

## UKRAINE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A BRIEF SURVEY

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In Czarist Russia the Ukrainians occupied all the southern provinces around the Black Sea: Bessarabia (together with Rumanians), Podolia, Volhynia, Kholm, Kiev, Chernihiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Kherson, Tavria and the Crimea, along with remnants of the Tatars), the Caucasian Black Sea country, Kuban, and Stavropol; the southern parts of Grodno, Minsk, Kursk, and Voronezh provinces, and Ukrainians also were mixed with the Don and Terek Kozaks in their provinces. Ukrainian colonies crossed the Volga River between Saratov and Tsaritsyn (Volgograd), and were intermittently to be found up to the Sea of Japan, forming two larger accumulations, one in the northeast of Kazakhstan: "Siryi Klyn" (The Grey Wedge), and the other between the Amur River and the Sea of Japan: "Zelenyi Klyn" (The Green Wedge).

In Austria-Hungary the Ukrainians, officially called the Ruthenians (a Latin derivate), occupied Eastern Galicia, Bukovina, and the northeastern part of the Carpathian Mountains in Hungary (Carpatho-Ukraine). In Galicia the provincial government was in the hands of the Poles, who treated the Ukrainians as an inferior race but who could not deny the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) national identity; nevertheless, they constantly attempted to Polonize the Ukrainians. In South Bukovina the Ukrainians were mixed with Rumanians, who were of the same Orthodox faith and who sought to Rumanize the Ukrainians through their common metropolitan. In Hungary the government had gradually Magyarized the Ukrainians since 1867.<sup>1</sup>

The idea of Ukrainian independence rose not in Galicia under the Austrian imperial regime, although there were a few Ukrainian chairs at the University in Lviv, eight state high schools and a like number of private Ukrainian ones, Ukrainian elementary schools in the villages, a Ukrainian press, and cultural, economic, and sport societies. Instead, this idea rose in Ukraine under the Czarist des-

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<sup>1</sup> Clarence A. Manning, *Twentieth-Century Ukraine*, p. 19.

potism where the use of the Ukrainian language was forbidden in all schools and churches, and where any publications in Ukrainian also were proscribed. As early as 1900 the secret Ukrainian Revolutionary Party had been formed with the independence of Ukraine as its aim. Members of this party fell under the influence of the Russian socialist parties, and consequently they formed various affiliations of the Ukrainian Socialists who were active during the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917.<sup>2</sup>

At the beginning of World War I Galician and Bukovinian Ukrainian political leaders formed the "Main Ukrainian *Rada*" (Council), which was loyal to the Austrian government, and called upon the Ukrainian people to enlist in the Legion of the Ukrainian *Sich* Riflemen. (The name *Sich* was taken from the name of the Ukrainian Kozak fortress upon the Dnieper River, destroyed in 1775 by Catherine II.) A few East Ukrainian political emigres in Austria organized the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine."<sup>3</sup> Some East Ukrainian political leaders, however, wished at the time to see all Ukraine united within the Russian Empire<sup>4</sup> as a federated republic.

Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky, professor at the University in Lviv, who had returned to Russia from Austria in order to avoid arrest as a "Russophile" by the Austrians, was arrested in Kiev by the Russian police and sent to the Volga region. Also, the Ukrainian Uniate Metropolitan Andrew Count Sheptytsky was arrested when the Russians entered Lviv in September, 1914, and sent to Kursk. Both were liberated by the Russian Revolution in 1917, and returned as Ukrainian national heroes. Hrushevsky came back to Kiev just at the time that the Ukrainian socialist parties—the Social-Democratic, the Social-Revolutionary, and the Party of the Social Federalists—were organizing the "Ukrainian Central *Rada*" (Council). Hrushevsky became the leader of the *Rada*, and joined the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party.<sup>5</sup>

The Ukrainian Central *Rada* demanded of the Russian Provisional Government the autonomy of Ukraine, but the Russian Prime Minister, Prince Lvov, did not reply. The Ukrainian Central *Rada* thereupon (April 19, 1917) summoned the All-Ukrainian National Congress in Kiev. Subsequently convened were two military

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<sup>2</sup> *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, Ed. by V. Kubijovych, vol. I, 1963, pp. 689-96.

<sup>3</sup> Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35-6.

congresses and the Congress of Peasants' Delegates. All these broadly representative congresses supported the *Rada* in its demand for Ukrainian autonomy. This was especially true of the Second Ukrainian Military Congress, which was held in Kiev on June 18-23 against the wishes of Alexander Kerensky, Minister of War in the Provisional Government.<sup>6</sup> The latter then decided to negotiate with the Ukrainians. The five Russian Cadet ministers, among them Prime Minister Lvov, thereupon resigned from the Cabinet on July 15, 1917, in protest against the intention of their socialist colleagues to grant autonomy to Ukraine in advance of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.<sup>7</sup> The socialists Kerensky, Tereshchenko and Tseretelli reached a compromise with the Ukrainian Central *Rada* under which Ukraine would be governed by the *Rada*, the *Rada* would not press its demand for Ukrainian autonomy until the convocation of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, and the supreme command of the Ukrainian armed forces would still remain in Russian hands.<sup>8</sup>

The Provisional Government, however, decided to arrest the members of the Ukrainian government when the Ukrainian Central *Rada* published on July 29, 1917, its Statute of the Higher Administration of Ukraine. Enmity rose steadily between these two governments, but the troubles of the Provisional Government with the Bolsheviks prevented it from carrying out its plan to dismiss the Ukrainian government. With the Bolshevik overthrow of the Provisional Government, the Ukrainian Central *Rada* proclaimed on November 20, 1917, the Ukrainian National Republic. The Bolsheviks purportedly recognized the right of a nation to self-determination and even to separation. But in fact they did not hesitate to interfere in the activities of the Ukrainian government, because in the conception of their messianic mission the Communist Party was to keep under its domination all other groups and peoples, by force of arms if necessary.<sup>9</sup>

The Bolsheviks called an assembly in Kiev on December 17, 1917, but at this meeting (which was allowed by the Ukrainian Central *Rada*) the Ukrainians voted their support of the *Rada*. The Bolsheviks withdrew only after failing to disrupt the proceedings. At Kharkiv the Bolsheviks established a government of the Ukrainian Soviet (in Ukrainian: "Radyanska") Socialist Republic, headed by two

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38-40.

<sup>7</sup> Bernard Pares, *A History of Russia*, 1947 p. 474; Frederick L. Schuman, *Russia Since 1917*, 1957 p. 74.

<sup>8</sup> Manning, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-1

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-5.

Russians and a Ukrainian Jew. In the support of this fictional government Soviet Russia sent in an army, one of whose leaders was the Ukrainian George Kotsiubynsky, son of the prominent Ukrainian writer, Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky.<sup>10</sup>

In order to defeat Ukraine the Soviet government began to negotiate with the Central Powers in Brest Litovsk on December 3, 1917.<sup>11</sup> The armistice at the front allowed the Bolshevik troops to march through Ukraine and to attempt to persuade the Ukrainian army to desert by crying, "Peace."<sup>12</sup>

#### THE WAR IN UKRAINE

In this situation the Ukrainian Central *Rada* decided to send its own delegation to Brest Litovsk on January 12, 1918. Passing through Lviv, the Ukrainian delegates took the opportunity to establish contact with the local Ukrainian political leaders and scholars. In Brest Litovsk they surprised the German and Austro-Hungarian delegations with their demand not only for the recognition of Ukrainian independence but also for the inclusion in the Ukrainian state of the Ukrainian territories under Austro-Hungarian rule (Eastern Galicia, Bukovina, and Carpatho-Ukraine).<sup>13</sup>

In the meantime the Ukrainian Central *Rada* proclaimed (January 22, 1918) the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic.<sup>14</sup> When the Bolshevik troops approached Kiev,<sup>15</sup> the Ukrainian Central *Rada* was compelled to move to Zhytomyr. On February 9, 1918, the Bolsheviks entered Kiev and commenced a reign of terror. Over five thousand civilians fell in the massacre of those suspected of being anti-Bolshevik.<sup>16</sup>

On the same day (February 9) the Ukrainian delegation signed a treaty with the Central Powers,<sup>17</sup> which recognized the independence of Ukraine, including the territory claimed by the Ukrainian Central *Rada* and that section which was occupied by the Germans and the Austrians. The Ukrainians asked the Central Powers for military aid against the Bolsheviks, in return promising the Central Powers a million tons of food. The Central Powers promised to return to

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 46-7.

<sup>11</sup> Schuman, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91-2.

<sup>13</sup> Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>15</sup> Alan Moorehead, *The Russian Revolution*, 1958, p. 270.

<sup>16</sup> Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>17</sup> Alan Moorehead, *The Russian Revolution*, p. 278.

Ukraine all their prisoners of war and to arm and equip them for the struggle against the Bolsheviks. Set up in a secret protocol between the Ukrainian delegation and Austro-Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs Count Czernin, a Hungarian, was the establishment in the Austrian Empire of a Ukrainian autonomous crown province consisting of the Ukrainian parts of Galicia and Bukovina, but not of Carpatho-Ukraine, subjugated by Hungary. This arrangement was kept secret because of the Poles, who exerted a great influence upon Austrian policy and who had protested against the return to Ukraine of the Kholm province, which back in 1912 had been separated from the former Congress Poland by the Russian Czarist government. This at the time had met with no strenuous objections on the part of the Poles. (In 1918 the Poles did cry out against the "fourth partition of Poland."<sup>18</sup>)

In accordance with the agreement between the Ukrainian delegation and the Central Powers, the general advance of the Germans and the Austro-Hungarians against the Bolsheviks started on February 17, 1918.<sup>19</sup> By March 1, 1918, the Bolsheviks had been driven out of Kiev, and the Ukrainian Central *Rada* was able to return.<sup>20</sup> The Bolsheviks were compelled to renew their negotiations with the Central Powers in Brest Litovsk, signing a treaty there on March 3, 1918. In consequence of that treaty Russia lost 1,267,000 square miles with 62,000,000 people, a third of its best crop areas, half of its industrial plants and three quarters of its coal and iron.<sup>21</sup> The Bolsheviks promised to leave Ukraine and to negotiate the Ukrainian-Russian boundaries<sup>22</sup> with the Ukrainian government.

But the German forces in Ukraine acted as if they were the real masters of the country. Without consulting the Ukrainian Central *Rada* they instituted their own methods of collection of grain. When the Ukrainian Central *Rada* protested against their methods, German troops surrounded the *Rada* building on April 28, 1918, and forced the *Rada* to disperse.

In pursuance of an agreement with Field Marshal von Eichhorn, the Commander-in-Chief of the German army in Ukraine, the great landowners held a congress on April 29, 1918, which elected as the new *hetman* of Ukraine General Paul Skoropadsky, a descendant of the eighteenth-century *hetman* of the Ukrainian Kozaks, Ivan Skoro-

<sup>18</sup> Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>19</sup> Moorehead, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

<sup>20</sup> Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>21</sup> Schuman, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>22</sup> Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

padsky. Many Ukrainian nationalist and socialist intellectuals and the commanding staff of the Kievan *Sich* Riflemen boycotted the *hetman's* government. In consequence Russian intellectuals and military officers occupied the most important positions in this government. The discontent of the Ukrainians with Skoropadsky's regime was exploited by the Bolshevik diplomats in Kiev: Christian Rakovsky, a Rumanian Jew, and Dmytro Manuilsky, a Ukrainian Communist. They delayed their negotiations with the *hetman's* government concerning the Ukrainian-Russian peace treaty and boundaries, meanwhile trying to instigate the Ukrainian socialists into a revolt against Skoropadsky, assuring them of Soviet aid and the independence of Ukraine.<sup>23</sup>

In the meantime the Central Powers went down to defeat. Seeking freedom, as were other nations of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Ukrainian representatives of Galicia and Bukovina under the presidency of Dr. Eugene Petrushevych, a lawyer, established in Lviv, on October 18, 1918, the Ukrainian National *Rada* of the Western Ukrainian National Republic, consisting of Eastern Galicia, Northwestern Bukovina, and Northeastern Hungary. Early on November 1, 1918, in Lviv, Ukrainian soldiers of the Austrian army who had been stationed in Eastern Galicia disarmed their colleagues of other nationalities and occupied all the government buildings, where later Ukrainian political leaders established their offices. The Ukrainian soldiers, however, were attacked by Polish military officers, soldiers, and university students. A battalion of Ukrainian *Sich* Riflemen left Bukovina for Lviv, thereby allowing the Rumanians to occupy this province without a struggle. The battalion of *Sich* Riflemen was too small to cope with the Polish troops sent in from Cracow through Peremyshl and the Ukrainians were forced to leave Lviv on November 22, 1918. The Western Ukrainian government moved to Ternopil, and later to Stanislaviv.<sup>24</sup>

Deprived of the support of the Germans, Skoropadsky now tried to curry favor with the Allies by proclaiming on November 14, 1918, a federation of Ukraine with a non-Red Russia to be restored after the defeat of the Bolsheviks. This proclamation caused the Ukrainians to revolt against Skoropadsky. On December 14, 1918, the *hetman* abdicated and settled in Berlin. In Kiev a Directorate, consisting of five members as the government of the Ukrainian National Republic, was established. The former General Secretary of the Ukrainian Central *Rada*, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, was its head; the

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58-9.

first Secretary of Military Affairs, Simon Petlura, became vice head of this Directorate and the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Army. In February, 1919, Petlura succeeded Vynnychenko as head of the Directorate.<sup>25</sup>

On January 22, 1919, the Western Ukrainian National Republic united with the Ukrainian National Republic. The Western Ukrainians counted on receiving the aid of the Ukrainian National Republic against the Poles. But the Bolsheviks forced the army of Petlura to evacuate Kiev on February 4, 1919. His army, supported by the Ukrainian Galician troops, held back the Bolsheviks on the rivers Horyn and Zbruch in the spring of 1919 in the course of the latter's march to Hungary to support the Communist revolution under Bela Kun. France meanwhile equipped the Polish divisions under General Joseph Haller, who forced the Western Ukrainian (Galician) army to retire eastwards in July of 1919.<sup>26</sup>

The now united Ukrainian forces were able to defeat the Bolsheviks and to re-occupy Kiev on August 30, 1919. At the same time the White Russian army of Czarist General Denikin approached the capital of Ukraine. The Ukrainian command, wishing to conclude an alliance with Denikin's army against the Bolsheviks, sent a Galician general to Denikin's staff to negotiate. Denikin's troops used this opportunity to enter Kiev as friends of the Ukrainian Galician Army, where they proceeded to disarm the Galician units. Consequently, the Ukrainians were compelled to leave Kiev,<sup>27</sup> but continued their struggles against both the Red Russians (Bolsheviks) and the White ones (Denikin). An epidemic of typhus broke out in the Ukrainian armies, decimating their ranks, in the fall of 1919. This calamitous blow forced the Ukrainian Galician Army to conclude a treaty with Denikin's army, while Petlura sought asylum in Poland.<sup>28</sup>

In mid-October of 1919 the Bolsheviks crushed Denikin's forces at Orel and Voronezh, and then expelled the Whites from Ukraine, using slogans of its liberation from the old Czarist regime which had denied Ukrainian nationhood. On April 4, 1920, Denikin withdrew in favor of Baron Peter Wrangel in the Crimea and fled abroad.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 54-5, 65.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 61.

<sup>27</sup> Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 405; reviewed by N. Andrusiak, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, vol. XVIII, 1962, pp. 87-8.

<sup>28</sup> Manning, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8.

<sup>29</sup> Schuman, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-20. Michael Terpak, "The Monolithic Myth of the USSR," *Vital Speeches of the Day*, vol. XXVI, No. 10, 1960, p. 315.

But on April 24, 1920, Petlura as head of the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic, concluded an alliance with Polish Marshal Joseph Pilsudski, by which Petlura relinquished Western Ukraine to Poland. In exchange Pilsudski promised to liberate that part of Ukraine west of the Dnieper River, including Kiev, to occupy this territory with the Polish army, and, under his protection, to facilitate the organization by Petlura of a national Ukrainian government and state.

On May 7, 1920, the Polish-Ukrainian army reached and entered Kiev. But the return of the Polish great landowners to their former estates in Ukraine provided fuel for the Bolshevik anti-Polish propaganda aimed at the Ukrainian peasants. Moreover, Czarist General Brussilov rallied to the defense of Russia against the Poles. Soon (June 13) Budenny's cavalry forced the Poles to quit Kiev. During the summer the Bolsheviks occupied Volhynia and Podolia and entered Eastern Galicia, whose southern part was defended by the troops of the Ukrainian National Republic along the Dniester River, as well as by the old fortress Zamosc, manned by the Ukrainian Kievan division. In late August, 1920, the Bolsheviks were pushed back toward the east but on October 11, 1920, Pilsudski obtained an armistice by agreeing not to support the army of the Ukrainian National Republic any longer.

The armistice allowed the Bolsheviks to crush Wrangel's army in the Crimea, November 7-14; its remnants fled to Istanbul in British, French, and American warships. A week later the army of the Ukrainian National Republic was pushed by the Bolsheviks westward to the Zbruch River, where it was disarmed by its recent allies, the Poles, on November 22, 1920, and the war was over. A small group of Ukrainian soldiers did escape from Polish internment camps in the fall of 1921 and attempted partisan warfare against the Bolsheviks, but they were quickly rounded up by the latter; 376 Ukrainian prisoners were machine-gunned to death by order of Bolshevik General Yakir on November 21, 1921, near Bazar in Volhynia.<sup>30</sup>

Thanks to the Ukrainian-Russian war, Poland was able to compel the Bolsheviks to yield the territories with Ukrainian and Byelorussian populations in the Treaty of Riga, March 18, 1921. Poland received, outside of the so-called Congress Poland in which the Ukrainian Kholm province was included, 110,000 square kilometers, with a population of about 4,000,000.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Pares, *op. cit.*, p. 485. Schuman, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-3. Alexander Skrzynski, *Poland and Peace*, 1923, pp. 42-6. Manning, *op. cit.*, Maxim Litvinov, *Notes for a Journal*, 1955, p. 280.

<sup>31</sup> Skrzynski, *op. cit.*, p. 46. Bernard Pares, *Russia*, 1952, p. 65.

After the defeat of the Ukrainian national forces the Russian Bolsheviks established the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. A paper republic, its higher administration was composed of exactly those persons who had sat in Moscow previously. The conduct of its foreign affairs and defense was handed over to the All-Union government, although for a while the custom was followed of allowing a Ukrainian secretary in all the Soviet missions sent abroad. The Soviet government tolerated the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev, established by *Hetman* Skoropadsky, and it permitted the use of the Ukrainian language in the schools and the administration.

In 1929 a stronger Soviet government began to persecute the Ukrainian scholars and writers. Harsher and harsher methods were introduced to extract grain from the unwilling peasants. In 1931 a drought and poor harvest hit Ukraine. The Soviet government had long awaited such an opportunity. It created the artificial famine of 1931-32. The peasants were left at the approach of winter without food supplies and with no way of securing any, even though there was an abundance of grain in the hands of the government. The government cruelly refused to allow even the smallest amounts of food to be brought into the area from any source, on the ground that the shortage had been caused by anti-governmental activity. When news of the famine leaked out to the outside world, the Soviet government brazenly denied its existence and forbade the Soviet papers to publish any reports on it. Foreign correspondents were denied permission to visit the stricken area; far too many of them obsequiously accepted the Soviet version of events. An outstanding exception was William Henry Chamberlin, who reported the full extent of the horror. Nearly 10 per cent of the rural population—some five million people—perished that winter in Ukraine.<sup>32</sup>

#### WESTERN UKRAINE UNDER POLAND

The Council of the Ambassadors of the Allies recognized Eastern Galicia as a part of Poland on March 15, 1923, despite President Wilson's Fourteen Points and the protest of the Western Ukrainian government in exile. The Polish government undertook a policy of forced assimilation and disintegration of the Ukrainian communities and of exerting pressure on the outstanding Ukrainian leaders. The large estates of Polish landowners were distributed among Poles in order to alter the character of the population in the predominantly Ukrainian districts. The government refused to allow the establishment of

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<sup>32</sup> Manning, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-93.

a Ukrainian university in Lviv, and the Polish police persecuted a secret Ukrainian university. Only a negligible number of Ukrainian students were admitted to the Polish universities. The Ukrainian elementary and secondary schools were Polonized gradually. In Volhynia, the Kholm province, Pidlassia and Polissia, Orthodox priests were compelled to use Polish in their official acts. Many Orthodox churches in the Kholm province and Pidlassia were destroyed by the Polish police and by mobs in 1920-22 and in 1938. In Galicia in 1930 Pilsudski ordered and carried out a cruel "pacification" of the Ukrainians by units of the Polish army.<sup>33</sup> As a consequence the Poles earned the enmity of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian populations.<sup>34</sup>

The Rumanians virtually liquidated the entire Ukrainian school system in Bukovina by introducing the Rumanian language into it. The government attempted to repress all manifestations of Ukrainian activity.<sup>35</sup>

Carpatho-Ukraine, under the name "Podkarpatska Rus," had been occupied since 1919 by the Czechoslovak Republic. The Minority Treaty signed by Czechoslovakia provided for this province "the widest autonomy compatible with the unity of the Republic." In reality, the Czechs placed the administrative power of this country in the hands of Czech officials. Nonetheless, the rule of the Czechs was more enlightened than the former Hungarian one.

In the fall of 1938 Carpatho-Ukraine had become autonomous, but after three weeks a decision by both Hitler and Mussolini deprived it of the area surrounding the two principal cities, Uzhorod and Mukachevo. Its capital became Hust. Elections for the Carpatho-Ukrainian diet on February 12, 1939, supported the government of the educator, Monsignor Augustine Voloshyn. At the first meeting of the newly elected representatives Monsignor Voloshyn was installed as president, but on the same day, March 14, the Germans occupied the Czech provinces, and by agreement with Hitler the Hungarian government ordered the withdrawal of all Czech troops from Carpatho-Ukraine and invaded the country. The Hungarians, equipped with modern weapons, attacked the small troops of the Carpatho-Ukrainian *Sich*-Riflemen. The Ukrainian resistance was crushed in a few days. The Hungarians executed the Carpatho-Ukrainian officials and soldiers who fell into their hands and the province was reor-

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<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 107-114.

<sup>34</sup> Norman J. G. Pounds, *Poland Between the Two Wars, Ferment in Eastern Europe*, 1965, pp. 23-4.

<sup>35</sup> Manning, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-6.

ganized as Ugro-Rus'. Ukrainian schools were closed, and the institutions that had come into being in the Czechoslovakian period were abolished.<sup>36</sup>

#### UKRAINE DURING WORLD WAR II

On August 23, 1939, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union signed a "pact of friendship and non-aggression." Its immediate result was the German attack on Poland on September 1, 1939. Warsaw and Lviv held out for a few days. When the Soviet Union announced on September 17, 1939, that the Red Army had invaded Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia in order to take "under Soviet protection" the lives and properties of the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians, the Polish command in Lviv decided to surrender Lviv to the Bolsheviks.<sup>37</sup>

According to the agreement between Ribbentrop and Molotov of September 23, 1939, the new Soviet-German boundary was established on the rivers Bug and San. West of these rivers, the Kholm province, and the Carpathian belt of the Ukrainian mountaineers, the Lemkos, fell under German occupation. Also a belt of Ukrainian settlements along the San River and its tributaries joined the Lemko country with the Kholm province. During the Polish regime in 1919-39 the Poles had not allowed the founding there of any Ukrainian schools and had destroyed or transformed into Roman Catholic the Ukrainian Orthodox churches. The German officials allowed Ukrainian schools and restored to the Orthodox Ukrainians some of the churches appropriated by the Roman Catholics.<sup>38</sup>

On June 27, 1940, the Soviet Union restored to Ukraine the northwestern part of Bukovina and the northwestern and southeastern parts of Bessarabia; Central Bessarabia, with its mixed Ukrainian and Moldavian population, became the Moldavian SSR.<sup>39</sup> But during the German occupation of Ukraine in 1941-44 Hitler returned Bukovina and Bessarabia to Rumania, adding, moreover, southeastern Podolia and the Odessa region. In their policies upon the Ukrainians the Rumanians followed the example of their German allies.<sup>40</sup>

The first victories of the Germans in their war against the Soviet Union were due to the discontent of the population with the Communist rule. But soon the population saw that the Germans, if anything, were no better than the Bolsheviks. The Soviet diplomat Maxim Lit-

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 117-30. Litvinov, *op. cit.*, pp. 288, 295-6.

<sup>37</sup> Manning, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-3. Pares, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

<sup>38</sup> Manning, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

<sup>39</sup> Robert Bass, *The Communist Take-over, Ferment in Eastern Europe*, p. 34.

<sup>40</sup> Sidney Harcave, *Russia*, 1959, p. 645.

vinov wrote in September, 1941: "Our only hope is Hitler's stupidity. The Third Reich and its army are a powerful but brainless war machine. How fortunate for us that at the helm of this machine is Corporal Hitler with his simpleminded philosophy and political cretinism.." <sup>41</sup> On June 30, 1941, as the Germans were approaching Lviv, a Ukrainian National Assembly proclaimed the independence of Ukraine. The German Gestapo, however, arrested the organizers of this Assembly. Soon the Ukrainians saw Hitler's intentions plainly: Eastern Galicia was included in the General Gouvernement, and Ukraine became a "Reichskommissariat." The Ukrainian answer to the German brutality was the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) at the end of 1942. The UPA went on to fight the Russians up to the beginning of the 1950's. <sup>42</sup>

In order to enlarge the scope of Communist influence in the free countries Stalin won the consent of President Roosevelt and Winston Churchill in 1945 at Yalta for the admission of Ukraine and Byelorussia to the United Nations. The spokesmen for "Ukraine" in the United Nations, however, do not defend the interests of Ukraine; to this day they are absolutely and exclusively loyal to the interests of Moscow. <sup>43</sup>

The plight of Ukraine in the Soviet Union after the Second World War is shown by a comparison of its population figures for the years 1940 and 1956. The total Soviet population in 1940 was 191,700,000, and, in April of 1956, 200,200,000. In Ukraine in 1940 the population was 41,000,000; in April 1956, however, the number of the Ukrainian population was lower (40,600,000) although the territory of Ukraine had been enlarged by Carpatho-Ukraine and the Crimea. <sup>44</sup> The loss reflected the deportation of the population to Siberia. <sup>45</sup> In the camps of forced labor today there are many Ukrainians and other nationalities as well. <sup>46</sup>

In 1917 Lenin said: "Russia cannot exist without the Ukrainian sugar industry. The same can be said regarding coal, grains, etc." <sup>47</sup> In his report to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU Khrushchev stated that in 1960 Ukraine gave the state some 5.9 million tons of grain. <sup>48</sup>

Ukraine remains a captive nation.

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<sup>41</sup> Litvinov, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-8.

<sup>42</sup> Manning, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-46.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 146-7.

<sup>44</sup> Schuman, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

<sup>45</sup> Salisbury, H. E., *To Moscow and Beyond*, 1960, p. 22.

<sup>46</sup> Terpak, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 314.

<sup>48</sup> Khrushchev *Reports to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU*, 1961, p. 99.