

DR. LUKE MYSHUHA

UKRAINE
AND
AMERICAN
DEMOCRACY



NEW YORK
United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States
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I

PRO_ MEMORIA

A

73rd Congress H. RES. 399
2nd Session

The following resolution was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and ordered to be printed.

RESOLUTION

Whereas several millions of the population of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the constituent part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, died of starvation during the years of 1932 and 1933; and

Whereas the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, although being fully aware of the famine in Ukraine and although having full and complete control of the entire food supplies within its borders, nevertheless failed to take relief measures designed to check the famine or to alleviate the terrible conditions arising from it, but on the contrary used the famine as a means of reducing the Ukrainian population and destroying the Ukrainian political, cultural, and national rights; and

Whereas intercessions have been made at various times by the United States during the course of its history on behalf of citizens of states other than the United States, oppressed or persecuted by their own governments, indicating that it has been the traditional policy of the United States to take cognizance of such invasions of human rights and liberties; Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the House of Representatives express its sympathy for all those who have suffered from the great famine in Ukraine which has brought misery, affliction, and death to millions of peaceful and law-abiding Ukrainians; be it further

RESOLVED, That the House of Representatives express its earnest hope that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will speedily alter its policy in respect to the famine in Ukraine, take active steps to alleviate the terrible consequences arising from this famine, and undo so far as may be possible the injustices to the Ukrainian people; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the House of Representatives express its sincerest hope that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Government will place no obstacles in the way of American citizens seeking to send aid in form of money, foodstuffs, and necessities to the famine-stricken regions of Ukraine.

B

“FAMINE IN UKRAINE”

A memorandum of the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States containing dispatches of foreign correspondents and descriptions by actual eye-witnesses and reports drawn from official Soviet sources and statistics;*

Also, an appeal on behalf of the starving population of Soviet Ukraine by the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Bishops of Western Ukraine (July 24, 1933), an excerpt of which reads as follows: “Before the whole world we raise a mighty protest against the persecution of the little ones, of the poor, the weak and innocent. The blood of workmen who, starving, toiled the rich black soil of Ukraine, cries for revenge to heaven and the voice of the hungry reapers reaches our Almighty God.”

Also, an appeal of the Vienna Cardinal, Dr. Theodore Innitzer (August, 1933) to the whole civilized world on behalf of the starving Ukraine;

Also, a Resolution of the Congress of the European Minorities (Bern, Switzerland, September, 1933), declaring that “it is the policy of red Russian imperialism to destroy the physical existence of the Ukrainian nation according to some pre-conceived plan.”

* New York City, 1934, 32 pages.

"POLISH ATROCITIES IN UKRAINE"

Published by the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States as supplement to protests against the Polish bloody "pacification" in Galicia with the appeal to the American Government and American public opinion to prevail upon Poland to stop the reign of terror in Western Ukraine;*

Also, An Appeal to the World's Opinion; an excerpt of which reads as follows: "The American Ukrainians want to bring to the world's attention those barbarities with the object of letting the world draw its own conclusions whether or not a living people can submit to this type of treatment. We wish that the world should understand the spirit of those Ukrainians under Poland who were forced to desperate revolutionary methods of self-preservation, seeing that Poland, who takes part in various international peace conferences, at home declares war on the 7,000,000 Ukrainian subjects, ignores all international obligations toward the national minorities, and tries to fix the Ukrainian-Polish conflict by means of punitive expeditions and terror."

* New York City. Compiled and edited by Emil Revyuk. 1931. 512 pages.

II

GREAT UKRAINE

An Associated Press dispatch from Washington, dated December 24, 1938, writing on the question of Great Ukraine, reports: — “The Ukrainians are today the largest European people no part of which enjoys complete national independence. The 1937 Britannica Yearbook reported ‘the Ukrainian question will undoubtedly become a problem of the first magnitude.’ The greater Ukraine consists of about 45,000,000 persons living in a zone considerably larger than Germany, and of vastly greater wealth. It is composed of about 37,000,000 Ukrainians in the Soviet Ukraine, about 6,000,000 in Poland, approximately 1,000,000 in Rumania and something more than 500,000 in Ruthenia, which is part of Czecho-Slovakia.

“Territorially Ukrainians occupy nearly half of eastern Poland, a large strip of territory in northern Rumania and the entire Republic of Soviet Ukraine, where 20 per cent of the population of the Soviet Union lives.”

These are the people who are now striving to unite themselves and their territories into a free and independent Ukrainian state—Great Ukraine. But the desire “to unite the Ukrainians under one flag,” writes David S. Muzzey,* “is by no means

* The American Observer, Washington, D. C., January 16, 1939.

a product of the last few years." He reminds one that, the "collapse of the czarist regime, followed by the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, offered the Ukrainians their opportunity to establish an independent nation. At that time, they set up an entirely independent Ukrainian People's Republic, with the capital located in the city of Kiev." Following the World War, he continues, "for awhile, there were two Ukrainian states, the one encompassing the part of the Ukraine which lies in Russia, the other, representing the Ukrainians who resided in the Polish province of East Galicia. In 1919, representatives of the two governments met at Kiev and organized the 'United and Independent Ukraine,' the foundations of which were not sufficiently solid to insure permanence." Nevertheless, "while the history of an independent Ukrainian state is far from brilliant, the idea has been kept alive in all nations which contain a Ukrainian minority."

As can be seen from the above, the idea of a free and independent Great Ukraine is a spontaneous one, really existing in the hearts and minds of a 45,000,000 people in Europe.

AMERICAN IDEALS AND UKRAINIANS

To bring nearer the day when a free and independent Great Ukraine will become a reality, is a task undertaken not only by Ukrainians in Europe but also by hundreds of thousands of Americans of Ukrainian descent. For years the latter have been interceding with the American government on behalf of their oppressed kinsmen, stressing in their petitions to it that there will be no

peace in Europe until the principle of national self-determination, nurtured and enunciated by America, is applied to the 45 million Ukrainian nation.

Yet throughout the years of Ukrainian martyrdom, the American government has not once even expressed a word of sympathy for them. This has been a rather disillusioning experience for the Ukrainians, who have always regarded America as the very bulwark of freedom and democracy, quick to champion the cause of those who are oppressed. Taras Shevchenko himself, their national poet, had a similar high regard for America in this respect, and in predicting some one hundred years ago that a free Ukraine was bound to rise he expressed his confidence that her development as a free state would be founded on the principles of "the land of Washington." When, therefore, President Wilson announced his principle of national self-determination at the close of the World War, the Ukrainians rejoiced. To them it seemed that American democracy had at last triumphed over all, and that the prediction of their national poet was coming true. This "last best hope of the earth," as Abraham Lincoln hoped to see his country, appeared to the Ukrainians as a guarantee that their fight for freedom would be crowned with success. And so the government of the Western Ukrainian Republic even ceased hostilities against the Polish invader when it received a note from Wilson requesting it to do that. It was confident that in the end Wilson's principle of national self-determination would triumph over all and that the Ukrainians would thereby win their independence. Imagine their

dismay, therefore, when this principle was not applied to them. For on March 15, 1923 the Conference of Ambassadors handed the Western Ukrainian territories over to Poland.

This flagrantly unjust verdict made possible the barbaric treatment which Poland has meted out to the Ukrainians since then, including the notorious "pacification" in 1930 of the Ukrainian population, which is completely reported in the already mentioned book entitled "Polish Atrocities in Ukraine," which vividly shows by documents, newspaper dispatches, and eye-witness accounts the terrible results of the Allied policy that robbed the Ukrainians of their right to national self-determination and gave aid and support to their national enemies. For it should be recalled, in the latter connection, that during the time when Ukraine was waging a deadly struggle with Red Russia and thereby protecting Europe against the advance of Bolshevism, the Allies instead of supporting the Ukrainians, supported General Denikin—who now resides in Paris and agitates against Great Ukraine—who used the aid to better war upon the Ukrainians and help overthrow the democratic Ukrainian National Republic. Though his armies were eventually shattered by the Reds, yet they managed to weaken the Ukrainian republic to the point where it had to capitulate before the Reds too, with the result that East Ukraine found itself under Soviet misrule. Such policy on the part of the Allies made possible the terrible famine in Ukraine in 1932 and 1933, which the Soviet authorities deliberately fostered in an effort to break the opposition of the peasantry against their rule and agrarian collectivization. From the

very outset the strongly individualistic Ukrainian peasantry — which constitutes the vast majority of the Ukrainian population — had been antagonistic to Soviet autocracy which sought to rob it of the fruits of its toil; and peasantry, it should be borne in mind, is “today the only class which is really democratic without mental reservations.”*

During this period of the famine in Ukraine, Americans of Ukrainian descent sent many appeals to the American Government urging it to utter in the name of American democracy at least a word of protest against the Soviet policy of creating and using famine as a weapon in a political struggle. They believed that it would be impossible for anyone to ignore the fact that millions of people were actually dying of hunger. It did not seem possible that no heed would be paid to the Ukrainian-Americans in their pleas to be permitted to send food and other supplies to starving Ukraine, especially since some prominent Americans had already taken notice of what was going on in Ukraine, and expressed sympathy for the sufferers. Also, a certain portion of the American press, disregarding the anti-Ukrainian propaganda, had the courage to reveal the truth about the famine in Ukraine under the Soviets and about the bloody “pacifications” of Ukrainians under Poland. Still the fact remains that the American Government washed its hands entirely of the matter, for it did not express either a word of sympathy or protest on behalf of the starving Ukrainians. To the hundreds of appeals it received it always had one stock answer: “...this govern-

* The Totalitarian State Against Man, by Count R. N. Coudenhove-Kalergi.

ment is not in a position to make representations to foreign governments with respect to conditions which do not directly affect American citizens or interests."

"Democracy," says Henry Steele Commager, "is vulnerable, but it is vulnerable only if it fails to fulfill its promises."* In the case of Ukraine democracy led astray the hopes of a people who lived by it and believed in it. It forsook a people whose greatest sons had urged them to take their inspiration from it.

THE CARPATHO-UKRAINE PRELUDE

There has recently appeared in print an English translation of "Moses,"**) a poem by Ivan Franko, the greatest Ukrainian poet after Taras Shevchenko. In its prologue, written in 1905, there appear the following prophetic words, addressed to the Ukrainian people:

*But the time will come, once obstacles are
[hurdled,
When you will shine among the greatest
[nations,
Will shake the Cauca's while with Beskid
[girded,
Black Seas will echo with your liberation
And you'll behold, once being your own
[master,
A home of joy and fields of consolation.*

* New York Times Magazine, January 1, 1937.

**) Translated by Waldimir Semenyra. New York City. 1939.

In other words, the time will come when on the broad stretches extending from the Beskid mountains of the Carpathian range to the Caucasus a free and independent Great Ukraine will rise. Today a portion of it has already risen, in form of the autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine.

The coming into existence of Carpatho-Ukraine has been a big surprise to the many who are not acquainted with the evolution of the Ukrainian national movement. For the Ukrainians, however, it was only natural, just as will be the coming of national freedom in other Ukrainian territories, which at present are under Soviet Russia, Poland and Rumania. Even Ukraine's historic enemies, Russia and Poland, do not regard the appearance of Carpatho-Ukraine with any surprise, for they have plenty of reason to be well aware of the strength of the Ukrainian national movement. Such awareness, however, does not prevent them from taking every possible step to hinder this movement. That is why they are drawing close to one another within recent months, for the purpose of presenting a united front against any possible move to have the principle of national self-determination applied to the Ukrainians, as they realize that once it is applied there will immediately arise in Eastern Europe a Great Ukraine. That is they distort Ukrainian history in every manner possible, brand the Ukrainian national movement as being inspired by Nazi or Fascistic influences, and continue their machinations to destroy Carpatho-Ukraine and set up a common boundary between Poland and Hungary. They too try to erase from human memory the inspiring date of January 22, 1919, when a united

Ukrainian state was proclaimed in Kiev, including that portion of it which today is known as Carpatho-Ukraine. They realize that this date has great inspirational value to the Ukrainians, for it represents not only freedom but unity as well. "Let me write one word and you can write the rest," said Abraham Lincoln when at the conclusion of the American Civil War he met representatives of both the North and South in order to bring peace between them. The one word he wrote then was—Unity. Such is the great value he placed on it. And such is the value the Ukrainians place on it too. It is eulogized in both their prose and poetry. For it legions of Ukrainians have perished in war, oppression, and in famine. For it they performed great heroic deeds during their war for independence and fought against overwhelming odds even when typhus decimated their ranks by a third, as a result of the Allied blockade, which did not allow the entrance of medical supplies into Ukraine.

Freedom and unity are the twin ideals towards which the Ukrainian people are irresistibly forging today. Will America fall victim to the lies of hostile propaganda and attempt to block or hinder this progress, and thereby prevent a forty-five million liberty-loving nation from attaining its statehood? Will it look with unfriendly eyes at Carpatho-Ukraine, where at long last the half-million Ukrainian population is enjoying the blessing of freedom, in such striking contrast to the seven million Ukrainians across the Polish border, suffering oppression and discrimination, and being denied even a university of their own, although one was guaranteed them by a law passed in the Sejm in 1922.

UKRAINE AND GERMANY

Prior to the World War, during its course, and during the subsequent treaty-making period, various falsehoods were disseminated by the enemies of Ukraine to the effect that there was no Ukrainian nation, nor language, nor literature, but that it was all naught else but "German intrigue," while the very Ukrainians themselves were but a "German invention." One such disseminator of this nonsense is a well known Pole, Prof. Stanislaw Grabski. For years he has been busy trying to convince people that "Ukraine will become a colony of Germany." He has as much scruples in spreading this falsehood as he did during the Polish-Ukrainian war when, as he later proudly admitted, he kept secret a telegram he received from the Paris Peace Conference ordering the cessation of hostilities, and thereby enabled the Poles to make considerable advances, for the Ukrainians had heeded a similar telegram sent to them and were thus caught unprepared.

Here in America a similar attempt is being made to have it appear that the Ukrainian national aspirations and struggle are inspired by Germany. How palpably ridiculous such propaganda is can be judged by the fact that from the very outset of their settlement here the Ukrainian immigrants have expended a great amount of energy and money and made many sacrifices in order to win freedom for the land which they had to leave because of the lack of it. For forty five years their leading newspaper, the daily "Svoboda," has been propagating the ideal of a free and independent Ukraine, based upon American democratic principles, and repeatedly warning that peace is impos-

sible for Eastern Europe as long as Ukraine remains enslaved.

Since its emergence as a modern state, Germany has always been interested in Russia. Yet it was not until the World War that she began to recognize the real Russia. For when the latter began to totter and fall, when hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians in Russian armies refused to continue fighting for Russia, when the foremost Ukrainian parties declared themselves in favor of Ukrainian independence, when a Ukrainian state rose from the ruins, and when, finally, thousands of Ukrainian war-prisoners refused to fight for Russia but declared their eagerness to fight for Ukrainian national freedom, Germany quickly realized that here was a force worth reckoning with. One result of this realization on her part was the Treaty of Brest Litovsk. That she thereupon attempted to exploit Ukraine for her own ends, was to be expected, as it probably would have had in the case of any other power in her position. Yet it is significant that her attempt to exploit Ukraine economically and to meddle in the new born state's internal affairs received a strong setback at the hands of the Ukrainian people.

Today it is to be taken for granted that Germany is quite aware of the power of the Ukrainian national movement for independence. Neither the Soviets, nor Poland, nor Rumania individually or collectively are able to stop it. Realizing this, German diplomacy is endeavoring to make the best of the situation. Yet if such endeavors will consist of a repetition of her policy in 1918, Germany will find the entire Ukrainian

people arrayed against her. Ukrainians are in no mind to exchange one yoke for another.

INTERPRETATIONS PLACED ON GREAT UKRAINE HERE

Ukraine has been the subject of many reports in the American press for the past few months. Yet quite often these reports have been not only inaccurate, far from the truth, but grossly distorted as well. They remind one of the reports foreign correspondents used to send to their papers about Czechoslovakia before catastrophe overtook her. As the "American Mercury" noted last December, had these correspondents reported the true facts about Czechoslovakia, facts which "any intelligent person visiting England and France last spring, could have got. . . in forty-eight hours," then so many people in America would not have been so greatly astonished by the "unexpected" tragedy that had befallen Czechoslovakia. But the correspondents did not send in facts. They gave to the Hitler-hating public that which the publishers thought it wanted. They wrote "about Brother Benes' patriotism, and the lovely Democracy he so carefully cultivated. . ." Naturally, such reporting only hastened the end of Czechoslovakia. Had the truth been revealed about her in time, then perhaps the evils from which she was suffering then could have been remedied, and she could have been then saved. Failure on their part to do this needs to be strongly condemned. "We have no sympathy with an ignorant and hysterical frenzy," declared the "American Mercury," "which paralyzes the historic sense. Historical facts are historical facts, and we believe in paying proper

attention to them, even in dealing with criminals or maniacs." In the case of Czechoslovakia, the fact was that her various minorities, including the Ukrainians, were being denied their guaranteed rights. If this had been revealed in time, then perhaps Benes would still have been in Prague and Czechoslovakia would have remained in the state that she was created.

All this comes to mind in considering the manner in which most of the American press is now treating the movement for Great Ukraine. Because for his own reasons Hitler has become interested in it, all those who oppose him and Germany are not writing the truth about the movement. Instead they are helping to spread the lies of Soviet and Polish propaganda machines. The fact that the Ukrainian national movement is no recent manifestation, that it is solidly grounded in a well developed historical and cultural tradition, that it harkens back to the Ukrainian Kingdom of Kiev of the 10—12 centuries, and to the Ukrainian Kozak State of the 17th century, all this they conveniently overlook or refuse to recognize. Historical personages who played leading roles in this centuries-old movement, such as Ivan Mazepa who warred against Peter the Great for Ukrainian independence and about whom Lord Byron and other poets wrote—mean nothing to them. They also place no significance upon the bloody war Ukrainians waged during the years of 1917 to 1920 for their independence. The oppression they have suffered since then under foreign rule is generally ignored by them. Even when the existence of a terrible famine in Ukraine was undisputedly proven, when a few courageous

correspondents revealed that it was a weapon designed and used by Soviet authorities to break Ukrainian resistance to collectivization and its political and social dominance, many newspapers still printed "reports" of "eyewitnesses" who claimed they had visited Ukraine and had seen no hunger there — as if the Intourist guides would lead them to it! — and who further claimed that the Ukraine in the Soviet framework was free. What is more, some American papers have lent themselves to a deliberate defamation of Ukrainian leaders who in the past led their people towards freedom. Bohdan Khmelnytsky, for example, who threw off the oppressive yoke of Poland in 1648 and established an independent Ukrainian state, and whom even the Communists respect for his liberation of the poor and the oppressed, was labelled in a feature article in a New York daily as "Hitler no. II." And Simon Petlura, who led the Ukrainian armies in the war for freedom twenty years ago, was similarly labelled in this article as "Hitler no. III," on account of the charges made against him that he was responsible for the pogroms in Ukraine during the war, in revenge for which, this one particular paper pointed out, he was slain by Sholom Schwartzbard on the streets of Paris in 1926; yet the truth of the matter is that Petlura was not in the least responsible for the pogroms, and as a Socialist who was very much opposed to anti-semitism he issued strict orders to his troops not to persecute or harm the Jews under the penalty of severe punishment; his assassin, furthermore, was in reality an agent of Moscow, which ordered the murder of this man who had represented the

national aspirations of the Ukrainian people and who was therefore dangerous to it.

Still another example of distortion or juggling of facts pertaining to Ukraine is in the matter of its population. There are approximately forty five million Ukrainians. But only within recent times the American press has begun to quote them correctly, and to point out that the Ukrainians live in a territory that in natural resources is the richest in all Eastern Europe. "Its vast steppes produce the bulk of Russia's corn and wheat," states an Associated Press release. "About 60 per cent of the coal in the Soviet Union is produced there, 65 per cent of the steel, two-thirds of all the agricultural machinery, 80 per cent of the sugar, most of the aluminum, copper, manganese and many other essential minerals. The land abounds in undeveloped natural resources; it is the 'bread-basket of Russia' and as such suffered most heavily under the Bolshevik 'Kulak liquidation' which left sores of disaffection there against the Communist regime."

Yet in many instances the sole purpose of presenting these correct statistics now, is to show what a great power Germany will become if Hitler should succeed in establishing his sway over Ukraine. Apparently it does not occur to those who are afraid that such possibility might come true that the best way to guarantee that it won't is to help the Ukrainians free themselves of their oppressors and become masters of their native land. Once they do, the world will have gained another democratic power, and, furthermore, there will be no further need for fears, such as those recently expressed by a foreign editor for a large

news service, as to what will happen to the Jews if Ukraine falls into Hitler's hands. It should be noted that nothing is happening to them in Carpatho-Ukraine, which some claim is under Hitler's domination. Although there is plenty of persecution of Jews in Ukrainian lands which are ruled by foreign governments, namely Russian Soviet, Polish and Rumanian, yet in autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine, ruled by Ukrainians themselves, there is none. As Monsignor Augustin Voloshyn, Premier of this government, stated to G.E.R. Gedye, correspondent of the New York Times, (January 17, 1939): "There will be no racial legislation against our Jews, who amount to 12 per cent of our population. We regard them exactly as any other citizens. They are scattered throughout the country. Every village has its proportion of Jews. There may be legislation against certain evils with which some Jews are connected, such as charging too high rates of interest to the peasantry, but that will certainly not show either racial or religious discrimination."

Let us further consider what is being written in the press concerning Carpatho-Ukraine itself. In very many instances it is presented as an impoverished land, and therefore the recommendation is made that these "poor" people (there are about one-half million of them) be saved by handing them over to the tender mercies of Hungary, a land from which hundreds of thousands had to flee to America on account of its poverty and oppressive policies. In reality the people in Carpatho-Ukraine are much better off there now than they ever have been before, at least because of the money, food and supplies being sent them by Uk-

rainian-Americans, especially through the medium of the United Ukrainian Organizations of the United States, which publish monthly reports of the extent of this aid being sent to the Carpatho-Ukrainians.

Another allegation seen very often in the American press is that Carpatho-Ukraine will serve as a "base for Hitler's drive to the East," and therefore its existence is not desirable. Only within very recent times has anyone troubled himself to inquire what the opinion of the Ukrainians themselves is on this point. The New York Times correspondent did, and in its January 17, 1939 issue he quoted Premier Voloshyn's reply in the matter: "...Carpatho-Ukraine cannot work for the creation of a Great Ukraine. Our little country is far too small to mix itself up in matters of that kind. Of course we Ukrainians feel that a nation like ours of more than 40,000,000 must some day be able to form its own state, but I would not like to attempt to fix the date by saying that this would happen in the near future."

Gradually, however, the American press is beginning to report facts pertaining to Ukraine in a more truthful and fair manner. A good example of this fairer treatment of it is the United Press dispatch sent from Hust, capital of Carpatho-Ukraine, on December 17, 1938, wherein it is stated that: "Hope is brighter than ever for realization of the old dream of a Greater Ukraine uniting more than 40,000,000 Ukrainians in Ruthenia, Poland, Roumania and Soviet Russia, according to the independence movement leaders. Strong feeling exists against domination by Germany, regardless of the fact that Nazi aid is the chief hope

of the movement. . . Ruthenians hope the western democracies, such as Britain and France, as well as Ukrainians in the United States, will give them economic and moral help to avoid domination by Berlin."

Insofar as their kinsmen in America are concerned, as already mentioned, this hope for aid has not been in vain. In his New Year's speech, Premier Voloshyn is reported to have expressed his deep appreciation to the Ukrainian immigrants in America for aid, by which they hope to make possible the rise of a free Great Ukraine; while in the February 14, 1939 issue of The New York Times, it is reported that: Carpatho-Ukraine newspapers today printed an appeal to Ukrainians throughout the world to donate the state one-half per cent of their annual income. The belief was directed primarily, it is believed, to Ukrainians in the United States."

Along which lines the Ukrainian leaders intend to develop Carpatho-Ukraine, could be seen from the report of the New York Times, of March 2, 1939; "Optimism regarding the future of Carpatho-Ukraine was voiced today by Premier Augustin Voloshin. He announced that Huszt would remain the provincial capital, and the new Diet would meet Monday and the school system would be radically changed along the lines of the American system of grammar school, high school and college."

Perhaps the near future will bring greater understanding here in America of the Ukrainian national movement. But whether it will or not depends a great deal upon whether the American

people will heed such advice as that of Senator Robert C. Reynolds of North Carolina, who recently returned from a trip to Europe. "What we should do is to open our eyes and release our ears," he said, "and find out what's going on in the world." Then they shall recognize the flimsiness of the allegations made by various "leftists" that the Ukrainian national movement is fascistic, and likewise realize that, as the Chicago Daily Times (December 12, 1938) pointed out, "the word 'Fascist' has become a simple term of abuse for everything that the liberals and the left-wingers dislike."

By opening their eyes and ears, Americans will also gain a clearer conception of conditions in Western Ukraine under Poland, and of the struggle Ukrainians are waging there to win their autonomy. A short time ago a formal plea for this autonomy was made in the Sejm by the Ukrainian members of it, but it was speedily rejected. This plea was the latest of the many legal measures taken by UNDO, the leading Ukrainian party in Poland, which has constantly sought to normalize Polish-Ukrainian relations and win Ukrainian autonomy by methods which can not in the least be construed as being disloyal to Poland. Even such methods, however, are deliberately misconstrued by many American papers who allege that they are prompted by Berlin. Yet the autonomy the Ukrainians demand was guaranteed by Poland herself. The preamble to the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors at Paris (March 15, 1923) specifically states that: "Whereas it is recognized by Poland that as far as the Eastern part of Galicia is concerned, the ethnographic

conditions necessitate an autonomous regime." On October 5, 1932, Sir John Simon, then Foreign Secretary of Great Britain wrote that the Polish Government's actual obligations in regards to the establishment of an autonomous regime in Eastern Galicia "derive from the sentence in the preamble to the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors" and that "The views of His Majesty's Government on the desirability of an autonomous regime in Eastern Galicia are expressed in that sentence, and will remain unchanged."

The struggle to win Ukrainian autonomy has been waged from the very start of Polish occupation of Ukrainian territories. It involved, among other tragedies, the suicide of a prominent Ukrainian leader, Dr. Volodimir Bachynsky, as a result of his despair upon discovering that his policy of utmost loyalty to Poland as a means of securing autonomy for his people, was being exploited by her in a manner that made even more intolerable the position of the Ukrainians. The struggle for autonomy was also responsible for the assassination of a prominent Pole, Thaddeus Golufko. Furthermore, autonomy for the Ukrainians was the price offered by Poland to the Government of the Western Ukrainian Republic in return for its consent to the incorporation of Ukrainian territory by Poland. And yet all this does not prevent Polish circles, and even some American ones as well, to represent this struggle for Ukrainian autonomy is a result of pressure from Berlin. Certainly there is pressure being exerted on UNDO in this struggle, but it is of a different sort and from a different source. "A good many of the Ukrainian leaders," writes the

Manchester Guardian (January 6, 1939), "urge 'more drastic methods.' These are held to be indispensable to satisfy the youth and the masses in the villages who are pressing for action and getting very impatient with those U.N.D.O. leaders who, because they are members of the Diet and occupy exposed positions, seem inclined to compromise."

This is a fact which the great "champions" of democracy in America should realize, that the demand for autonomy is being inspired not by Hitler but by the poverty stricken and terrorized "masses in the villages." These masses of Ukrainian people are oppressed in every manner possible, and from time to time they are also "pacified" in the most barbaric manner by the Polish authorities. One illustration of this is the case of Mrs. Blashkevich, a prominent figure in the Ukrainian farm cooperative system, who was terribly beaten by a military punitive party,*) another is a recent

*) Her affidavit was published in "The Ukrainian Weekly," Jersey City, N. J., January 21, 1939. In her statement, she says, in part:

"The soldiers, their bayonets fixed, encircled us on all sides. "Undress yourself, completely!" the officer barked at us. No one made any move to obey him. Undress yourself, immediately!" he shouted. I asked him how could I, a woman, undress in the presence of all these men. "That makes no difference. Undress!" he ordered. Already the soldiers were tearing clothes off the others. I removed my garments until I stood only in my slip. The soldiers leaped upon the prisoners and tried to make them lie down, and when the latter would not, began to beat them with stout sticks over the head, face, arms, and body, shouting at the same time, "Beat it, you dogs! So you want a free Ukraine!" Ivan Blashkevich spread his arms wide and cried: "Go ahead and beat me, like they beat Christ." He too was beaten

speech delivered in the Polish Sejm by Deputy Stephen Wytwytsky, about the sufferings of Ukrainians under Polish rule.*) Perhaps it will make

and told, "Take your rags and get out of here!" I was now left alone. "Lie down!" I made no move to obey. "Candidate to the Sejm, lie down, or else we'll put you down!" I lay down, face to the ground, hoping thereby to avoid being beaten over the face and head like the others. The soldiers began to rain blows on me. When I tried to shield myself with my hands, they beat them too. Then the officer told one of his men to sit on my head and another on my feet. When they had done this, two others began to strike me, giving me twenty strokes apiece. They beat me with thick sticks they had broken off a tree. Finally I heard the command, "Stop!" I thought they were done with me, and sat up. A moment later, another command: "Lay down again!" Forty more blows were given me. This time I was unable even to move. "She's feigning, trying to make us think she has fainted," I heard the officer say. "Give her forty more strokes to revive her." And again the blows rained on me. I lost consciousness.

"When I came to, I felt the officer shaking me. "Don't you ever dare to do any more agitating. We'll always be around somewhere nearby, and we'll know everything you do. If you try to do any more agitating, we'll come back and leave not even one stone unturned of your house. Get up, take your rags, and march home. When you get there look into a mirror, and on your front you'll see a map of Carpatho-Ukraine, while on your back you'll see a map of Greater-Ukraine."

* The deputy said:

"In the last few months of 1938 there waged a veritable war against Ukrainian social, economic, and cultural institutions... Mobs of Polish youths and students, armed with weapons ranging from stones to iron bars, proceeded from one Ukrainian institution to another. Windows were smashed, doors battered down, stores ransacked and their contents set alight. And if anybody happened to be present, they were attacked and beaten-up."

clear to some that it is not necessary for Berlin or any other foreign center to stir up rebellion among the Ukrainians under Poland. This function is being performed very capably by Poland herself.

And as for the views of Ukrainian leaders under Poland in respect to the movement for Great Ukraine, the Manchester Guardian points out that they have no desire "that the united Ukraine should become a German Abyssinia or Manchukuo."

UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM

The desire to aid the country of their origin recover its liberties and independence is not limited only to Ukrainian Americans. Ukrainian Canadians are likewise imbued with this desire. Lately, their efforts in this connection were touched upon during the course of a radio address on the subject of "Nationalism," delivered by Prof. George W. Simpson over Station C.F.Q.C. in Saskatoon. Some of his remarks are very apropos here. "Because the British Commonwealth of Nations has achieved at least some measure of success in solv-

"To take a single date. On November 3rd, ten shops of the Maslo-Soyuz (Dairy Cooperatives) were attacked in Lviw alone. The same fate befell the headquarters of the Ukrainian Cooperative and the Theological Seminary where even a picture of Jesus Christ was destroyed..."

(He enumerated a long list of institutions similarly treated.)

"The Ukrainian nation is writing its history in blood. We have suffered long, but our sufferings have brought with them moral strength, and they will help us to achieve our national ideal."

(Cf. "The Ukrainian Weekly," Jersey City, N. J., Jan. 18, 1939.)

ing national problems on a basis of equality, respect and freedom, and because there are in Canada over a quarter million people of Ukrainian origin," he writes, "it is altogether fitting that the Canadian and British people should regard at least understandingly the national sympathies for those whose destinies have thus been so closely and strangely linked with their own."

Referring to Ukrainian Nationalism, he said:

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

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

for political expression and freedom, with consequent disaster to European stability.

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

“For various historical reasons Ukrainian nationalism has been one of the latest of European national movements in its modern manifestation. As with the beginning of every other national movement those who are adversely affected declare that the movement is artificial, that it is the result of foreign intrigues or personal ambitions, that its historical justification is unfounded, that its language basis is unsound, that there is no capable leadership, and that the realization of its objective is impracticable. With regard to all these objections when applied to Ukrainian nationalism one can only say that those who maintain them are unaware of the nature of national movements generally or are misinformed in respect of the recent developments among the Ukrainian people in Europe and elsewhere. The Ukrainian national movement is a widespread and genuine expression of nationalism and conforms to the traditional pattern of group consciousness seeking political expression. It has for its ultimate objective the creation of a united, independent Ukrainian state, including roughly the eastern autonomous section of Czecho-Slovakia, now called Carpathian Ukraine; the south Eastern section of Poland, known generally as East Galicia; Bukovina

and part of Bessarabia, now belonging to Rumania; and the present Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic.”

WHAT WILL AMERICA'S ANSWER BE?

Whether one likes it or not, the fact remains that the Ukrainian Cause has attained international importance. The world is beginning to realize that it is no longer possible to keep forty-five million people in subjugation, even with the aid of terrorism. Thus, the democracies, especially America, are now finding themselves confronted with the necessity of making a decision on whether this enslaved nation with its thousand year old historical and cultural tradition, with its location in one of the richest parts of the globe, will be further deprived of its right to national self-determination, a right expressly dangled before it after the World War by the democracies themselves.

Back in 1775 when America was on the eve of a revolution that was to bring it freedom and lead it to greatness, the last stronghold of Ukrainian liberties, the famed Zaporozhian Kozak Sitch below the Dnieper rapids, had just been destroyed by the “liberal” Catherine the Great of Russia. Today when events are shaping themselves in a manner that augurs the speedy revival of these Ukrainian liberties, it would do well for America to remember her own struggle to gain her national birthright and lend a hand to the Ukrainians to win theirs—especially since an independent Great Ukraine is bound to live on the most

peaceable and cooperative terms with America, as there can be no conflict of interests between these two democratically-minded people. Therefore let us all aid in the restoring of freedom for Ukraine and, in the words of Taras Shevchenko, help build it as a state on the "just principles of the land of Washington."



