

*The*  
**UKRAINIAN CAUSE**

Compiled and Edited by  
**WALTER BUKATA**

Published by Committee for  
**NATIONAL MANIFESTATION FOR INDEPENDENCE  
OF UKRAINE**  
New York, 1938

*The*  
**UKRAINIAN CAUSE**

Compiled and Edited by  
**WALTER BUKATA**



Published by Committee for  
**NATIONAL MANIFESTATION FOR INDEPENDENCE  
OF UKRAINE**  
New York, 1938

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

*Facts and information, other than those directly quoted, have been obtained mainly from the following sources: Ukrainian Press Service, New York, Ukrainian Bureau, London, Ukrainian-American daily "Svoboda".*

*W. B.*

## PREFACE

It is the object of this special publication to present to world public opinion the *raison d'être* of the Ukrainian Cause, the conditions under which the Ukrainian nation struggled and continues to struggle for freedom and the national rights upon which the Ukrainian movement for independence is predicated.

No attempt has been made to present in this limited publication complete exhaustive case, only to compile for public information a general outline of conditions prevailing on Ukrainian lands and an expression of the national ideals and sentiment of the Ukrainian nation.

This booklet is published on the occasion of the National Manifestation for the Independence of Ukraine, Sept. 4, 1938, Hippodrome Theater, New York City.

## The Ukrainian Cause

Only twenty years have passed since the nations of the world were locked in mortal struggle in a "war to preserve democracy". Following the costly victory of the nations dedicated to this cause, principles of political and social justice were formulated upon which a "permanent world peace" was to have been founded. It was President Wilson who first proclaimed the right of self-determination to those nations that had been the victims of oppression and subjugation. He well realized that a lasting peace was not possible if large racial groups in the world were denied their right to freedom. Because of his idealistic stand, Poland, a hitherto subjugated nation was given its independence.

It is now a recognized historical fact that the principles set forth by President Wilson were not adhered to in the post-war territorial and political settlements and to this may be attributed the critical state of the world today and the collapse of collective security and peace. The nations which recognized Poland's right to independence did not hesitate to sentence to subjugation by Poland the millions of Ukrainians in Western Ukraine (Eastern Galicia), a nation and people inherently democratic, who at President Wilson's request ceased their struggle with Poland for independence and placed their faith in a peaceful and just solution of their national problem and demands. The right of self-determination was promised, then denied to them. Today they suffer unbearable oppression at the hands of the nation which was once herself oppressed. Civil, political, economic and even fundamental human rights are denied to 7,000,000 Ukrainians under Poland. Czechoslovakia and Rumania were allotted their shares of this human "chattel" and today 750,000 Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia and nearly 1,000,000 in Rumania are denied that which

was expressly promised to them—the right to govern themselves.

Soviet Russia completed the task so well begun by the statesmen of Europe. She took by conquest more than 35,000,000 Ukrainians and placed them under the “dictatorship of the proletariat”.

The peace for which all nations of the world presumably strive, can only be built upon a conception of international justice, and justice precludes the subjugation of about 50,000,000 people, having every right to national independence, by foreign nations which by might can effect domination over them.

\* \* \*

Ukraine is one the oldest and largest nations in Europe. It possesses all the attributes necessary for the existence of a nation; it has its own language, its church, a long and glorious history and a specific culture. For more than a thousand years it has inhabited the same territory; it has its own revered national heroes, great men and leaders; a cherished tradition, lofty national ideals and great aspirations for the future. The Ukrainian people have passed through centuries of common suffering. Yet it is the unenviable fate of the present, shared by all the Ukrainians, which more than anything else makes *them one nation*.

In the tenth century Ukraine was one of the most powerful countries in Europe and her ruling houses were inter-related with the foremost European dynasties of those times, including those of England, Germany and the Scandinavian and other countries. Then it was at the height of its culture and prosperity. It was Ukraine's misfortune later to fall into subjugation by her neighbors who, in due time, have done everything in their power to make the world forget that independent Ukraine ever existed. The Ukrainian people were taken by their destiny upon a road of centuries long serfdom and horrible suffering, a road of a hard test of their national spirit through which

they survived until the present day, although in subjugation.

For these reasons, it is just to say that the Ukrainian nation has the right to be treated on a par with other nations, although at present it is subjugated by foreign powers and is not ruled by its own all-Ukrainian, sovereign government. *The Ukrainian nation has long struggled and continues to struggle for democracy—true democracy predicated upon rule by consent of the governed*: an independent Ukrainian national government for the entire Ukrainian nation. This is the end, for which the Ukrainian people will unceasingly strive, unmindful of sacrifice.

It is our hope that by presenting to world public opinion the conditions under which the Ukrainian nation finds itself today, a better understanding of the Ukrainian people, their aspirations and struggle for independence will result.

### **Ukraine Under Soviet Russia (U.S.S.R.)**

More than 35,000,000 Ukrainians inhabiting the southern and most fertile part of the U. S. S. R. are held in subjugation by the Bolshevik regime of the Soviet Union. Immediately upon the downfall of the Tzarist regime the Ukrainians in March 1917 declared first, an autonomous Ukrainian state federated with Russia and then, a few months later, an independent Ukrainian Republic. This independence was lost in 1925 when the Communist hordes from the north overflowed into Ukraine and it became what is now known as the "Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic".

The Soviet Union, ostensibly created for the liberation of the proletariat from economic exploitation and social injustice, is in reality an unnatural political and social structure within which unbelievable crimes against humanity are perpetrated in the name of "socialism". The government, democratic in theory but in reality the most despotic that history has ever known, presents to the world a picture of a veritable Utopia wherein all abuse and evil

has been eliminated and all inhabitants are superbly content and happy in their discovery of a new life and social order. In reality it is but a Muscovite Empire, ruthlessly crushing under its heel millions of people who, far from being content with Russian domination, struggle in every way humanly possible to free themselves from foreign subjugation.

The Ukrainian nation—historically distinct and separate from the Muscovite and older in point of time of existence—has burned for centuries, not with desire for federation with its northern neighbor, but for sovereign independence. Its literature, tradition and culture down through the years clearly show this national tendency. Today, 35,000,000 of the close to 50,000,000 Ukrainians, are held in Russian bondage so despotic and ruthless in its cruelty that the conditions under the Tzarist regime pale into insignificance before it.

### **Famine in Ukraine**

To strengthen at any cost the Russian Empire (Soviet Union) its Communist rulers in 1932 did not hesitate to starve out millions of the Ukrainian "proletariat". News of the dreadful famine in Ukraine which managed to escape the country despite rigorous censorship was greeted with incredulity. Humanity found it hard to believe that millions of its own inhabitants could be forced to starve by a supposedly civilized nation whose very existence was founded on principles of social justice. We present below the belated revelation of one who was once an ardent Communist sympathizer. When Eugene Lyons went to Moscow to be chief correspondent for the United Press, he fervently believed that a new and better civilization was being forged in Russia—that a new world was in the making. We quote from the vivid story of the bitter struggle between his ideals and the grim reality of Soviet life.\*

---

\*"Assignment in Utopia" by Eugene Lyons publ. 1937 Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc. N. Y.



“The Soviet land presented a tragic picture at the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan early in 1933. Discontent was deepening, half the country was starving, actual famine threatened the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the Ukraine and Northern Caucasus. But admission of this fact would have seriously jeopardized the inauguration of the Second Plan.

“The markets of the world at the time glutted with grain. A few million dollars spent from Russia’s gold reserves would have bought bread enough to head off the famine. A very minor diversion of money from machines to food would have saved millions of lives. But the Kremlin neither imported food nor permitted an appeal to the world’s charitable instincts. It merely took extreme measures to conceal the disaster and thus save face for the fabled Plan. The decision made by Stalin and his underlings was as directly responsible for every bloated baby stomach, every wagonload of corpses in the following months as if they had strangled the victims with their own hands. .

“Together with all other foreign correspondents in Russia, I had to conceal this supreme cruelty from the outside world. The government forbade us to leave Moscow. But the people coming in from the famine regions told of roads lined with corpses like stiff logs. Almost every peasant home in the worst districts paid a toll in life; in hundreds of villages half the population died or fled to seek food. To insure the next harvest, Red troops guarded the seed and prevented hungry peasants from devouring the green shoots of the coming crop. As the Soviet government *stopped the publication of vital statistics for the period in question*, (author’s italics) how many millions died will never be known; but estimates made by foreigners and Russians range from *three to seven millions*.

“The most rigorous censorship in all Russia’s history kept us from reporting the famine until it was over. By then the dead had been buried and an excellent crop was being harvested. The Soviet press was exultant: socialized agriculture had been made to yield a bumper harvest. The

Kremlin had foreseen the famine and permitted it to run its course for political reasons. I was sickened by the philosophy which made such a decision possible, the mad arrogance of rulers condemning millions to death and rejoicing because the survivors could be fed.

“. . . I had the sense of leaving behind me a *nation trapped* (author's italics). Trapped physically, with bloodhounds and machine guns guarding the frontiers, with a passport system to prevent them from moving freely inside the country. Trapped intellectually, with every thought prescribed and mental curiosity punished as heresy. Trapped spiritually, through the need of practicing hypocrisy as the first law of survival. There was no longer even the solace of martyrdom for the defiant; a technic had been evolved for breaking their spirit and dragging them into the limelight for slobbering confessions of guilt. The fact that these things had come to pass under the banners of "Socialism" only made them more ghastly."

Yet this is the same regime that today dares speak of democracy and peace. Not socialism but Russian national imperialism is the substance of Russian reality today.

## Democracy in Ukraine

The bald assertion that democracy exists in the Soviet Union would be laughable if it were not so tragic for those millions of Ukrainians (and others) who are "trapped" in the Muscovite prison.

Lviw "Dilo" of June 17, 1938 reports the arrest by Soviet government of G. I. Petrovski, "president" of the "free" Ukrainian Socialist Soviet "Republic".

"Pravda" Moscow of January 15, 1938 explains that of 546 newly-elected deputies to the parliament, 247 are workers, 130 peasants and 169 officials and intelligentsia. It adds, however, that 201 of the "workers" are Party and State officials (including members of the GPU!) and that the same applied to 79 of the "peasants". *This leaves only 51 deputies who may perhaps be of the proletariat.*

Great discrimination is shown against the Ukrainians who while constituting 20.3% of the total population in USSR are given 34 seats out of 574—that is 6%.

Any attempt to set up or support any candidate not approved by Moscow is deemed an act of treason. Kiev "Visti", the official organ of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic in its November 14, 1937 issue expressed indignation that non-communist elements, including the church men led by the disguised nationalists, dared to take opportunity of the election "freedom" to come out with their own candidates and to campaign in their own way.

After the election to the so-called "Council of Nationalities", which was held sometimes before the general election, most of the leading personalities and heads of the district Election Councils have been relieved of their further duties due to their "non-democratic" conduct (to insure the "proper" outcome of the general election on November 12—Ed.), according to "Visti" of November 18, 1937.

The Constitution of 1936 presumably gave the several republics the right of secession from the Union (art. 17). It is needless to state that this is in itself a farce since the greatest "crime" against the Russian Empire (USSR) is attempt at or agitation for separation and such activities are "exposed" by the dread GPU and "liquidated" by the periodic purges.

### **Terror Rules in Ukraine**

"Tens of thousands of men inhabiting Ukraine, some of them its noblest and most courageous patriots, have been shot down or slapped into prisons—already overflowing. The people of Ukraine are saturated with hatred for the Bolsheviks, because all of Ukraine (the present Ukrainian U. S. S. R.—Ed.) lies under the yoke of a continuous siege by the brigands who oppress and torture the land."

The above is a quotation of the words of Feodor Butenko, former diplomatic representative of the Soviet Union

abroad, printed in the February 17, 1938 issue of New York Journal-American.

In the "New York Times" of June 20, 1938, Harold Denny, its Moscow correspondent, writes:

"A new purge of considerable severity has been begun in Ukraine, where anti-Soviet sentiment and activity have been intensely stubborn since the first days of the revolution. Ten Communist (*Ukrainian Communist*—Ed.) party officials ranging downward in importance from the head of the Kiev party organization are mentioned either by name or by initials as public enemies—a phrase connoting arrest—into today's Pravda, organ of the Communist party. It is plainly implied that others are also involved.

"Indicating more arrests—occurring in a constituent republic (Ukraine—Ed.) that has been purged and re-purged in recent years and that last year saw many of its most important leaders in the Red Army and the NKVD (Secret police) 'liquidated'—Pravada says that only a beginning has been made in ridding Ukraine of enemies . . .

**". . . Ukraine has been the field of a strong nationalist movement from the beginning of the Bolshevist revolution. This always latent nationalist feeling flared up with disturbing vigor in 1932 when famine—induced by an over-swift and ruthless collectivization of agriculture—took such a tragic toll in Ukraine . . .**

"Mr. Postisheff (sent by Stalin to win back Ukraine to loyalty to the Soviet regime—Ed.) himself reported to Moscow the purging of 27,500 members of the Communist party out of 120,000, who had been put through the purge up to mid-October 1933. This, of course, was only a fraction of the total number expelled . . .

"Ukraine, such an exposed and still nationalistic constituent of the Soviet Union, was purged from end to end . . ."

This dispatch, describing the mass extermination of Ukrainian "proletariat", is the more significant since it passed the Soviet censorship.

Terror of GPU in Ukraine reached unusual proportions

in December, 1937. Executions took place without trial, unless hearings of GPU can be called such. Carloads filled with exiles leave daily from Kiev for Siberia and the Solovki Islands.

“Enemies of the people”, those who are termed nationalist-separatists and who are the object of the above-described purges are those who resist Muscovite domination, who are inspired by heroic and patriotic love for their nation, Ukraine, and who struggle to liberate it from subjugation.

### **Murder of Col. Evhen Konovaletz**

As a culmination to its reign of terror over the Ukrainian nation, and proof that the hand of Moscow reaches even beyond its borders to “purge” those who dare to oppose it, an agent of the Soviet GPU tracked and murdered Col. Evhen Konovaletz the accepted leader of the subjugated Ukrainian people in their struggle for liberation in Rotterdam, Holland May 23, 1938. Even the mode of murder bespeaks the barbaric Muscovite character—Col. Konovaletz body was torn to shreds by a time-bomb placed by artifice upon his person.

Col. E. Konovaletz, leader in the Ukrainian War for Independence 1918, was the founder and vitalizing force of the Ukrainian nationalist movement. The object of this movement was the liberation of all Ukrainian lands from foreign subjugation and the setting up of an independent sovereign Ukrainian state. The Soviet regime regarded him and his activity as the greatest danger to its existence and placed his life in constant jeopardy. We present part of an article that appeared in the “*Neuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*” Rotterdam, Holland, May 30, 1938 under the title, “Ukraine’s Struggle for Liberation”.

“In the past two years, the Soviet campaign against Leader Konovaletz has assumed unusual proportions—at

Communist meetings, in the press and through the radio. In 1936, the Swiss police uncovered and prevented an attempt upon his life. That caused Ukrainian opinion to react with a still stronger sympathy for Konovaletz. Then came the horrible crime of Rotterdam . . .

*“The struggle of Ukraine will continue. The memory of Konovaletz, the martyr-hero, will always enlist new warriors for the ideal for which he died”.*

---

Such is the state of affairs in Ukraine under Russia; a “trapped nation” struggling against great odds and inhuman persecution to attain its rightful freedom. Space does not permit us to describe in detail the campaign to denationalize the Ukrainians, to destroy religion and to convert the Ukrainians into “proletarian robots” — having no national will other than that of their master, Bolshevik Russia.

## **Ukraine Under Poland**

The unhappy plight of more than 7,000,000 Ukrainians who are today under Polish rule is due primarily to a failure on the part of the Allies to live up to the principles upon which they had set out to establish a permanent peace. The three conditions of a permanent world peace set forth by President Wilson were:

1. reestablishment of the sanctity of treaties,
2. territorial settlements based on the right of self-determination or consent of the governed,
3. creation of an international organization to insure peace.

Shortly after the war, the Allies, in June 1919 promised the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia that they would be permitted to settle their own future by plebiscite in accordance

with the Wilsonian doctrine of self-determination. However, under pressure from Poland and France, the Allies reversed their decision and by the Treaty of St. Germain in December 1919 Eastern Galicia was promised autonomy under a Polish protectorate for a period of twenty-five years after which time its fate was to be decided by the League of Nations. In 1923 the Conference of Ambassadors committed the final act of a manifestly unjust barter in human rights by assigning Eastern Galicia (Western Ukraine) to Poland outright. Poland was required, however, to sign a Minorities Treaty whereby she promised to grant her minorities all rights of citizenship. The clauses of that treaty were grossly violated by Poland and the League has declined in the past to consider the protests of the Ukrainians. It was by such actions of the statesmen of Great Powers that Western Ukraine, a nation that in 1918 had declared itself to be a free and independent state, was sentenced to national subjugation.

The record of Polish misrule and oppression of the Ukrainian inhabitants is a frightful recital of ruthless attempts at denationalization and suppression of even elementary human, civil and political rights.

Within the limits of this publication it is necessary to list and describe only a few examples of Polish treatment of Ukrainians to present a graphic argument against the existing state of affairs.

### **“Pacification”**

The conditions in Polish Ukraine are vividly described by E. Alexander Powell in his book “Thunder Over Europe” (Ives Washburn, New York, 1931, p. 103)

“ . . . The Poles are using the school-children as pawns in their attempt to Polonize the region. The social, educational and literary clubs of Ukrainians, their itinerant teachers who travel about the country giving instruction in agriculture and dairy farming—are all regarded by the

Poles with the greatest suspicion. Their political meetings are attended by Polish soldiers who arrest the speakers and disperse the assemblages on the slightest provocation. Their press is heavily censored, so that the editorial page of a Ukrainian newspaper frequently consists mainly of blank space. Indeed, the situation of the Ukrainians in Poland in many respects resembles that of the Irish before they obtained home rule, with the same repressive measures in force everywhere, with the Polish soldiery and police guilty of the same excesses as the 'Black and Tans,' with the same prevailing atmosphere of hatred and suspicion.

*"There seems to be little doubt that the 'pacification' of Eastern Galicia by the Poles was conducted with a brutality bordering on barbarism* (italics by editor). I have seen the official report issued by the Ukrainian National Committee—it bears the fitting title of THE BLOODY BOOK—which contains a long list of crimes and outrages committed by the Poles against the Ukrainian population of Galicia. Instances of arson, flogging, torture, murder, rape are recounted in horrifying detail and supported by the sworn statements of the victims. The Poles assert that these charges are without foundation. That is difficult to believe. There are too many of them and the evidence is too convincing. But if only ten percent of them are true the government at Warsaw should hang its head in shame.

"In June 1930, there appeared in the Manchester 'Guardian', one of the most reputable and least sensational newspapers in England, a series of articles entitled 'A Tour in Poland'. In commenting on conditions in Eastern Galicia the English author says:

"The pressure exercised by the Poles is always there. It is not always immediately apparent, but at times it is terroristic. Arrest on the barest suspicion, imprisonment while awaiting trial that may not come off for a year or two, and ill-treatment in prisons are amongst commonplaces of Ukrainian life under Polish rule.



“A prominent member of the Ukrainian movement was released about six months ago after being in prison for four years. He was so beaten by his gaolers that two of his ribs were fractured. “We can stand even this sort of thing if we must,” he said to me, “but what we cannot stand is when the women prisoners are beaten.’”

The “pacification” which is referred to above was Poland’s brutal attempt in 1930 to crush by military means Ukrainian resistance to Polonization\*. Despite such drastic effort to terrorize and intimidate the Ukrainian people, the national will to struggle for freedom was not destroyed. On the contrary, the Polish “pacification” strengthened defiance of the foreign regime and gave impetus to the movement for liberation of Ukraine.

An unceasing campaign to exterminate all evidence of Ukrainian national life has been waged through the years of occupancy by the despotic Polish government. The persistent demands by Ukrainians for autonomy were refused and finally the Polish government came to regard such action as “subversive and against the interest of the state”. The chauvinistic regime had but one goal—the extermination of Ukrainian national life by a policy of denationalization, economic and cultural suppression.

## **Polonization**

Whereas in 1923 there were in Polish Ukraine 3,027 Ukrainian schools, today there are only approximately 135 half-Polonized Ukrainian schools.

More than 100 summer camps were created in the summer of 1936 by the Polish “Towarzystwo Szkoły Ludowej” (Society of the National School) where Ukrainian children are subjected to Polish influence and education.

---

\* For a more comprehensive treatment of Polish “pacification” see “Polish Atrocities in Ukraine” Emil Reyyuk 512 pages, published by United Ukrainian Organizations of U. S. 1931—83 Grand St., Jersey City, N. J.

The use of the Ukrainian language, in schools and churches is forbidden in many parts of Polish Ukraine.

An intense campaign is waged to "convert" Ukrainians whose national faith is either Orthodox or Greek-Catholic ("Uniate") to the official Roman-Catholic Church.

Pressure is exerted on Ukrainian priest when registering births to use characteristically Polish names, so that no distinction be retained between similar Polish and Ukrainian names.

Ukrainian teachers are unemployed while Polish teachers occupy positions in Ukrainian schools.

### **Colonization of Ukrainian Lands**

The Polish government is conducting a strenuous campaign to colonize Western Ukraine with Polish settlers. To this end it has ordered parcellation of estates belonging to large land owners and such parcelled land is sold exclusively to Poles.

### **Expropriation of Land**

Ukrainian schools are requisitioned and converted into Polish state buildings. Polish authorities this year requisitioned for military use the "Ukrainian Garden" in Lwiw—the only well-developed Ukrainian sport field in Eastern Galicia. This is an example of Poland's determination to deprive Ukrainians not only of property but—what is more important—of organizational facilities. The "Ukrainian Garden" was the only sport field available to Ukrainians, large enough for organizational events of national magnitude—such as assemblies, rallies etc.

### **Extermination of Ukrainian Enterprise**

The Polish government, seeking to destroy all semblance of Ukrainian national life in Western Ukraine, closes Ukrainian co-operatives in an effort to stifle the

economic development of the Ukrainian people. One example of this type of persecution is the closing of the Ukrainian Dairy in the village of Kniahyninko, district of Luck. This was one of the strongest branches of the Ukrainian Co-operatives, an organization of more than 1200 Ukrainian peasant milk producers.

### **Dissolution of National Organizations**

The Polish campaign against the Ukrainians has this year been intensified to a hitherto unprecedented degree. On April 28, 1938 Polish authorities raided and closed the headquarters of the largest Ukrainian workers' association "The Force" and ordered the organization to disband. At the time no legal reason for this action was given.

On May 6, 1938 the government ordered the dissolution of the "Ukrainian Women's League" the largest nationwide Ukrainian women's organization in Western Ukraine with membership of 50,000. Its publication "Zhinka" (The Woman) and "Ukrainka" (The Ukrainian Women) were ordered to close down permanently. This organization remains dissolved, pending the outcome of its last appeal to the Polish Minister of the Interior.

The organization "Prosvita" (Enlightenment), the oldest educational and cultural society, was forced to abandon the celebration of its 70th anniversary by the setting up of legal barriers by the Polish government. Most of the branches of this organization were immediately dissolved.

### **Religious Persecution—Demolition of Churches**

This year the Polish government has struck at one of the most fundamental of human rights. Poland effected a treaty with the Vatican on June 20, 1938, by which it is empowered to confiscate Ukrainian church properties. Under the terms of this treaty, Poland has the consent of the Pope to confiscate property of those Ukrainian Orthodox

churches in the Kholm and Pidliashe regions which centuries ago were forcefully converted to the Greek-Catholic or "Uniate" Ukrainian creed but which later returned to their original religion. Many have already been confiscated and demolished. This is the latest development in the Polish drive for the extinction of the Byzantine Rite, as the stronghold of Ukrainian culture and national life. To show the effects of such religious persecution, we quote in part the address of Mr. Baran, M. P. (Polish Parliament or Sejm) made on July 6, 1938:

"Out of 370 Orthodox churches in the Kholm and Pidliashe districts, . . . over 150 have already been changed into Roman Catholic though not a tenth of them ever belonged to that Church. In that region in 1938 alone, 35 Orthodox churches have been closed by the authorities and 33 razed to the ground or burnt".

Senator Ostap Lutsky, speaking on July 4, 1938 after ratification of the treaty, said:

"In Moratyn they (Polish government—Ed.) demolished the church, arrested 30 women and 4 men, and beat them so horribly that they had to be sent to Hospital . . . This, gentlemen, is in one district. People do not sleep night or day . . . Whole villages kneel in the church-yards to prevent the police from removing a cross set up to mark where their church had stood. These things must bring sorrow to every Christian and, I still hope, every mature citizen of Poland".

### **Mass Arrests and Imprisonments for Political Activity**

It is only natural and inevitable that under the pressure of the Polish campaign of national extermination an organized movement of counteraction should appear. Such

counteraction has found its expression in that all Ukrainian movement for liberation which today is active in all the Ukrainian lands under the several occupants and which is known as the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement. Its object is the ultimate independence of a united and sovereign Ukraine. Mere suspicion of membership in or sympathy for this movement results in mass arrests and summary trials with heavy sentences. The political take precedence over the purely legal considerations when a Ukrainian is charged with offense. To secure speedy conviction of political prisoners, the Polish government abolished jury trial in criminal courts on May 1, 1938.

**Despite the most intense efforts of the Polish government to stifle this ever-growing movement for independence, despite presecution, mass arrests, torture and imprisonments, this spirit grows ever stronger and today is in evidence not only in Poland but throughout the subjugated Ukraine.**

## Ukraine Under Rumania

Nearly 1,000,000 Ukrainians, inhabiting the province of Bukovina, live under Roumanian domination. By the Treaty of Paris, Dec. 9, 1919 Rumania guaranteed to her minorities to "provide in the educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Roumanian nationals of other than Rumanian language are resident, adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Rumanian nationals through the medium of their own language . . ." (article 10). *Today in Rumanian Ukraine there is not one Ukrainian school!*

Cultural associations are prohibited by order of the police and, in the past year, in spite of the Concordat with Rome, even the church has been attacked and deprived of most of its rights. The Ukrainians are subjected to strict censorship and military courts.

## Ukraine Under Czechoslovakia

The fate of 750,000 Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia, inhabiting the regions known as "Podkarpatska Rus" (Subcarpathian Rusj) was sealed by the Treaty of St. Germain, signed on Sept. 10, 1919 by the United States of America, the British Empire, France Italy, Japan and Czechslovakia, whereby the newly-created Czechoslovakian state guaranteed to give autonomy to the "Ruthenian territory". *This obligation, despite repeated demands by the Ukrainians has not been fulfilled.*

## THE UKRAINIAN MOVEMENT FOR LIBERATION

Because the Ukrainian people constitute a distinct nation having its own history, culture and traditions, and because this nation is in a state of oppressive subjugation wherein all efforts are made to wipe from the face of the earth all that is Ukrainian (by denationalization and extermination) there has come into existence a well-defined and principled movement for the liberation of Ukraine.

Enhanced be the occupants' efforts to achieve their objective by "converting" Ukrainians into members of their nationality or ideology, the movement for liberation in its counter-action undertakes to free Ukraine by striving for separation from the occupants and union of all Ukrainians and all their lands into one sovereign independent Ukrainian state.

This movement has as its fundamental principle, reliance of the Ukrainian people upon their own abilities and power. It condemns philosophies of federation or barter for exchange of masters. It aspires to the creation of a *free Ukraine for free Ukrainians*, having all the civil, political and economic rights, denied to them under the occupants.

*The movement is the ultimate in democratic expression of enslaved and oppressed millions.* It represents the common desires, hopes and determination of 50,000,000 Ukrainians who wish to be free.

Ukrainians in lands under the occupants suffer persecution, imprisonment and sacrifice even life for the cause of liberating Ukraine. Ukrainians in America and other lands strive to aid their kinsmen in their struggle morally by appeals to world public opinion and the governments of civilized humane nations to intercede in their behalf.

This movement has its counterpart in the struggle for social justice and *national* independence of other oppressed people.

It struggles against overwhelming odds; its enemies are the ruthless despotic Bolshevist dictatorship of Russia which starved out millions of Ukrainians, the military dictatorship of Poland which seeks to exterminate all semblance of Ukrainian life in Western Ukraine, and the violators of solemn treaty obligations, Roumania and Czechoslovakia.

Above all—this movement is exclusively Ukrainian, based upon the needs and demands of the Ukrainian nation and is not to be confused or connected in any way with the ambitions or designs of other nations with reference to Ukraine.

**This movement has found its expression in a concrete organized form known as the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.**

**Committee for  
National Manifestation for the Independence of Ukraine  
September 4, 1938  
·New York City**

Walter Bukata, Pres.

Nicholas Blyznak, }  
John Hussar, } Vice-Pres.

Eugene Skotzko }  
Wm. Iwanik } Rec. Sec.  
Bohdan Buchak }

Jacob Hutak — Fin. Sec.

Stanley Krywan — Treas.

Michael Prypchan — Ass't. Treas.

**Controllers:**

H. Didocha

E. Onyschuk

I. Halychyn

T. Bodnar

Mrs. C. Huryan



