Berlin.

But it is self-evident that Moscow's agents would hide before the world the fact that the policy of the Ukrainian nationalists was to serve only the Ukrainian people.

The second reason behind the Bolshevik campaign has already been mentioned—the creation of Carpatho-Ukraine. Due to international developments, the solution of the Carpatho-Ukrainian problem was almost entirely in German hands. It is clear that the Ukrainians had to consider this situation and they decided to profit by it for their own interests.

We are firmly convinced that had they been in their place, French, English and American leaders would have done the same. But the necessity of having German support did not mean that the Ukrainians were or are Germanophile. To become convinced of this one needs only to read the Ukrainian nationalist press of that time.

The world does not know for instance that when Germany approved the Hungarian occupation of Carpatho-Ukraine in violation of its previous agreement and through its representatives in Chust advised the leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Carpatho-Ukraine to surrender to the Hungarians, the Ukrainians answered in effect: "Surrender? There is no such word in Ukrainian! We are not Czechs! We will fight until we die!" And they died.

Would "paid German agents" have answered thus, against the will of their "patrons"?

After the signing of the Soviet-German pact, Hitler declared in a speech that he did not have and never had any obligations toward the Ukrainian people. Thus taken for what it is worth Hitler himself saw fit to deny the Bolshevik propaganda that Ukraine was a "German invention."

We repeat categorically at this time that the Ukrainian independence movement is a sovereign, historical development. The aim of Ukrainian nationalism has been, is and will be the creation of a united independent Ukrainian state. It will never retreat from this principle before anyone.

Returning to Russia's policy in Ukraine, we must stress that it follows the line of extremism and violence. In the national field Russia tries unscrupulously to Russify the Ukrainian people; in the political field centralism and terror reign; in the cultural field, all Ukrainian originality is destroyed; in the economic, Ukraine's tremendous resources suffer from colonial exploitation. To illustrate Russia's barbaric methods in Ukraine, we cite the fact that in recent years 548 prominent Ukrainians have been executed, condemned to long years of imprisonment or sent into exile as "enemies of the people." The list represents the flower of the Ukrainian nation, professors of universities, members of the Academy of Science, writers, artists and poets.

This list of death, blood and persecution is a "bill" that Moscow will have to pay to the Ukrainian people some day. It should be pointed out that this list includes only the most

prominent Ukrainian intellectuals. There are tens of thousands of other victims who died in the struggle against Russian Bolshevik despotism. This is the balance of "socialist reconstruction" in the "happiest country in the world—the USSR."

The Soviet Occupation of Western Ukraine

In conclusion it is necessary to examine the motives behind the occupation of Western Ukraine by the Soviets with Germany's approval.

Germany's motives need not be dealt with in detail here. Instead it is more in line with this work to discuss the reasons behind Moscow's desire to sign a pact with Berlin. It should be remembered that before the outbreak of the present war, the Soviet Union held a position that Stalin scarcely dreamed of: England and France proposed to him the creation of a common front against an enemy whose destruction Stalin had made the basic aim of his foreign policy. It seemed obvious that Russia would seize the Anglo-French proposition with both hands and attack Germany. But the impossible happened. Stalin joined Hitler.

One of the main reasons behind Stalin's about-face was the menace of the Ukrainian liberation movement. This sudden leap into the German "embrace" becomes clearer when we consider that the proposed pact with the Allies would have meant war with Germany. Although this pact theoretically would have limited Russia's role in the anti-German front to economic aid and perhaps some aviation support for Poland, and although Poland itself did not want to let the "allied" Red Army enter its territory, the Soviet government was convinced that it would soon have been dragged into total war.

Russia calculated accurately that Germany would speedily defeat Poland and bring the war into Soviet territory. Germany then would probably have followed its usual plan of liquidating the weaker opponent—meaning Soviet Russia, probably with the aid of Japan—and thus build up its own economic resources for the war in the west.

This war Russia wanted to avoid at any price. The first reason was that it was in no condition to wage a war with a modern power. Secondly, war automatically would have liberated the pent-up forces of the oppressed people of the USSR, chief among whom are the Ukrainians, whose country probably would have become the battleground. In such an event the world would never have heard Hitler declare in the Reichstag that he had no obligation to become the champion of oppressed peoples! Instead Germany would immediately have donned the toga of protector of those people and would have sought to profit by their desperate plight, overrunning their territories with its huge military machine.

This was the reason why the Kremlin feared war. It knew the result.

But the understanding with Germany placed Moscow in a different position. It postponed the immediate menace of war and simultaneously delayed indefinitely the realization of the liberation of non-Russian people. Furthermore the pact gave Russia new lands, Western Ukraine and White Russia, at little sacrifice. In different circumstances these territories might have become strong ideological, political and strategical **place d'armes** of the liberation movement of non-Russian people.

Finally Moscow attained its old objective: to provoke a European war while remaining neutral. If and when the combatants become exhausted enough it is Moscow's hope to sponsor a "proletarian revolution."

The Soviet government also believed that the situation would be favorable even if one side won and it would be impossible to start a European revolution. If Germany won, Moscow thought, it would be so exhausted and preoccupied by the exploitation of its conquests that it would not be able to start a new conflict with the Soviet Union for some time. If the Allies won, they too would be exhausted, and even if they restored Poland, they would not go to war with the USSR for those territories occupied under the German-Soviet pact.

As can be seen, these calculations of Soviet diplomacy were not inaccurate. It must be recognized that Russia has profited most from the Soviet-Nazi pact. In exchange for benevolent neutrality and economic support it has already gained new and large territories in Europe and strengthened its position from the Baltic to the Balkans.

In this light it becomes clear why Bolshevik Russia, disregarding the preachings of Marx and Lenin, reached a compromise with nationalist Germany. We emphasize again that the chief reason for Moscow's action was the danger of internal uprisings among its oppressed peoples, the greatest of whom are the Ukrainians. This explains why in one of the conditions of the pact with Germany, Russia demanded Western Ukraine. It is reported that a similar demand was made to the Allies during their fruitless negotiations.

Moscow's aim was to destroy the nationalist movement after occupying Western Ukraine and secure itself against any surprises in the future.

As the Russian press and radio indicate, a "purge of enemies of the people" is now going on in Western Ukraine. This refers to the Ukrainian nationalists. This "purge" is "quiet" on the surface, but underneath it is cruel and bloody.

There are good reasons to believe that Russia will soon

regret its occupation of Western Ukraine. As it was demonstrated before, the influence and activity of the independence movement among the Ukrainian people will grow to such proportions that the Stalinist system with all its cruelty will be helpless. The fact that Western Ukraine was united to Eastern Ukraine also will have great influence and will help to unite all Ukrainians in their struggle to liberate themselves.

What conclusion can a neutral person draw from the history of Ukrainian-Russian relations and from the Ukrainian problem itself?

First: Russia has always been and will remain a menace to Europe, notwithstanding its internal government.

Second: Europe for its own sake, should understand the great importance of the Ukrainian problem because Ukraine is a barrier that would separate two great imperialisms and protect Europe from Russian encroachment. Throughout history Ukraine more than once defended Europe against the invasion of savage hords. In 1917-1920 the Ukrainian National Republic played a similar role when it had to fight Red and White Russian Armies and Poland without any outside aid. Nevertheless it did prevent the spread of Bolshevism through the Balkans into Central Europe. How would Europe appear today had Red Russia succeeded in realizing its plans of conquest? Regretfully this highly cultural and historical mission performed by the newly created Ukrainian Republic was not understood by the western powers. Instead of helping Ukraine they played their cards on a helpless reactionary General Denikin and a hypertrophied Poland. No wonder they failed, for General Denikin proved too weak, and Poland, containing a population that was one-third foreign, was unable to fulfill the mission bestowed upon it by the Allies. Had there existed an independent Ukrainian state today the present situation in Europe would be far different.

Third: Due to its large territory (934,300 square kilometers), its great population (55,000,000 of whom 45,000,000 are Ukrainians) and its enormous economic resources, Ukraine would be not only a successful barrier against Moscow, but would also be a strong stabilizing factor in the political balance of Europe. Only on condition that there is an independent Ukrainian state can Poland hope to exist on its own ethnographic territory.

Therefore the Ukrainian problem must be solved. It would be unwise for the world to remain silent or attempt to resist it. This problem was born out of the free will of the Ukrainian people. They have a right to independence and will fight for that right to the end.

Ukrainian News

By the Ukrainian Press Service (UPS) of New York

Russia Occupies More Ukrainian Territory

The Red Army occupied northern Bukovina and Bessarabia on June 28, and approximately 1,250,000 more Ukrainians passed under Soviet domination.

All but about 1,500,000 of the 45,000,000 Ukrainians in East Europe are now under the Red flag. Germany has 900,000 Ukrainians in territory formerly under Poland, and Hungary still occupies Carpatho-Ukraine, populated by 600,000 Ukrainians.

The move came with startling suddenness. For weeks rumors were current that Germany was planning a new coup in Ukraine. On May 24 Eugen Kovacs reported to The New York Times from Chernivtz (Cernauti), capital of Bukovina, that it had become the center of the Ukrainian movement and that Germany was financing it. On May 31 Leland Stowe cabled The New York Post from Bucharest that Hitler was expected to move against Ukraine six months after he wins the war.

The Ukrainian press in German-occupied territory carried reports of Ukrainian activity. The German press reported renewed interest by Germany in the Ukrainian question. Relations between Russia and Germany seemed cooling. Then Russia struck.

Sending Rumania an ultimatum, Russia followed it up by occupying approximately 21,000 square miles of Rumanian territory, of which about one-fourth is ethnographically Ukrainian.

Bucharest newspapers then reported without confirmation that Russia had demanded that Hungary surrender Carpatho-Ukraine. Budapest denied this.

For twenty-two years, since Rumania forcibly occupied Bukovina and persuaded Bessarabia to place itself under Rumanian domination, the Ukrainians of these areas have suffered every conceivable sort of persecution. Their schools were closed, their language prohibited, their leaders arrested. But recently they were given some concessions.

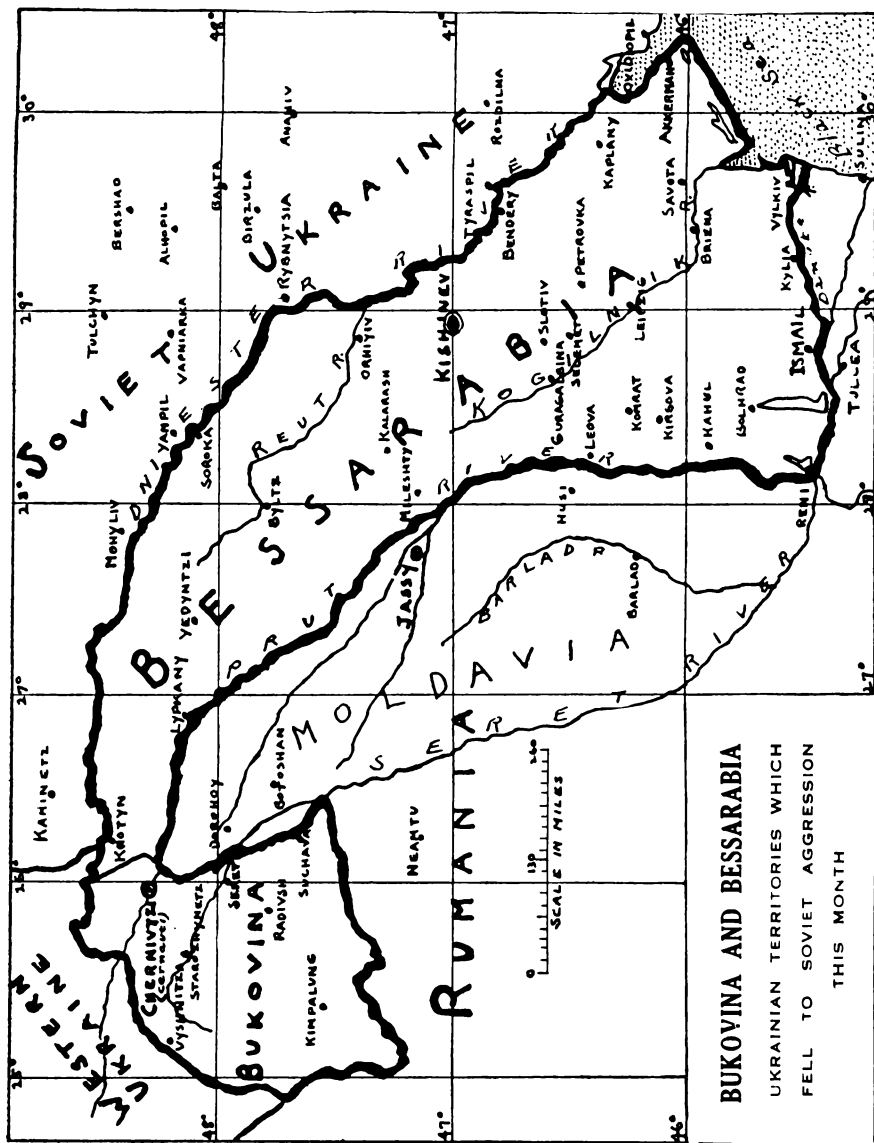
However, bad as their treatment has been, they realize that the fate of their kinsmen across the Dniester River in Eastern (Soviet) Ukraine has been worse.



POPULATION AND HISTORY

Volodymyr Kubiovych, the Ukrainian geographer, estimates in the *Ukrainska Zahalna Encyclopedia* that in 1930 there were 780,000 Ukrainians on strictly ethnographic Ukrainian territory under Rumania. These were divided as follows: 302,000 Ukrainians in part of Bukovina, or 65.4 per cent of the population; 461,000 Ukrainians in part of Bessarabia, or 61.6 per cent, and 17,000 Ukrainians in part of Maramuresh (Marmaroschyna) or 65.4 per cent. The total number of Ukrainians there now is estimated at 1,100,000 to 1,250,000.

Bessarabia cover 17,146 square miles and had a population of 3,100,654 in 1937. Bukovina has an area of 4,030 square miles and had 910,997 people in 1937.



BUKOVINA AND Bessarabia

UKRAINIAN TERRITORIES WHICH
FELL TO SOVIET AGGRESSION
THIS MONTH

THE TRIDENT

Bukovina belonged to the Ukrainian Kiev State in the tenth century and to the Ukrainian Galician-Volynian State until 1240 when it fell to the Tartars. Northern Bukovina attained autonomy in the 14th century, was annexed by Moldavia, passed to Turkey in the 16th century, was fought for by the Ukrainian Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky in the 17th century and was occupied by Austria in 1774. Its name comes from "Buk" (Beech Tree).

In 1787 Bukovina was joined to Galicia. During the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, Ukrainians began uprisings and succeeded in gaining autonomy on March 4, 1849. The greatest of the Bukovinian Ukrainian writers was the poet, Yury Fedkovich (1834-1888), who, it was said, "awakened green Bukovina from her deep slumber."

Upon the collapse of Austria in October, 1918, Bukovina sent delegates to the Ukrainian National Rada in Lviv. Omelan Popovych was chosen president, and the Ukrainian section of Bukovina was taken over on November 6, 1918. Five days later the Rumanian Army occupied Chernivtz, the capital.

Northern and Eastern Bessarabia is also Ukrainian. Hrushevsky quotes the Ukrainian chronicle *Prysiedlakhu k Dunayevy* to prove that Ukrainians colonized the estuary of the Danube River a thousand years ago. It was part of the Kiev State and later the Galician Volynian State. Overrun by Mongols, it was annexed by Moldavia in the 14th century and by Russia in 1812. After the Revolution in 1917, Rumanians set up the Moldavian Republic and in 1918 joined Rumania. The Ukrainian National Republic sought from 1918 to 1920 to reach an agreement with Ru-

mania regarding Bukovina and Bessarabia but was too weak to get any concessions.

—o—

UKRAINIANS IN CANADA

Delegation Visits Prime Minister

Prime Minister William Lyons MacKenzie King of Canada told a delegation from the Ukrainian Representative Committee in Ottawa on May 28:

"Your cause is part of the Allied cause, as the Allies are fighting for the liberation, independence and freedom of nations. Be sure that if the Allies lose this war your cause will be lost also, not only in Europe but also here in Canada. Accept from me our appreciation for the great loyalty of the Ukrainians which they have shown to Canada and the Allied cause from the beginning of this war."

The delegation consisted of the Rev. Dr. Walter Kushnir, president; Wasyl Swystun, attorney, and the following members of the honorary advisory council of the Representative Committee; J. T. Thorson, K. O., M. P. for Selkirk (Manitoba); W. A. Tucker, K. C., M. P. for Rosethorn (Saskatchewan); Arthur Roebuck, K. C., M. P., Toronto, Ont.; A. H. Hlynka, M. P. for Vegreville, Alta.; R. Jutras, M. P. for Provencher, Man., and Senator Arthur Beaubien of Manitoba.

The delegation presented the following memorandum to the Canadian government. Copies were also sent to the British and French governments.

MEMORANDUM

1. The Canadians of Ukrainian origin, loyal to the great country of their adoption and conscious of the benefits of the democratic gov-

ernment and personal freedom that they enjoy under the British flag, pledge to Canada and to the British Commonwealth of Nations and their Allies their fullest support in the present struggle against the aggressive violence of the Third Reich. (Their extensive enlistment in the Canadian Active Service Force has already been an earnest proof of such unreserved support.)

2. In keeping with this pledge of loyalty and with their own political ideals, they affirm their unswerving belief in liberal democracy as a form of government, in the political, intellectual, social, and religious freedom of the individual, and in the right of European nationalities to the fullest measure of liberty. They are thus categorically opposed to the regime of Adolf Hitler, whose racial theories have shown themselves incompatible with the freedom and rights of non-German nationalities and whose political pronouncements to such non-German nationalities have proved to be utterly false.

3. The Ukrainian Canadians, conscious not only of the justice of the Allied cause but also of the applicability of the Allied principles of freedom to the Ukrainian nation in Europe, beg respectfully to call the attention of His Majesty's Government to the importance of including the Ukrainian question in any just and permanent settlement of Europe. Next to the Russians, the Ukrainians are the largest of the Slavic nations. Numbering nearly fifty millions, they occupy in Eastern Europe a rich, compact and strategic area the size considerably larger than that of France. That this great and ethnographically Ukrainian region should continue unhappily under alien rule makes for permanent unrest

and strife. Its national liberation on a basis of self-determination in the spirit of the Ukrainian Act of January 22nd, 1919, is therefore essential to enduring peace and human welfare in Eastern Europe. The Ukrainian Canadians realize that the exact form of that settlement, together with the time and circumstances of its application, must depend on the issue of the war and will require as its prerequisite that great Allied victory for which they hope and work. They do not recommend, therefore, any rash and precipitate action that might defeat the very interest that they desire to serve. They beg to urge, however, that the Ukrainian question should not be lost sight of at any stage of the War and should be clearly envisaged by the Allies as a factor which strategically and psychologically may prove a decisive force in the South East contributing to the Allied victory.

4. To further these aims by unified effort among the Ukrainians in Canada, they have set up a Representative Committee of Ukrainian Canadians incorporating, so far as co-operation may prove practicable, the major Ukrainian organizations in Canada. Its component elements to date are the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics (the Ukrainian Catholics, according to the 1931 census, constitute 72 per cent of the Ukrainian Canadian population) and the Ukrainian National Federation (whose membership is composed of Ukrainians of Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox faith). This representative committee stands ready to further, in any way within its power, the great war effort of Canada and the Allies and support any just plan that these may approve for liberation of the Ukraine.

..TRIDENTIA..

EASTERN UKRAINE

"Enemies of the People."

Visty, Kiev, February 20, 1940, published a speech delivered by Mikita Khrushchov, Russian secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, to agricultural workers of Soviet Ukraine. He said: "Comrades, we must not forget about our enemies. They are not dead and they will not die out as long as we are surrounded by Capitalist States. You must never forget that. Here in Ukraine we have given a healthy cleaning to all enemies but some remain. They feel lonely now and are afraid to raise their heads but they are still here. For this reason we must be very careful. We must not allow honest people to be wronged and compromised, but we must wage a determined struggle against those who undermine the kolhosp order and go against the people.

"We must increase our Bolshevik watchfulness. Let the enemies know that we know our enemies. If at present English and French bourgeoisie are maddened by the fact that we discovered the spot—White Finland of Mannerheim—through which they hoped to strike at the Soviet State, they should remember that the Soviet people have destroyed the exploiters within. Let the enemies know that the Ukrainian people, now united with their brothers of Western Ukraine, are determined to stand with all the peoples of our great union and in the first instance with our brothers, the great Muscovite people, and to continue to overwhelm their enemies. We

say to the old rotten bourgeois states which love to sow national discord and to profit thereby: 'Seek another place for your ignoble deeds, for there is no room for you upon the territories of the great Soviet Union and the lands of the Ukrainian people.' "

Speeches like these best reflect what is going on in Ukraine under Soviet occupation.

—o—

**TWO BROCHURES ON UKRAINE
THE UKRAINIAN CANADIANS
AND THE WAR.** By Watson Kirkconnell. Oxford University Press. Toronto, 30 pp. 10 cents.

Professor Kirkconnell is one of the best friends Ukrainians have in Canada, and his advice contained in this brochure is good, honest and worth taking. Part of the work was printed in the May issue of *The Trident* under the same name.

He points out that Canada's Ukrainians, whose numbers he places at 300,000, are "the largest and most dynamic of our Slavic nationalities," that the number of Ukrainian newspapers and their subscribers has almost doubled during the past fifteen years and that they are the most organized of any national group.

Most important he emphasizes that they are patriotic, loyal citizens, and have expressed their loyalty in resolutions, contributions and service in the Army from the first days of the war.

But they are also intensely nationalistic regarding Ukrainian in-

dependence, he adds, and although divided into separate churches, parties and factions, they are united in their desire to see Ukraine become free.

His advice, as printed in detail in last month's Trident, is simply that the Ukrainians should drop their quarrels, prove to Canada and the Empire that they can cooperate and thus they will do much to convince the Allies that Ukraine can govern itself once given the opportunity.

Copies may be obtained from Oxford University Press, Amen House, 480 University Avenue, Toronto, Canada.

—o—

THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION. By M. P. Mandryka, former secretary of the Ukrainian Institute of Sociology and Docent of the Ukrainian University at Prague. Remarks to Prof. Watson Kirkconnell's book, *Canada, Europe and Hitler*. The Canadian Ukrainian Educational Association, Winnipeg, Man. 57 pp. 25 cents.

Dr. Mandryka displays an amazing profundity of knowledge in this brochure that was written in answer to Professor Kirkconnell's book, *Canada, Europe and Hitler*. He refutes Mr. Kirkconnell on Ukrainian history, national consciousness, language, roots of the movement, the Polish occupation, Carpatho-Ukraine and on Ukrainians in Canada.

In other words he finds little to be commended in the professor's book pertaining to Ukrainians. He attributes this to Mr. Kirkconnell's use of non-Ukrainian sources for most of his material on Ukrainians. The brochure is rather violent and partisan, but nevertheless it is exceedingly informative. Dr. Mandryka dips back into ancient history, uses

a score of references ranging from Hrushevsky to Lloyd George to prove his points and cites odd little-known facts regarding the history of the Ukrainian movement that cannot be found even in a long standard history book.

He is especially incensed by Professor Kirkconnell's suggestion that the Ukrainian problem can be solved only through one of four ways: 1) extermination of the Ukrainians, 2) creation of a Nazi vassal state, 3) disappearance into the USSR under Stalin, or 4) a limited sovereignty in a United States of Europe. He calls these solutions "fantastic, impossible and in all probability immoral and illogical." The "most simple, most natural and practical solution," he goes on, is "the creation of a sovereign Ukrainian democratic state."

Dr. Mandryka could have been more restrained. After all judging from Professor Kirkconnell's work since the publication of his book, he has shown his confidence in the Ukrainian people and has staunchly defended them even when various Ukrainians were hurling accusations at each other.

But *The Ukrainian Question* is a gem of information for anyone interested in a quick dose of Ukrainian history. Copies may be obtained from A. Gospodyn, 145 Andrews Ave., Winnipeg, Man.

—o—

ALIENS AND THE LAW. Some Legal Aspects of the National Treatment of Aliens in the United States. By William Marion Gibson. The University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill. \$3.00. 198 pp.

This book might be read with

THE TRIDENT

profit by politicians and columnists who are advocating the wildest type of legislation to curb aliens, whose only crime is that they haven't yet become citizens.

The author goes to original sources, mostly court decisions, to cover the subject in as thorough and workmanlike fashion as anything that has yet appeared. The international law standard, national treatment provisions in treaties, property rights of aliens, taxation of aliens, the aliens' right to work, and aliens in American courts are developed in detail.

It is to be noted that American municipal law grants the alien more rights than is required by international law. Interesting, however, is the number of existing state laws that now restrict the right of aliens to enter certain professions, such as law and medicine, or businesses, such as liquor, or to work for the WPA and other federal and state projects.

The chapter on the aliens' right to work is the most interesting and timely since bills are now before Congress to restrict this right. Judging by the decisions quoted, this reviewer believes the recent Reynolds' amendment to the La Follette Civil Liberties Bill, restricting the employment of aliens by interstate industries to 10 per cent of total personnel, is unconstitutional.

For the reader who wants a handy reference and quick insight into the law as it applies to aliens, Dr. Gibson's scholarly work is recommended. Incidentally he is a member of the Political Science Department of Duke University.

—o—

War to The End

PRIME MINISTER WINSTON CHURCHILL: We shall defend our

island whatever the cost may be; we shall fight on beaches, landing grounds, in fields, in streets and on the hills. We shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, will carry on the struggle until in God's good time the New World, with all its power and might, sets forth to the liberation and rescue of the Old.

—o—

Modern War

LANSLING WARREN, New York Times Correspondent: Paris — The bomb fell exactly in the bend of the zig-zag trench, and the force of the explosion drove the concrete wall of the trench against the wall opposite, crushing the little girls. Two of them had been dreadfully disfigured. Four of the others had been terribly burned by the explosion. The four others lay beautiful in death, with scarcely any wounds, but they had been suffocated in the earth, where some of them had lived for some time crying for help before they died. "That," said the soldier on guard in this mortuary chapel meant for community entertainments, "is what they call modern war."

—o—

War Talk

DOROTHY THOMPSON, An Open Letter to Congress: If you are determined that the black cross of the Nazi flag shall not wave over the world, nor we live as its subjects; if you are determined that the ideals of the Declaration and 'The Federalist' and of Lincoln shall not perish from this earth, then you should go to war, and go now.

Ukrainian Bazaar

Religious Articles, Post Cards,
Books, Wall Calendars, Novelties
Fancy Linens and Materials for
Needlework, D.M.C. Embroidery
Cross Stitch Designs, Beads.

170 E. 4th Street, New York, N.Y.

FOR A DELIGHTFUL BITE!

PARK VIEW LUNCHEONETTE

H. S. DYSHUK

153 Avenue A. New York City

THE VOICE OF UKRAINE

under direction of
MR. RODION SLIPY

In the Ukrainian language over
Station WARD, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mondays and Fridays—6 to 6:45 p.m.
Station Telephone—TRiangle 5-3300

Tel. GRamercy 7-0729

SURMA BOOK and MUSIC CO.

MYRON SURMACH, Mgr.

Ukrainian Radio Program
Every Saturday on Station
WBNX 1350 KC from 4 to 4:30 p.m.
325 EAST 14th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Real Ukrainian Barber Shop

D. PAWLYK & SONS

431 East 5th St. New York City

ALgonquin 4-5441

A. PASICHNYK

UKRAINIAN TAILOR

Suits Made to Order
And Ready Made Clothing
Also Ladies' Suits and Coats

107 St. Marks Place, New York City
E. 8th Street

Tel.: ALgonquin 4-9185

THE PRINTING SHOP

BOOKS-MAGAZINES-FOLDERS
CATALOGUES-PAMPHLETS
LEAFLETS

34 Gt. Jones St. New York City
ALgonquin 4-1842

TEL. GRAMERCY 5-7244

STEFIE'S BEAUTY PARLOR

318 East 8th Street, New York

Permanent: Finger Wave; Hair Dye;
Manicure

S. ABRAHAMOVSKA, Prop.

JOHN PETRASH

UKRAINIAN BOOKBINDER

267 E. 10th St. GRamercy 5-8842

New York City

Res. Phone ORchard 5-2588

PETER JAREMA

Undertakers and Funeral Directors

Manhattan Office: 129 E. 7th STREET, NYC.
Tel. ORchard 4-2568

Bronx Office: 707 PROSPECT AVE.
Tel. MErose 5-6577

Tel. ALgonquin 4-0658

PETER ZADORETZKY, Prop.

NASZ BAZAAR

Ukrainian Radio Program
Every Sunday on

Station WBNX 1350 KC
from 9 to 10:30 A. M.

151 AVENUE A, NEW YORK, N. Y.

GRamercy 7-9656

CARPATHIA HALL

217 E. 6th St., New York City

Features: restaurant with bar;
concert hall, suitable for balls and
plays; smaller club rooms for offices
and meetings; also available for wed-
dings, christenings and celebrations.

BASIL LAZUTA and
SIMON DEMYDCHUK, Managers

\$ 1,000 IN PREMIUMS

will be given away by

The TRIDENT

in new 6-month subscription and sales campaign!

Ending midnight Oct. 20, 1940

Following premiums will be awarded to each person who sells proper number of subscriptions or copies. Each subscription is worth 10 points; each copy one point.

PREMIUMS

Girls' Gold Swiss Wristwatches.....	value \$25.00....	500 points
Imported Hutzul Desk Sets (Inkwell, blotter, holder and pen)	" \$10.00....	250 "
Imported Hutzul Jewelry Cases.....	" \$3.00....	200 "
Imported Hutzul Picture Frames.....	" \$5.00....	150 "
Doroshenko's History of Ukraine, 702 pp. ..	" \$3.50....	120 "
Comb, Brush and Mirror Sets.....	" \$2.50....	100 "
Bound Tridents (1939), 432 pp.	" \$2.50....	100 "
Beaded Indian Belts.....	" \$2.00....	80 "
Cigaret and Lighter Sets.....	" \$1.50....	50 "
Beaded Indian Necklaces.....	" \$1.00....	30 "
Engraved Leather Wallets.....	" \$1.00....	30 "
Sciborsky's Ukraine under the Soviets..	" \$1.00....	30 "
Imported Hutzul Letter Openers.....	" \$1.00....	30 "
Karpatska Ukraina v borotbi, 232 pp. ..	" \$1.00....	30 "
Shelukhyn's Ukraina, 248 pp.	" \$1.00....	30 "
Embroidery Sets with 2 frames.....	" \$1.00....	30 "
Small Embroidery Sets with 2 frames....	" \$0.75....	20 "
Imported Hutzul Fountain Pens	" \$0.75....	20 "
Beaded Watch Fobs.....	" \$0.75....	20 "
Evhen Konovaletz, collection, 110 pp. ..	" \$0.50....	20 "
Fountain Pens	" \$0.50....	20 "
Chotyry Shabli, short stories, 191 pp. ..	" \$0.50....	20 "
Spivannyk Karpatskoyi Sichi, songs....	" \$0.25....	10 "
Mosendz's Zasiv, short story, 60 pp. ..	" \$0.25....	10 "
Sciborsky's Zemelne Pytannia (The Agrarian Question), 60 pp.	" \$0.25....	10 "

EVERYBODY IS ELIGIBLE!

Write for sample copies and subscription blanks to

The TRIDENT, P. O. Box 13 Sta. D. New York City